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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1911

IN TWO VOLUMES

Vol. I

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington, D. C., January 8, 1913.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1911. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, Secretary.

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., December 31, 1912.

Sig.: In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to transmit herewith the annual report of the association for the year 1911. The report contains the proceedings of the association at its twenty-seventh annual meeting held in Buffalo and Ithaca in December, 1911, as well as the bibliography of writings on American history for 1911 and the reports of the public archives and the historical manuscripts commissions.

The charter of the association and the relation with the Government established by that instrument make it incumbent upon the association to devote itself to the advancement of American history and of history in America. That the association strives with creditable success to perform this semipublic function is evident from the contents of the two volumes herewith transmitted.

The public archives commission has prepared a report on the archives of the State of Colorado and a list of the commissions of British governors and lieutenant governors in North America. This latter makes more accessible a vast body of material of the greatest value for the history of our colonial period. The historical manuscripts commission, following its policy of presenting collections of documents in private hands, of national interest, and unlikely otherwise to be made accessible, has prepared a volume of the correspondence of Alexander H. Stephens, Howell Cobb, and Robert Toombs.

I have the honor to be, Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, Secretary.

Dr. Charles D. Walcott, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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VOLUME II.

Ninth report of the historical manuscripts commission. Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb, edited by Ulrich B. Phillips.

CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

٧.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 29, 1911.

PRESIDENT.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., Oyster Bay, N. Y.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., Columbia University.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B. University of Chicago.

SECRETARY:

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., Carnegie Institution of Washington.

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH D., 130 Fulton Street, New York.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL'
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Ph. D.,
Harvard University.

CURATOR:

A HOWARD CLARK, A. M., Smithsonian Institution.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)
(Ex-Presidents)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., Ithaca, N. Y.

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., University of Michigan.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., Washington, D. C.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., Boston, Mass

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., Boston, Mass. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL D., Boston, Mass.

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> SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., New Haven, Conn

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH D., I.L. D., Carnegie Institution of Washington.

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ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D , LL. D., Left. D , Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., LITT. D., Harvard University.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D.

Columbia University.

(Elected Councillors.)

FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, Pn. D., University of Mississippi

EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., State College of Pennsylvania.

FRED MORROW FLING, Pr. D., University of Nebraska.

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Pt D., Indiana University

HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, Ph. D, University of Pennsylvania.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., University of Wisconsin.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED MARCH 31, 1911.

PRESIDENT:

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, A. M. San Francisco.

VICE PRESIDENT:

ROCKWELL DENNIS HUNT, Ph. D., University of Southern California.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'

HAVEN WILSON EDWARDS, A. M., Oakland (Cal.) High School.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

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EUGENE IRVING Mc(ORMA(), Ph. D., University of California.

NICHOLAS RICCIARDI.

Fremont High School, Oakland, Cal.

PAYSON JACKSON TREAT, Ph. D., Leland Stanford Junior University.

TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †)

EX-PRESIDENTS

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L H D, LL. D, 1884-1885. †GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D, 1885-1886 †JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887. +WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D , 1887-1858. †CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL D , 1888-1889. †JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890. †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D, 1890-1891. JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D, 1891-1893. HENRY ADAMS, LL. D, 1893-1894 †GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL D., 1895 †RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D , LL D , 1896. JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D, 1897. †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL D, 1898. JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D, 1899. +EDWARD EGGLESTON, L H D, 1900 CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL D, 1901 ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C L., LL D., 1902. †HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903. †GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL D., 1904 JOHN BACH McMASTER, Pr., D., LITT. D , LL. D., 1905. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL D., 1906. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH D., LL. D , 1907. GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH D , LITT. D , 1908. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PR. D , LL D , LITT. D., 1909. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH D., LL. D., LITT. D , 1910. WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH D., L H. D. LL. D. 1911.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS:

+JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D , 1884-1886 +CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL D , 1884-1888. †WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL D, 1886-1887. †JOHN JAY, LL. D , 1887-1889. +WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL D., 1888-1890 JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D, 1889-1891. HENRY ADAMS, LL D, 1890-1893. †EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894 +GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D. 1894. †RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D , 1895. JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896. †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897 JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., 1897, 1895. †EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D, 1898, 1899. MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D , 1899, 1900. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900. +HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Pr. D., LL. D., 1901. ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901. **†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL D., 1902.** †GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903. †EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1908. JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1905, 1906. GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Pr. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL D, LITT. D., 1907, 1908 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D, LL. D, LITT. D., 1908, 1909. WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H D, LL. D, 1909, 1910. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL D, 1910, 1911.

SECRETARIES

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D , LL. D , 1884-1899. A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M , 1889-1908 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D , 1900— WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A M , 1908—

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Pr. D, 1884-

CURATOR.

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-

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COMMITTEES-1911.

Committee on program for the twenty-eighth annual meeting—Prof. Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chairman; Ephraim D. Adams, Frank M Anderson, Guy S. Ford, Samuel C. Mitchell, Henry B Wright

Local committee of arrangements.—Charles Francis Adams, Esq., Boston, chairman; Prof. Archibald C. Coolidge, vice chairman.

Editors of the American Historical Review — Prof. George B Adams, Yale University, chairman; George L. Burr, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, James H. Robinson, Frederick J Turner

Historical manuscripts commission.—Worthington C. Ford, Esq., Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Julian P. Bretz, Herbert D. Foster, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan, chairman; Carl Becker, Francis A. Christie, J. G. de R. Hamilton, William MacDonald.

Public archives commission.—Prof. Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Eugene C. Barker, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Victor H. Paltsits, Jonas Viles.

Committee on bibliography.—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Clarence S. Brigham, W. Dawson Johnston, Frederick J. Teggart, George P. Winship.

Committee on publications.—Prof Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (ex officio) Herman V. Ames, George L. Burr, Worthington C Ford, Charles H Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Prof George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Guy S. Ford, Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen, Albert B. White.

General committee.—Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University, chairman; Isaac J. Cox, Walter L. Fleming, William L. Grant, S. P. Heilman, Miss Susan M. Kingsbury, Clarence S. Paine, Frederic L. Paxson; and Waldo G. Leland and Haven W. Edwards, ex officio.

Committee on bibliography of modern English history.—Prof Edward P Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Conference of historical societies.—Waldo Lincoln, Esq., Worcester, Mass., chairman; Waldo G. Leland, secretary.

Committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools.—Prof. Dana C. Munro, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Kendric C. Babcock, Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Robert A. Maurer.

Advisory board of history teacher's magazine.—Prof. Henry Johnson, Columbia University, chairman; Miss Blanche E. Hazard (to serve three years); Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan (to serve two years); George C Sellery, St George L. Sioussat (to serve one year).

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members, and incorporated by act of Congress of January 4, 1889.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member. Applications for membership and nominations (by persons already members) of new members should be addressed to the secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual dues are fixed at \$3, payable on September 1 for the ensuing year. Life membership, with exemption from annual dues, may be secured upon payment of \$50.

The publications regularly distributed to members are the American Historical Review, the Annual Report, and the Handbook. The first of these is published quarterly (October, January, April, July) under the direction of a board of editors elected by the executive council. Each number contains 200 or more pages and is composed of articles, documents, reviews of books, and notes and news. The Annual Report, printed by order of Congress, is in one or two volumes and contains the proceedings of the annual meetings, the annual bibliography of writings on American history, the report of the public archives commission with its appendices consisting of inventories, catalogues, etc., of materials in State and other archives, and collections of documents edited by the historical manuscripts commission. The Handbook, containing the names, addresses, and professional positions of members, is published biennially. Back numbers of the American Historical Review may be obtained from the Macmillan Co., of New York. Copies of the annual reports of past years, or of separates of articles or publications appearing therein, may be obtained, so far as available, from the secretary of the association.

The prize essays of the association are published in a separate series, one volume appearing each year, and are supplied to members for \$1 each, to nonnembers for \$1.50. The Study of History in Elementary Schools, being the report of the committee of

eight (1909), is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at 50 cents.

The Study of History in Secondary Schools, being the report of the committee of seven (1899), is published by the Macmillan Co of New York, at 50 cents. A revision by the committee of five is about to be published.

Original Narratives of Early American History is a series of reprints edited for the association by J. F. Jameson and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at \$3 a volume.

The annual meetings of the association are held during the period December 27-31, in various cities. At these meetings are sessions with formal papers, sessions partaking of the nature of round-table conferences, and conferences of archivists and of historical societies. Annual meetings of other associations, the interests of which are allied to those of the American Historical Association, are generally held at the same time and place.

Committees on archives, on historical manuscripts, on bibliography, on various phases of history teaching, on historical sites and monuments, as well as other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, carry on the activities of the association throughout the year

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

The Justin Winsor prize committee.—Claude H. Van Tyne (chairman), University of Michigan; Carl Becker, University of Kansas; Francis A. Christie, Meadville Theological School; William MacDonald, Brown University; J. G. de R. Hamilton, University of North Carolina.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee.—George Lincoln Burr (chairman), Cornell University; Guy Stanton Ford, University of Illinois; Edwin F. Gay, Harvard University; Charles D. Hazen, Smith College; A. B. White, University of Minnesota.

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each of \$200; the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of awards on or before July 1 of the given year, e. g., by July 1, 1913, for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1912, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

- I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.
- II. A. For the Justin Winsor prize—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America—It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.
- B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.
- III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.
- IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist only of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

- V. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.¹
- VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the maternal and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.
- VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries. Galley and page proofs will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in

In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to meet each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page — In abbreviating the titles of works cited care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear and consistent.

cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize

IX. The prize, together with 10 bound copies of the printed volume, will be sent to the author after the publication of the book. Further copies, not to exceed 25, he shall be entitled to purchase at the reduced price (\$1) at which a copy is furnished to each subscribing member of the association. Should he further desire unbound copies, not for sale, the secretary will endeavor to furnish them to him at cost.

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Claude H Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Mich, and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. George Lincoln Burr, Ithaca, N. Y.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Antislavery sentiment before 1808"

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights," with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic party," with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province"

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter; a study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy," with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River"

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774," with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—slavery, servitude, and freedom, 1639–1861."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The spiritual Franciscans," with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict, its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth-monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH	ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION	N.
Buffalo, N. Y., and Ithaca, N. Y., December 27–30, 1911.	
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THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT BUFFALO AND ITHACA.¹

No large city except Pittsburgh is so nearly central as Buffalo to the membership of the American Historical Association. Yet the registered attendance at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association held there on December 27 and subsequent days was less than that which has been usual in recent years, only 214 in fact; but there seemed to be an unusual number of the older members present.

The program proved to be excellent. At first sight it was evidently composed of the younger element in the association. But any of the elders who have entertained the opinion that the younger element, however gifted or well trained in research, was indifferent to matters of form and presentation, must have been agreeably surprised at the high level of excellence in all these respects attained by most of those who spoke on the present occasion. It may be hoped that the tide has turned, and that regard for form (i. e., for the hearer or reader) may recover that standing with the students of history which can alone give us historians or invest our profession with public influence.

The sectional sessions were distinctly less successful than the general. From "experience meetings" of workers, vital and engrossing, and sometimes resulting in important forward movements, they have for the most part come to be mere sessions for the reading of short papers, unrelated and undiscussed, and differing from the papers read at the general sessions only by being briefer and less important. Chairmen of conferences should exert themselves to arrest and reverse this process, and to restore real conferences, lively with debate and fruitful in results. This should not be difficult if the right kind of programs are made and circulated in advance, in syllabus form, among the right kind of men; for brief conversation with such men in any of these fields shows always that there are plenty of tasks and themes to be jointly considered.

The meeting of the American Historical Association was held in concert with the American Political Science Association. The opening session, begun with an address of welcome by Hon. Henry W. Hill, president of the Buffalo Historical Society, to which the president of the American Historical Association responded, was a joint affair,

¹ This account is in the main that printed in the American Historical Review for April, 1912.

consisting of the annual addresses of the presidents of the two associations. That of Prof. William M. Sloane, as president of the elder society, entitled "The substance and vision of history," was printed in the American Historical Review for January, 1912. That of the president of the American Political Science Association, Gov. Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, formerly a president of the American Historical Association, was on "The progressive unfolding of the powers of the United States," and was marked by historical learning as well as by clear and thoughtful political reasoning.

The meeting of Thursday morning took the form of a joint session held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at which four papers were read, grouped under the general title, "Some frontier problems." Prof. Beverly W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, opened the session with a paper on the "Quit-rent system in the American colonies," printed in the American Historical Review for April, 1912. Prof. D. R. Anderson, of Richmond College in Virginia, read a paper on the "Insurgents of 1811," which will be found hereafter in the present volume. In a paper on the "Tariff and public lands, 1828–1833," also printed in the present volume, Prof. Raynor G. Wellington, of the University of South Dakota, showed how the views of the different sections of the country toward the question of the administration of the public domain were determined by their economic interests.

The last paper of this session was one by Prof. Clark E. Persinger, of the University of Nebraska, on the "Bargain of 1844 as the origin of the Wilmot proviso," the text of which will be found on subsequent pages.

The afternoon of this same day was occupied with three conferences: One in ancient history, of which the chairman was Prof. William S. Ferguson, of Harvard; one of archivists, presided over by Prof. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania; and one upon southwestern history, with Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, as chairman. That relating to ancient history was especially well attended, and was marked by evidences of great interest. The growth of ancient history into importance as a subject of consideration by professors of history is indicated by one of the striking facts brought forward by Prof. Henry B. Wright, of Yale, in the course of a detailed report on instruction and research in ancient history in American universities. Whereas 20 years ago the notion would have been scouted that collegiate courses in ancient history were the concern of anyone but professors of Greek and Latin, or that they had any other position than one ancillary to the classics, it was apparent from Prof. Wright's figures that the colleges and universities in which courses in ancient history are in the charge of the

¹ The text of Gov. Baldwin's address appeared in the American Political Science Review for February.

historical department are now two or three times as numerous as those in which they are in the charge of the classical professors. This is as it should be, and gives a chance that our young people, instead of pursuing the Greek history of the fifth and fourth centuries for the sake of obtaining footnotes to classical authors, and the Ciceronian and Augustan periods for the same purpose, may pursue Greek and Roman history for their own sakes and with an eye to the ancient period of human history as a whole.

In the program of the conference on ancient history, the first place was held by a discourse from Prof. George W. Botsford, of Columbia University, on "Laconia in the transition from the Mycenæan to the Hellenic Age."

The historian of Greece, he pointed out, has for some time been confronted with the difficult task of restating the beginnings of Hellenic civilization in conformity with new knowledge furnished by archæological research. In this task it is necessary for him to discard a multitude of theories proposed by the archæologists themselves, affecting the relation of culture to race, the character of migrations, the causes of the decline of the Mycenzan civilization, and many kindred subjects, and to seek guidance in the actual experiences of history. In view of the fact that the cultural indebtedness of historical Greece to the Mycenzan (Minoan) Age is demonstrably enormous, it is necessary in the case of any early Greek institution or condition which seems to be the product of a more highly developed or of a non-Hellenic civilization, to consider at least the possibility of deriving it from Mycenæan sources. Greater importance, too, must now attach to such statements of the ancients as that of Aristotle (Politics, 1271 b, 27), to the effect that the Dorians of Lyttos, Crete, adopted the legal institutions of the earlier inhabitants. These and other considerations-particularly the facts obtained by recent explorations in Laconia—lead to the conclusion that Lacedemonian conditions were largely an offshoot of the late Mycenean. There can be no serious doubt accordingly that the historical Dorians arose from a blending of northern immigrants with earlier Greeks, who had already mingled racially with pre-Hellenic aborigines; that, notwithstanding the dialectic studies of Meister, the language, culture, and nationality of eighth-century Laconia were essentially homogeneous; and that the system of social classes (Spartans, periceci, and helots), the kingly office, the despotic socialism, and important religious cults of Laconia were borrowed in whole or in great part from the decadent Mycensean civilization.

Later in the same conference, Mr. J. F. Ferguson, of Yale, read a paper on the "Price edict of Diocletian," discussing the causes for its issue, and illustrating some of the many ways in which it can be used for the culture history of the time; and Prof. Charles Diehl, of the

University of Paris, described in a most interesting manner the development during recent years of Byzantine studies in France.

The third annual conference of archivists, the proceedings of which are given in full on later pages, dealt mainly with the problem of protecting archives from fire, and with the administration of archives in Canada.

In opening the conference devoted to the study of Southwestern history, the chairman, Prof. Bolton, outlined the importance of the Southwest in national and international history, declaring in substance that it offers the richest opportunities afforded by our country for the study of archæology and ethnology; that as the theater for two centuries of a contest between Spain and barbarian America, it was the place where Spanish colonial institutions were subjected to their severest test and where they can be most profitably studied; that the continuous international struggle of which it was for the same period a constant scene, makes it a rich field for the study of the colonial and diplomatic history of America; that it played a leading part in the slavery question, the westward movement, and the development of imperialism; and that its recent growth offers ethnic, economic, architectural, social, and intellectual forces and features peculiar to itself. Two formal papers were read, one by Prof. Barker, of the University of Texas, the second by Prof. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, both of which will be found in the present volume. opening the general discussion on the question, What are the Problems and what the Materials for the Study of Southwestern History? the chairman dwelt upon the necessity of extended work on the narrative history of the region and the publication of great numbers of documents before we can proceed in a satisfactory manner with the study of institutions; asserted that most of the studies hitherto made, based on the texts of ordinances and laws, give no true picture of Spanish colonial government in actual operation; described the great opportunities just opening through the exploitation of the Spanish and Mexican archives, and mentioned many profitable subjects of investigation. Mr. William Beer, of the Howard Memorial Library, laid emphasis upon the French materials, especially those at New Orleans, while Prof. Morse Stephens spoke briefly of the wealth of material in the archives of Spain, calling for the work of a generation of American students. Prof. Cox and Prof. Barker discoursed upon the opportunities for study of the periods of the Mexican revolution and of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of the Southwest respectively. indicating the nature and location of the materials for such work. illustrate the need of work, Prof. Barker stated that no one had ever yet satisfactorily explained Spain's or Mexico's reasons for the suicidal policy of opening the Southwest to settlement by Americans, and that there is no satisfactory history of Stephen F. Austin. Sam

Houston, the Texas Revolution, or the Republic of Texas. The discussion was closed by Prof. Justin H. Smith, who spoke of the important questions connected with the border relations between the United States and Mexico after the Mexican War, particularly in their relation to secession movements in northern Mexico and to the Southern Confederacy, materials for which are to be had in the Mexican and our own archives.

The evening session was, according to custom, given over to papers making a more general appeal to those variously interested in history. By an arrangement which was natural in view of the place of meeting, its theme was Canadian history. In a paper entitled "Canada v. Guadeloupe; an episode of the Seven Years' War," printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1912, Prof. W. L. Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, dealt with the pamphlet controversy of 1760–61 on the question which of the two colonies should be retained at the peace, should a choice be necessary. He described a number of the pamphlets, and showed how the controversy merged into the better-known one provoked by Israel Mauduit's "Considerations on the present German war."

A paper read by Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, on "British political factions and the policy of Imperial development, 1763-1774," was an attempt to discover the alignment of the British political factions upon the policy of the development of the new possessions in western America and East India. In the general introduction, it was shown that there were three distinct attitudes among politicians toward the future of both regions, which may be designated as uncompromising imperialism, moderate imperialism, and anti-imperialism. The first looked in western America to the complete exploitation of the new possessions by immediate colonization and in East India to the assumption by the government of all the new conquests, leaving the East India Co. in possession of the trade alone. After thus laying the basis for distinguishing between the policies of the various groups of politicians, the paper took up in order the various factions. Mr. Alvord did not find any grouping of politicians under party banners such as Whigs and Tories, but rather a grouping into factions whose main purpose was the acquiring of office. All these groups, or factions, were offspring in more or less direct line from the Whig party. The court faction alone requires a more careful analysis, and the paper showed that this was composed of very diverse elements: First, independent politicians, generally of Whig traditions; secondly, the representatives of Scotland in both houses of Parliament; thirdly, the king's friends; and fourthly, the Tories. The general conclusion of the paper was as follows: The followers of William Pitt, and those members of the court faction that surrounded the Earl of Bute, were in

favor of the most radical imperial policy. The Grenvillites and the followers of Lord North in the court faction were more moderate in their plans, although no less imperialistic in purpose; while the factions of the old Whigs and the Bedfordites, and the most conservative members of the court faction, were anti-imperialistic in their tendencies.

A substantial paper by Prof. Cephas D. Allin, of the University of Minnesota, dealt with the "Genesis of the confederation of Canada," and will be found later in this volume. The session was ended by an address by Prof. Charles W. Colby, of McGill University, "Apropos of September 21st, 1911," in which he discussed the reasons for earlier rapprochements in commercial matters between Canada and the United States, set forth the causes, in industrial development and in British and Canadian policy, which had given a more national quality to Canadian opinion, and described the reasons for the defeat of reciprocity and the effects of that event on the mutual relations between the Dominion and the United States.

The program of Friday, the last day of the meeting, was one that might well seem formidable to any member who took seriously the duty of attendance upon meetings—a morning session, an evening session, and in the afternoon three conferences and the annual business meeting. The morning session led the members out to the handsome building of the Buffalo Historical Society in Delaware Park, where papers grouped under the general head of "International relations" were read. Of these, that of Prof. Archibald C. Coolidge, of Harvard, on the "European reconquest of North Africa," was printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1912. The paper first read, that of Prof. James A. James, of Northwestern University, on "French diplomacy and American politics, 1794–1797," is printed below.

Dr. Charles O. Paullin's paper on the "Early relations of the United States with Turkey," gave an account of the attempts made by the United States during the years 1784–1830 to negotiate a treaty with Turkey. It was based chiefly on documents in the State and Navy Departments in Washington. It called attention to the interest in a treaty manifested by the Continental Congress in May, 1784, and set forth the work of Rufus King, our minister to England, during the years 1796–1803, in behalf of a mission to Turkey, which resulted in the appointment of William Smith, of Charleston, S. C., as an envoy to that country. The missions of Commodore William Bainbridge and Luther Bradish, of George B. English, of Commodore John Rodgers, and of Commodore William Crane and David Offley, which were unsuccessful; and the mission of Commodore James Biddle, David Offley, and Charles Rhind, which succeeded, were described. The objects sought by the United States in its negotiations, and

finally obtained in the treaty signed in 1830, were: (1) Trade with all Turkish ports on the footing of the most favored nation, (2) free ingress to and egress from the Black Sea, and (3) permission to appoint consuls to any Turkish port.

After the luncheon, which was served in the building of the Buffalo Historical Society, the reading of papers was resumed, in three sections, one devoted to European history, another the annual conference of State and local historical societies, the third occupied with the problems of historical teaching in elementary schools.

The conference on European history, of which Prof. John M. Vincent was chairman, opened with a paper, given in the present volume, by Mr. Theodore F. Jones, of New York City, on the "Archives of the Venetian Republic" and the opportunities they offer for studies in political, diplomatic, and economic history, and one by Prof. Roger B. Merriman, of Harvard, on a manuscript general chronicle of the period of Charles V, by Francisco López de Gomara, unused by historians hitherto but presenting points of interest.

In further continuance of the same conference, Prof. Sidney B. Fay, of Dartmouth, whose paper will be found on subsequent pages, treated of the "Materials for the history of Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." A paper, also printed below, by Mr. Edwin W. Pahlow, of Lawrenceville, discussed "Anglo-Dutch relations in 1671-1672." Mr. Albert C. Dudley, of Johns Hopkins University, followed with a paper on the "Religious persecutions under the Clarendon Code." Basing his statements on manuscript materials in London, especially in the archives of the Society of Friends at Devonshire House, he recast the traditional narrative of the episode by showing the wide difference in the treatment accorded to the different bodies of the Nonconformists. The concluding paper of the session, by Mr. Convers Read, of the University of Chicago, on "Factions in the English privy council under Elizabeth," will be found on later pages.

The eighth annual conference of historical societies, presided over by Prof. I. J. Cox, was held in the building of the Buffalo Historical Society on Friday afternoon, with about 50 delegates in attendance. The program was devoted to the consideration of two principal subjects: Historical society buildings, and the work of hereditary patriotic societies. The full proceedings of the conference are included in the present volume.

The third conference of this afternoon, devoted to the consideration of the teaching of history in elementary schools, met in the Albright Art Gallery. Prof. Edward C. Page, who presided, gave a brief account of the efforts that had been made and the success attained in making the history teachers' conference a permanent

Printed under the title. Nonconformity under the "Clarendon Code" in the American Historical Review for October, 1912.

element in the annual meeting of the association. The specific subject for the present occasion was the report of the committee of eight, which was considered at length and with profit, yet not without that emphasis upon one-sided arguments which is the bane of American teachers' meetings.

Prof. J. M. Gambrill, of the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, in seeking an answer to the question, "Ought the report to be followed by the elementary schools?" declared that to a new course four tests should be applied: its relation to the interest and capacity of the child; the child's social and individual needs; the requirements of the subject; and the practicability of getting the course adopted and well taught. Tested by this standard, the purpose of the course outlined seemed wise, its plan sound. One defect in detail could be mentioned. The fourth and fifth grades should be devoted to the study of stories of European history rather than to American, in order to furnish a European background for the work in American history done by the grammar grades. The sixth grade might well be given to a study of the transition from European to colonial life. In spite of this defect he urged that the report be followed.

Miss Julia A. King, of the Michigan State Normal College, in her discussion of the paper, maintained that the object of teaching history was to help the child to understand and participate in the life around him, and that since the material selected by the committee of eight for the first four years' work did not do this, it was therefore a mistaken choice.

The second paper of the conference was presented by Mr. Carl E. Pray,² of the Wisconsin State Normal School, who, in considering the question of the best preparation for persons who are to teach the course outlined by the committee, took decided issue with those who would place the emphasis on method. The first essential must always be as many and as thorough courses in history as possible. He showed very briefly how this requirement was being attained in Wisconsin. Miss Sarah Dynes, of the State Normal School at Trenton, in her discussion of his paper, told what was being done to prepare students to teach history in New Jersey. This preparation includes a criticism of existing teaching, a demonstration of "real" history study, an examination of various courses of study, and a discussion of the order of procedure in presenting historical material.

In the open discussion which followed Profs. Collier, of Brown University, and Eugene Fair, of the State Normal School of Kirksville, Mo., took issue with Miss King's statement of the aim of teaching, maintaining that history teaching, while doing its part to fit the child for the life of to-day, should also broaden his appreciation

of that which is unlike his own environment. Prof. Harding, of Indiana, offered the following resolutions:

- 1 That Greek and Roman history be omitted in the sixth grade, the course for this grade being too heavy
- 2. That the American history now given in the fourth and fifth grades be placed in the fifth grade
 - 3. That Greek and Roman stories be given a place in the fourth grade.

Before the motion was voted upon Prof. Bourne, who was largely responsible for the outline for the sixth grade, explained that the study of American history had been placed in the fourth and fifth grades because of the fact that so many pupils left school at the end of five years. The objection which had been raised, that the work of the sixth grade was too heavy, he thought could be met by confining the study to certain typical features of Greek and Roman and medieval civilization. Profs. J. A. James, A. W. Risley, and J. M. Gambrill urged that no change be proposed in the course until it had been given a longer trial, as it was believed that to make a change now would throw the whole subject into chaos once more. The motion was lost. A committee consisting of Messrs. Carl E. Pray, J. M. Gambrill, W. H. Cushing, and Samuel B. Harding was appointed to bring about cooperation between the organizations of history teachers in the different sections of the country.

Except for the business meeting, the minutes of which accompany this account, the sessions at Buffalo closed with Friday evening's joint session of the historical and the political-science associations. Of the four papers, all devoted to Spanish America, two were historical in character, the other two in the field of political science. Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, whose paper is printed below, discussed the "Relations of England with Spanish America between 1720 and 1744," his aim being to ascertain the views of England during that period on the importance of the West Indies and of connection with Spanish America.

In a paper entitled "Europe and Spanish America in 1822–1824," Prof. W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois, described the circumstances attending the reception of Monroe's now famous message in Spain, France, and England. In Spain the message, which arrived after the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the throne, did not evoke much comment. Neither did it much influence the reactionary policy of the absolute King, who desired to be King of Spain with the Indies. Monroe's message caused a stir in the journals of Paris, which published reports of it for the first time on January 1, 1824. The administration journal, L'Étoile, criticized it. On January 2, 1824, Le Constitutionnel defended the message in a remarkable exposition. Whatever influence this state paper exer-

cised in France in favor of Spanish-American independence can hardly be dissociated from the influence exercised by England, which had already declared against intervention by the continental powers. The London newspapers warmly welcomed Monroe's manifesto, which was published there for the first time on December 27, 1823. The Times defended Monroe against the attacks of L'Étoile; he was praised by Brougham in Parliament. But Canning objected to the clause of the message adverse to colonization, and asked for an interpretation. In Canning's new-born desire to prevent the hegemony of the United States in America, he reverted to the idea of promoting the establishment of monarchies in Latin America. No contemporary suggestion of the familiar name the "Monroe doctrine" has been found.

The remaining papers were, as has been said, rather in the field of political science than in that of history. Mr. Philip M. Brown, of Boston, formerly United States minister to Honduras, discoursed on the "Difficulties of diplomatic relations with Latin America," with chief reference, however, to Central America. He emphasized the consequences of mutual ignorance and of differences in habits and thought, and the embarrassments produced by insufficient instructions and local disorders. The policy of the United States toward this group of countries has been based on the principles that American interests must be protected; that European influence must not become too strong; that the obligations of the United States toward the countries of Central America must be fulfilled. But for the working out of these principles the best efforts will be those employed toward removing the causes of trouble and restoring the union of the five Central American States.

The last paper presented at Buffalo was one by Mr. Henry Gil, of the National University of La Plata, in which the author with incisive phrases and in excellent English discussed the "Latin American point of view." His main thesis was that, in view of the diversities of development among the different countries, and the lack of common interests, it was vain to talk of a Latin-American point of view as a single thing. Speaking of Argentina in particular, he enlarged upon the independence of its political and economic position, and its consequent indifference to considerations of the Monroe Doctrine or other policies of the United States.

On Saturday morning, December 30, the last day allotted to the sessions, some 90 members made together the journey from Buffalo to Ithaca, where they were entertained at luncheon by Cornell University and had an afternoon session marked by four interesting papers in European history. First, Prof. Paul van Dyke, of Princeton, whose

¹ These addresses appeared in the Supplement to the American Political Science Review for February, 1912,

paper will be found in the present volume, upon the basis of a novel manuscript account of the "Taking of Calais by Francis of Guise," found in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and of other evidences, argued for a view in accordance with which the credit of that famous coup belongs to the King, who formed the plan in the previous winter and rather forced it upon Guise. A paper on the "Political theories of Calvinists," by Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth, followed.

Upon this ensued a paper by Prof. Charles E. Fryer, of McGill University, in which he traced, with the aid of whatever statistics are available in English libraries and archives, the "Numerical decline of dissent in England previous to the industrial revolution." This was followed by the last paper of the annual meeting, which is printed below, by Prof. Edward Raymond Turner, of the University of Michigan, on "Sources for the history of the English cabinet in the eighteenth century."

One of the chief pleasures which the members of the association who went to Ithaca had had in mind was that of seeing and doing honor to the venerable Dr. Andrew D. White, who in 1884 had been elected as first president of the association, and who is happily still with us and in good health. For this pleasure an admirable opportunity was provided by his hospitable kindness and that of Mrs. White in inviting the members to their house after the conclusion of the papers. There the president of the association, in phrases of great felicity and cordial kindness, saluted President White in the name of the association and spoke just praises of his long-continued services to the cause of history in the United States. The members then listened to an exceedingly interesting address by Dr. White, in which he reviewed the remarkable progress of historical education in American colleges and universities since he began his historical teaching at Ann Arbor in 1857, and gave excellent words of counsel to teachers of history, especially as to addressing themselves most of all to the educating of the average good student rather than to the training of specialists alone.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME, DELIVERED BY HENRY W. HILL, PRESIDENT OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT THE Y. M. C. A. HALL, ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 27, 1911.

Prof. Sloane, President of the American Historical Association, Gov. Baldwin, president of the American Political Science Association, members of such associations, ladies and gentlemen: We were deeply gratified at your acceptance of the invitation of the Buffalo Historical Society and of other local organizations to hold your meetings this year in this city, and on behalf of all such organizations and of our citizens generally we bid you a most cordial welcome to this city and to its institutions, which are open to receive you and to extend such courtesies and hospitality as they may.

We are pleased to see so large a representation from the Atlantic, Southern, Central, and Western States and from Canada, and also to welcome the distinguished delegates

Your coming has been anticipated with deep interest and we felicitate our citizens and ourselves upon the pleasure of meeting so many members of your associations and upon the edifying entertainment to be provided by your speakers for those of us who can attend your meetings. We trust that your sojourn here may afford opportunity for the renewal of acquaintances and the forming of many new ones and for your becoming better acquainted with our city, its historical society and superb building, its Albright Art Gallery, its libraries, its literary, scientific, and other educational and professional institutions, its social clubs, and, last but not of least importance, with its extensive commerce, far exceeding that of Venice when it was the chief maritime port of Europe.

From the building of the *Griffon* by La Salle in 1679, on the Niagara River, the first vessel to navigate the upper Great Lakes, down to the opening of the Eric Canal in 1825, when Buffalo became the gateway between the East and the West, and more noticeably since that time, its location has been recognized as unique for the building up of a great emporium of trade, which it has become and through which the tides of traffic and travel flow on yearly in increasing volume.

Buffalo's water-borne tonnage during the seven months of lake navigation this year is estimated at approximately 14,000,000 tons, and among the principal articles of such tonnage were 122,000,000 bushels of grain, $6\frac{1}{2}$ million barrels of flour, $3\frac{1}{10}$ million tons of coal, $6\frac{1}{10}$ million tons of iron ore, 591 tons of sugar, 874,000 barrels of cement, 314,000 barrels of salt, $104\frac{1}{2}$ million feet of lumber, and various other commodities. It is believed that this water-borne commerce will be largely augmented with the completion of the barge canal now in the process of construction, which will afford still better communication between the Great Lakes and the tidewaters of the Hudson River.

Buffalo has also a vast commerce over its extensive railways intercommunicating with all parts of the United States and Canada.

In volume Buffalo's water-borne commerce now rivals during the period of navigation the foreign commerce of Liverpool, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, whose influence in molding the character of European civil institutions is recognized by statesmen and writers on political science—In the historical development of States and nations consideration may well be given to the interplay of important trade relations and the expansion and advantages of extensive commerce, which, in the sweep of its influence, in the language of the late Mr. Bancroft, "defies every wind, outrides every tempest, and invades every zone."

We need not dwell further, however, on the business aspects of this Queen City of the Lakes, which draws its electric power from Niagara and whose trolley cars are propelled and its streets in part lighted by that power—You may, however, be interested in a brief allusion to the catastrophe which befell Buffalo during the War of 1812. On July 4 of that year Buffalo was only a small village and Black Rock no larger, but both were menaced by the British at Fort Erie and vicinity. The Americans assembled along the Niagara frontier, and for nearly two years the entire territory was involved in war, which resulted in the rout of the Americans, the burning of Buffalo and Black Rock, the massacre of some and flight of other inhabitants and the destruction of their property. On December 31, 1813, Buffalo and Black Rock lay in ruins, and on the following day the torch was applied to the six remaining buildings, so that all, with the exception of one house, were in ashes that evening. Thus were the orders of the British officers carried out as literally as those urged upon the Romans by Cato the Elder, who declared that "delenda est Carthago." Death and desolation marked the place where once stood the settlement of Buffalo.

The township was established in 1810, the village was incorporated in 1816, and the city in 1832. Its population in 1910 was 423,715.

We believe that your meeting here will also afford an opportunity to become better acquainted with the Niagara frontier, the halting place of traders, travelers, and expe-

from 1626 to the close of the War of 1812–1814 is a record of their coming and going as well as the coming and going of missionaries, explorers, and pioneers on their way to Christianize the aborigines, to discover new territory and found new settlements in and about the Great Lakes, and whose military history is a record of its sovereign control by the French, English, and American nations and of the conflicts that led to that succession.

Fort Niagara has existed since 1725, and has been successively in the possession of the troops of France, Great Britain, and of the United States. It passed from the control of the French to the British in 1759, and from the British, who evacuated it in 1796, 13 years after the treaty of peace, to the United States.

This territory, forming as it does the boundary between two great nations and having been the highway of trade and travel for three centuries, is rich in its historical associations and may well receive the attention of all interested in the development of our political institutions. The Buffalo Historical Society was founded principally to discover, procure, and preserve historical material relating to this region interest has been taken for half a century by the prominent citizens of this city in this research and other historical work that the Buffalo Historical Society has been able to carry out the purposes of its founders and is now supported by taxation as one of the public institutions of this city along with the free public library and the Albright Art Gallery. It is therefore especially gratifying to our citizens who are interested in the maintenance of these institutions to have your associations hold their meetings this year in this city We realize that the American Historical Association has set a standard for research work in American history that has been generally adopted by universities and colleges, and that it has awakened a deep interest in the subject of American history, so that several States, as a result of such work, have established and now maintain at public expense historical or archival departments, where research work is systematically carried on The work of the American Political Science Association is also of vast importance in enlightening public opinion on many of the perplexing problems of local, State, and Federal government Through the addresses delivered, papers read and published from year to year by the members of the American Political Science Association, there is being disseminated among the people and our cosmopolitan population trustworthy information in relation to the origin, scope, and purposes of our republican institutions, which in these later times are occasionally the special objects of insidious attacks on the part of designing demagogues under the shibboleth of some political reform. We realize that there must be progress in our political institutions to meet new conditions as they arise and the growing demands of our complex and expanding civilization, and that our political institutions must, to some extent, be responsive to these new conditions and growing demands.

Progress, however, should be along the fundamental lines of our republican form of government rather than by the introduction of experiments, which, though popular for the time being, may be hazardous to the stability and perpetuity of our institutions, and may be but the recrudescence of exploded theories strewn along the pathway of humanity.

Abuses may be remedied without undermining the entire structure of government by the introduction of measures not in accord with its policy, for quite as much depends upon the intelligence and interest of the electorate in public affairs as upon any special form of governmental agency. The work of the American Political Science Association is therefore timely and of genuine public service in that its deliberate and critical examination of present-day problems in the light of precedents and of our existing institutions will do much toward enlightening the people on these matters and toward pointing the way to the solution of such problems without resorting to perilous experiments that may result from the introduction of radical changes in governmental

ings will do something to reestablish in public opinion the conviction of the adequacy of the provisions of our civil institutions to deal with all such present-day problems. These institutions, founded after an exhaustive examination of the precedents of many nations evolved through long periods of time by patriots and statesmen, whose knowledge of governmental affairs was extensive and whose loyalty to our country is attested in many ways, ought not to be set aside for light or transient causes at a time when "public opinion," as was said by Isocrates centuries ago, may be as "irregular and as vehement as a winter torrent that sweeps down all men and all things that it chances to seize," and at a time when passion may be substituted for reason and when prejudice may preclude deliberation. The work of your associations in enlightening the people on such historical and political matters as engage your attention from year to year in relation to the origin, scope, and purposes of the civil and religious institutions of this "noble and puissant Nation" is largely a public service gratuitously performed, for which all students of American history and all persons owing allegiance to our Government ought to be grateful.

We most cordially welcome you to our city, and the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the Buffalo Club, the University Club, the Saturn Club, the Twentieth Century Club, the Women Teachers' Association of Buffalo, and other local organizations will unite with the Buffalo Historical Society in extending to you such courtesies as they may find it possible to extend during your stay here.

RESPONSE OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM M. SLOANE TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

Senator Henry W Hill, president of the Buffalo Historical Society, ladies and gentlemen: The foresight and farsight which bound the Great Lakes and the Sea by an artificial waterway have in your great city their most enduring monument; these qualities persist in the stock, as witness the efforts of yourself and your colleagues, Mr. President, to keep that superb artery of traffic abreast with the demands of a new area. The projects which you are realizing insure to the Buffalo of the future the preeminence it has already asserted

The princes of America are her merchants. To them the higher life of the Nation is indebted for all that elevates the soul into the world of letters, of art, and of science; all that makes for idealism in family, in church, and in State. They have created the taxing capacity of the State; to this and to their private munificence we are indebted for schools, libraries, colleges, and universities, with adequate equipment and noble conceptions of their task. To be mercantile and commercial is not to be sordid. That there are and have been low standards in trade is just as true as that these exist in agriculture and the professions and in every walk of life, and no truer; intensively and extensively.

The two learned associations who have permitted me to be their spokesman in expressing our gratitude for their gracious reception by you and for your cordial hospitality find themselves at home among you and in sympathy with you. That you long since mastered the rudiments of political science and are now among the initiated is proven by the legislation you have fostered, the great statesmen you have furnished to the Commonwealth and to the Nation. May I recall to you that during the years of his retirement I was the next-door neighbor and at least the acquaintance of Grover Cleveland, whose career was yours in its initial stages and for whom the basic principles of private and public morality were identical. The political science of that great man was not learned in a community of trimmers and self-seekers.

When it comes to the historical association which has honored me with its presidency for this year, we, too, may take courage here and go forward. Nowhere more than here has the historic sense been more highly developed. From the beginnings which you have so felicitously enumerated you have been true to the American ideal,

welcoming all comers of every stock and every clime who came here for the realization of themselves, in spirit, in energy, in faith, in search of the careers open to all the talents. And you remain so, hospitable to all who are eager for service to the community, in the uplift of themselves, their fortunes, and the general good. To make the most of oneself, the unselfish self, is the greatest contribution to mankind. No wonder therefore that you have the passion for origins, the true historic zeal. We are happy to meet under the auspices of Buffalo, and in particular of the Buffalo Historical Society, which with a few others a very few stands forth as an example, a shining example to its kind. In the American way, the elevating influences of life are organized privately, then shared by public support, and sometimes when their utility is conclusively proven, continued and perpetuated by the public care under private guidance. You and your associates, Mr. President, and Mr. Secretary Severance, must feel a sober pride in the foundations you have laid. We are your debtors, we and our successors. When you celebrate your 50th anniversary under the highest auspices, your splendid building with its precious collections must be the Mecca for every scholar engaged in research about the Niagara frontier. For this we are deep in your debt; that your collection has been intensive and special, that one portion of the field is especially and peculiarly yours.

We are also in your debt that in this great community you cherish and foster the love of history. Aside from your special collections you open wide the doors to your public for general historical reading; you summon great scholars to stimulate their zeal by lectures, and you make popular the study of history by talks on its romance and illustrations of its beginning. May your work prosper and may you see it prosper long in your hands. The splendid books you publish take you into all learned institutions; it is a pleasure for learned societies to come to you.

PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN BUFFALO AND ITHACA, DECEMBER 27-30, 1911.

Wednesday, December 27.

3 p. m.. Private dining room, Hotel Statler. Meeting of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association.

8 p.m.: Joint session with the American Political Science Association. Y.M.C.A. Hall, Mohawk and Genesee Streets. Address of welcome, Henry W. Hill, president of the Buffalo Historical Society. Address, "The substance and vision of history," William M. Sloane, Columbia University, president of the American Historical Association. Address, "The progressive unfolding of the powers of the United States," Simeon E. Baldwin, Yale University, governor of Connecticut, president of the American Political Science Association.

Thursday, December 28.

9 a. m.: Meetings of committees (at the call of the chairmen).

9.30 a m.: Joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Some frontier problems. Lecture room of Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Public Library Building, Lafayette Square. "The insurgents of 1811," D. R. Anderson, Richmond College "The quit-rent system in the American colonies," Beverley W. Bond, jr., Purdue University. "The tariff and public lands," Raynor G. Wellington, University of South Dakota. "Origin of the Wilmot proviso," Clark E. Persinger, University of Nebraska. "Report of the secretary of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association," Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln, Nebr.

2.30 p. m.: Conferences.

Ancient History. Assembly room, Hotel Statler. Chairman, W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University. "The earliest historical connection between Asia and Africa,"

James H. Breasted, University of Chicago. "Some aspects of the Mycenaean question," George W. Botsford, Columbia University "The progress of Byzantine studies in France during the last 15 years," Charles Diehl, The Sorbonne, Paris. "Instruction and research in ancient history in American universities," Henry B. Wright, Yale University

Archivists Ladies' parlors, Hotel Statler. Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania I. The lesson of the catastrophes in the capitols of New York and of Missouri: Arnold J. F. Van Laer, archivist, State Library, Albany; Jonas Viles, University of Missouri; discussion opened by Bernard R. Green, Library of Congress. II. The Canadian archives: The Dominion archives, D. N. McArthur, the archives branch, Ottawa; the archives of Ontario, Alexander Fraser, provincial archivist, Toronto; discussion

Southwestern history Private dining room, Hotel Statler. Chairman, Herbert E. Bolton, University of California "The excavations at Amoxiumque, N. Mex.," Edgar L. Hewett, director of the American School of Archaeology, Santa Fe, N. Mex. "Public opinion in Texas preceding the Revolution," Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas. "Monroe and the early Mexican Revolutionists," Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati. General discussion: "Southwestern history as a field for investigation" Led by W. R. Shepherd, Columbia University; Peter J. Hamilton, Mobile, Ala.; John H. Vaughan, New Mexico College of Agriculture; Justin H. Smith, Boston, Mass. (The phrase "Southwestern History" is to be interpreted broadly, to include the old Southwest, the far Southwest, and Mexico in its many relations to the United States.)

8 p m.: Canadian history. Assembly room, Hotel Statler. "Canada or Guadeloupe, an episode of the Seven Years' War," W L Grant, Queen's University. "British political factions and the policy of Imperial development, 1763–1775," Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois. "The genesis of the confederation of Canada," Cophas D. Allın, University of Minnesota. "Apropos of September 21, 1911," Charles W. Colby, McGill University

10 p. m : Smoker at the University Club, Delaware Avenue.

Friday, December 29

10 a.m.: International relations. Historical Building, Delaware Park. "French diplomacy and American politics, 1794–1797," J. A. James, Northwestern University. "The early relations of the United States with Turkey," C. O. Paullin, George Washington University. "American-Japanese relations prior to Perry's advent," Inizo Nitobé, First Imperial College of Japan. "The European reconquest of North Africa," Archibald Cary Coolidge, Harvard University.

12.45 p m.: Luncheon tendered to the members of the American Historical Association by the Buffalo Historical Society at the Historical Building.

2 p. m. Conferences.

European history. Private dining room, Hotel Statler. Chairman, J. M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University. "Relations of Venice and the East," Theodore F. Jones, New York University. "Gomara's chronicle of Charles V.," Roger Merriman, Harvard University. "Materials for the history of Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," Sidney B. Fay, Dartmouth College. "Anglo-Dutch relations, 1671–1672," Edwin W. Pahlow, Lawrenceville, N. J. "Religious persecutions under the Clarendon code," Albert C. Dudley, Johns Hopkins University. "Factions in the privy council under Elizabeth," Conyers Read, University of Chicago. General discussion: Methods of encouraging investigation.

State and local historical societies. Historical Building. Chairman, Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati I. Report of the secretary, Waldo G. Leland, Carnegic Institution of Washington. II. Report of committee on cooperation between historical societies, by the chairman, Dunbar Rowland, department of archives and history,

Jackson, Miss III. "The building for a local historical society, what should it contain?" (a) "In its library," Clarence S Brigham, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass; (b) "In its auditorium and office rooms," Frank H. Severance, Buffalo Historical Society; (c) "Experiences suggested by the Labrary of Congress, Bernard R Green, Superintendent, Washington, D. C.; (d) General discussion. IV. "The productive work of the hereditary patriotic societies of the colonial period, of the Revolution, and of the War of 1812," Harry Brent Mackoy, Covington, Ky. Discussion: (a) "The hereditary patriotic societies and educational institutions," William Libbey, Princeton University, general secretary of the Sons of the Revolution; (b) "The hereditary patriotic societies and historical organizations," Robert D. W Conner, North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.; (c) Barlow Cumberland, president of the Ontario Historical Society, Port Hope, Ontario; (d) general discussion.

Teachers of history Hemicycle, Albright Art Gallery. Chairman, Edward Carlton Page, Northern Illinois State Normal School I. Introductory statement by the chairman. II. The report of the committee of eight (a) "Ought it to be followed by the elementary schools?" J. Montgomery Gambrill, Baltimore Polytechnic Institute (discussion led by Julia A King, Michigan State Normal College), (b) "If so, how shall the professional schools prepare their pupils to teach in accordance therewith?" Carl E. Pray, Wisconsin State Normal School, Milwaukee (discussion led by Sarah A. Dynes, New Jersey State Normal and Model School), (c) general discussion, to be closed by James A. James, Northwestern University.

- 4 p m.: Annual business meeting of the American Historical Association. Assembly room.
 - 1. Report of the secretary, Waldo G Leland.
 - 2. Report of the secretary of the council, Charles H. Haskins
 - 3. Report of the treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen
 - 4. Report of the auditing committee.
 - 5 Report of the Pacific coast branch.
 - 6. Report of the historical manuscripts commission, Worthington C Ford, chairman
 - 7. Report of the public archives commission, Herman V Ames, chairman
 - 8. Report of the committee on publications, William A. Dunning
- 9. Report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review, George B. Adams.
 - 10. Report of the committee on bibliography, Ernest C. Richardson
- 11. Report of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, Edward P. Cheyney.
- 12 Report of the editor of reprints of Original Narratives of Early American History, J Franklin Jameson
 - 13 Report of the general committee, St. George L. Sioussat, chairman
- 14 Report of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, with announcement of award for 1911, George L Burr, chairman.
 - 15 Report of committee on nominations
 - 16 Election of officers for 1912
- 17. Announcements of appointments to committees for 1912, the secretary of the council. \cdot
- 8 p. m. (Joint session with the American Political Science Association): Spanish America Assembly room. "Relations of England with Spanish America between 1720 and 1740." H. W. V. Temperley, fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge University. "Europe and Spanish America in 1822–1824," W. S. Robertson, University of Illinois. "The difficulties of diplomatic relations with Latin America," Philip M. Brown, recently United States minister to Honduras. "The Latin-American point of view," Henry Gil, National University of La Plata
 - 10 p. m.: Smoker at the Buffalo Club, 388 Delaware Avenue.

Saturday, December 30

9 a. m.: Train from Lehigh Valley Station, due to reach Ithaca about 12 m. (breakfast car).

1 p. m.: Luncheon tendered by Cornell University Sage College.

2.15 p. m.: European history. Room B, Goldwin Smith Hall. "François de Guise and the taking of Calais," Paul van Dyke, Princeton University. "The political theories of Calvinists," Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College. "The numerical decline of dissent in England previous to the industrial revolution," C. E. Fryer, McGill University "Sources for the history of the English cabinet in the eighteenth century," Edward Raymond Turner, University of Michigan "The Napoleonic university," Victor Coffin, University of Wisconsin

4.30 p. m.: Reception by Mr and Mrs. Andrew D. White.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE HOTEL STATLER, IN BUFFALO, N. Y., DECEMBER 29, 1911, AT 4.15 P. M., PRESIDENT W. M. SLOANE IN THE CHAIR.

The report of the secretary, Mr. W. G. Leland, was read and showed a total membership of 2,905 as against 2,925 for 1910.

The following telegram from the Oregon Historical Society was received and read:

"With citizens of this place, the Oregon Historical Society is celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the entrance of Americans into Powder River Valley. This was the overland section of the Astor expedition, led by Wilson Price Hunt. We send you greetings.

"George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary "T. C. Elliott, Director."

The secretary of the council, Prof. C. H Haskins, reported that the council had held three meetings during the past year. The committee on historic sites, of which President Edwin E. Sparks is chairman, had presented a report which it was expected would eventually be published in the annual report and the committee had been The committee on a bibliography of travels had reported to the council in favor of the preparation of a systematic card catalogue of travels, in charge of a general editor, to be carried out under the direction of the committee on bibliography. The committee on the work of European historical societies, Dr. J. F. Jameson, chairman, had reported a list of societies in Great Britain and Europe, which would be printed in the next volume of the annual report. The council, upon considering the report of the committee on the certification of high-school teachers of history, Prof. D. C Munro, chairman, had voted to express its approval of the efforts being made to secure a better preparation on the part of teachers of history in elementary and secondary schools, and had appointed a committee on the preparation of teachers on history in schools to advise with and cooperate with similar committees of local associations of teachers; but it was understood that the committee should have no authority to set up any specific standards of preparation without further action by the council.

The secretary of the council then offered on behalf of the council the following votes, which were adopted by the association:

Voted: That the American Historical Association ought to participate in the publication of the History Teachers' Magazine.

Voted: That the association will appropriate \$600 annually for this purpose upon the following conditions: (1) That an annual guaranty fund of \$600 be raised; (2) that the price of general subscription for the magazine be \$2 a year; (3) that the magazine be offered to members of the American Historical Association at \$1 a year; (4) that local and regional associations of history teachers be requested to make

the same arrangement concerning the price to their members; (5) that a committee of the American Historical Association be appointed to undertake the raising of the guaranty fund; (6) that if this plan of reviving the magazine is successful the association will undertake the appointment of an advisory committee to represent the association in the publication of the magazine.

Voted: That the association will continue this arrangement for a period of three years if the plan is successful.

Voted. (1) That the council appoint for the History Teacher's Magazine an advisory board to have charge of the expenditure of all moneys voted by the association to this magazine or raised for it by the association through a guaranty fund, and to have general control of the editorial policy of the magazine. (2) That the board be, for the coming year, composed of the following persons: Henry Johnson (chairman), F. M. Fling, Miss Blanche Hazard, George C Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat, James Sullivan, and that at the end of each calendar year two members give place to two others to be elected by the council at its annual meeting, determination being at once made by lot as to which members of the original board shall serve for three years, for two years, and for one year, respectively. (3) That this board at once arrange, by correspondence between its members, the details of the relationship between the association and the History Teacher's Magazine in accordance with the previous votes of the council. (4) That the editors of the American Historical Review, after consultation with the chairman of the advisory board, report at the next meeting of the council as to the relations between the province of the American Historical Review and that of the History Teacher's Magazine, it being understood that in the meantime the province of each journal remains as heretofore. (5) That these provisions go into effect for the coming three years upon receipt by the council of Mr. McKinley's acceptance of the position of editor for that period under these terms.

Continuing his report, the secretary of the council stated that the council recommended that the meeting for 1912 be held in Boston and Cambridge, and the meeting of 1913 be held in Charleston, with arrangements for a special train and certain stops on the way

It was moved and voted that the meeting of 1912 be held in Boston and Cambridge.

It was moved and voted that the meeting of 1913 be held in Charleston.

It was moved and voted that the report of the secretary of the council be adopted. The report of the treasurer, Dr Clarence W. Bowen, showed the total receipts of the year to have been \$15,981.83; the total expenditures \$12,731 40, leaving a cash balance on hand of \$3,250 43; the total assets of the association \$28,439.32, an increase during the year of \$921 43. The audit committee, Henry W Hill and J. N. Adam, reported that it had examined the report made by the Audit Co. of New York on the report of the treasurer of the American Historical Association and found that the latter had been duly certified to by the said Audit Co.

The report of the Pacific coast branch was presented by Prof. H. E. Bolton. It was moved and voted that the report be accepted, and that the greetings of the association be extended to the branch.

Brief reports were presented by the historical manuscripts commission, Mr. W. C. Ford, chairman, and by the public archives commission, Prof. H. V Ames, chairman.

On behalf of the public archives commission and the council Prof. C H. Haskins presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association has seen with satisfaction the introduction in the House of Representatives, by the Hon. Morris Sheppard, chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, of a bill (H. R. 11850) intended to take the preliminary steps to the establishment of a central depository for the national archives and urges upon Congress the passage of this or some other bill having the same object in view.

That the secretary of the association is instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the Senate and House

Reports were received from the committee on publications, Prof. W. A. Dunning, chairman; the board of editors of the American Historical Review, Dr J. F Jameson reporting in the absence of Prof. G B Adams; the committee on bibliography, Prof. E. C Richardson, chairman; the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, Prof. E. P. Cheyney, chairman, Dr J. F Jameson as editor of the series of Original Narratives of Early American History, and the general committee, Prof. F. L. Paxson reporting in the absence of the chairman, Prof. St. George L. Sioussat The above-mentioned reports were all adopted.

For the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, Prof George L. Burr, chairman, announced that the committee had awarded the prize to Miss Louise F. Brown for her essay entitled "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

The committee on nominations, Profs Max Farrand, Frederic L. Paxson, and Herbert E. Bolton, presented the following nominations for officers and members of the council for the year 1912:

President—Theodore Roosevelt.

First Vice President—William A Dunning.

Second Vice President-Andrew C McLaughlin.

Secretary-Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer-Clarence W. Bowen.

Secretary of the council-Charles H. Haskins.

Curator-A Howard Clark.

Members of council—Reelected Franklin L. Riley, Edwin E. Sparks, Fred M. Fling, and James A. Woodburn. New: Herman V. Ames, and Dana C. Munro.

It was voted that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the association for the persons thus nominated, which was done, and they were declared elected

The secretary of the council then announced the budget and committee appointments for the year 1912, which will be found in the minutes of the council, attached hereto.

The meeting adjourned at 5.30 p. m.

W. G. LELAND, Secretary.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The total membership of the association at the present date is 2,905 as compared with 2,925 on December 21, 1910 Of this number 2,818 are in the United States, and 87 in foreign countries. The membership is composed of 2,718 persons and 187 institutions. There are 119 life members. The number of new members received during the year is 208, the loss, 228; by death, 29; by resignation, 129; dropped, 70. The number of members whose dues were not paid on December 15, was 378.

The publications distributed to members during the past year have been the second volume of the annual report for 1908, being the concluding part of the Texan diplomatic correspondence, edited by the late Prof. Garrison; the annual report for 1909, in which was included the annual bibliography of "Writings on American History," heretofore published by Macmillan; and the Handbook. In the latest edition of the Handbook the effort has been made to indicate the professional positions and titles of members, as well as the respective fields of historical work in which their principal interests lie.

On account of the growth of the association in recent years, the 2,000 copies of the annual report allotted to it by law are insufficient to supply all the members, unless extra copies are purchased by the association from the Government Printing Office. The committee on publications has therefore been obliged to ask that all members who desire to receive the reports shall notify the secretary to that effect before the publication of the respective volumes.

During the past year the association has been represented at the celebration at Rouen of the one thousandth anniversary of the settling of Normandy, by Messrs. Haskins and Leland; at the celebration at St. Dié of the four hundredth anniversary of the naming of America, by Monsieur H. Vignaud; at the dedication of the new building of the New Hampshire Historical Society, by Mr. Worthington C. Ford; at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Tippecanoe, by Prof. Woodburn; and at the inauguration of the president of the University of Minnesota, by Prof. D. C. Munro

Respectfully submitted

W. G. LELAND, Secretary.

BUFFALO, December 29, 1911.

REPORT OF CLARENCE W. BOWEN, TREASURER.

4544	RECEIPTS.		
1910. Dec 19. 1911.	Balance cash on hand	•••••	\$4,741.64
Dec. 18.	Receipts as follows:		
	2,5693 annual dues, at \$3	\$7,709 00	
	1 annual dues	2.99	
	1 annual dues	3 02	
	7 annual dues, at \$3.05.	21.35	
	23 annual dues, at \$3 10	71.30	
	3 annual dues, at \$3.15.	9.45	
	4 life memberships, at \$50	200.00	
	Sales of publications	532.00	
	Royalties	133.41	
	Interest on bond and mortgage	850.00	
	Dividends on bank stock	200.00	
	Sales of waste paper	7.67	
	Loan, National Park Bank	1,500 00	11, 240, 19
		-	15, 981, 83
	DISBURSEMENTS.		20,002.00
1911.			
Dec. 18	Treasurer's clerk hire, vouchers 16, 67, 70, 124, 136, 142	\$388.00	
	Secretary's clerk hire, vouchers 17, 46, 52, 56, 58, 65, 74, 75, 88, 100, 109, 116,		
	127, 140, 141, 154, 156. Postage and stationery, treasurer and secretary, vouchers 13, 18, 24, 25, 31,	797.40	
	44, 47, 54, 55, 63, 66, 69, 76, 86, 89, 98, 99, 104, 105, 107, 108, 111, 115, 119, 128,	020 OF	
	130, 133, 137, 145, 147, 155, 158, 161	378.07	
		70 54	
	Pacific coast branch, vouchers 79, 80	26.73	
	American Historical Review, vouchers 38, 43, 49, 60, 71, 72, 82, 96, 113, 121, 146.	•	
	Public archives commission, vouchers 30, 33, 42, 51, 85, 131, 151, 172, 178, 179.	370.55	
	Historical manuscripts commission, voucher 68.	30.00	
	Committee on the Justin Winsor prize, voucher 22.	200.00	
	Commuttee on bibliography, voucher 103.	50.00	
	Committee on a bibliography of American travels, voucher 153	15.00	
	Committee on a hibliography of modern English history, vouchers 6, 41, 125.	56.50	
	Committee on the certification of teachers, vouchers 134, 135, 160, 163, 164	28, 93	
	Committee of five on the teaching of history in secondary schools, voucher 50.	5.00	
	Committee on historical sites, vouchers 7, 8, 9, 10	49.05	
	ers 62, 81	150.00	
	Committee on writings on American history, voucher 39	200.00	
	Conference of historical societies, voucher 169	15.75	

General committee, vouchers 11, 12, 15, 93, 168, 181	\$200.19	
Publication committee, youchers 28, 29, 35, 117	32.74	
Annual report for 1908, vouchers 90, 91, 94, 102, 122, 123, 139	129 35	
Annual report, 1909, vouchers 106, 138, 182	52 40	
Handbook, 1911, vouchers 26, 57, 61, 97, 118	494.43	
Executive council, expenses, vouchers 5, 27, 152, 162, 165, 166, 167, 170, 171,		
173, 174, 180.	321 52	
Editorial work, vouchers 19, 48, 53, 64, 73, 87, 101, 112, 114, 129, 144, 157	300 00	
Furnishing secretary's office, voucher 78	2 80	
Expenses twenty-sixth annual meeting, vouchers 1, 2, 3, 20, 21, 36, 37	116, 15	
Expenses twenty-seventh annual meeting, voucher 159	1.70	
Bank stock, youcher 32	2.160 00	
Collection charges, vouchers 59, 92, 110, 132, 175, 183		
Miscellaneous expenses, vouchers 14, 23, 45, 77, 95, 120, 143	1,545,40	
-		\$12,731.40
Balance cash on hand in National Park Bank		3, 250 43
	-	TE 001 00
	-	15, 981. 83
Net receipts 1911		9,740 19
Net disbursements 1911		11, 231.40
Excess of disbursements over receipts	-	1 401 01
The assets of the association are:	••••	1, 491. 21
	20,000.00	
Accrued interest from Sept 29, 1911, to date	188.89	
	5,000.00	
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 250		
CSS I OII DARG IN MARIOUSE I SEEK DARK		28, 439. 32
	-	
An increase during the year of		921.43

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Treasurer

NEW YORK, December 18, 1911.

BUFFALO, N. Y., December 29, 1911.

We, the undersigned members of the committee of audit, appointed by the president of the American Historical Association respectfully certify that we have examined the report on the American Historical Association's accounts made by the Audit Co. of New York and find that such report, dated December 22, 1911 was duly made and certified by said Audit Co.

Respectfully,

HENRY W. HILL. J. N. Adam.

Committee.

REPORT OF THE AUDIT CO. OF NEW YORK

CLARENCE W. BOWEN Esq.,

Treasurer American Historical Association, 130 Fulton Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR Agreeably to your request, we have examined the cash records of the American Historical Association for the year ending December 16, 1911.

The results of this examination are presented, attached hereto, in an Exhibit termed: "Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the year ending December 16, 1911."

We found that all receipts, as shown by the cashbook, had been deposited. Items of disbursement were compared with receipted vouchers.

A mortgage for \$20,000 drawn to the American Historical Association, on property situated at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City, was on hand together with the bond and property deeds and an extension agreement, extending the mortgage for five years to March 29, 1914. Two certificates of stock of the American Exchange National Bank, aggregating 20 shares, were also shown us

Very truly yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

A. W. DUNNING, President.

G. H. Bowers, Secretary.

Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the year ending December 16, 1911.

RECEIPTS	
Dues: 2569§ at \$3	^
23 at \$3 10	-
8 at \$3.15. 9 4	_
1 at \$3 02	
1 at \$2 99	
1 30 42 33	,
7 017 1	-
7,817.1 Lufe memberships	
Die memberamps 200.0	- \$ 8,017.11
Royalties	
Sale of publications	
Interest on bond and mortgage of \$20,000: One year at 41 per cent to Sept. 29, 1911	
Dividend of 20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock.	
Sale of waste paper	
Loan, National Park Bank.	
Balance on hand Dec. 17, 1910, as per our statement dated Dec 22, 1910.	
Datable of hard 200. 11, 1010, as per our statement dated 200 22, 1010	1,711.01
	15,981.83
	10,001.00
DISBURSEMENTS	
Treasurer's clerks' have for year	388.00
Secretary's clerks' hire for year	
Secretary of the council expense.	
Twenty-sixth annual meeting.	
Twenty-seventh annual meeting	
American Historical Review	
Pacific coast branch expense.	
Annual report, 1908.	
Annual report, 1909	
Handbook, 1911	494. 43
Postage and stationery, treasurer and secretary	378-07
Bank collection and exchange	11.20
Editorial services	
Furnishing secretary's office	2.80
Conference of State and local historical societies	
Bank stock	
Loan, National Park Bank	1,500.00
Miscellaneous expenses	45.40
Committee expenses:	
Executive council	
Public archives commission	
Historical manuscripts commission	
Justin Winsor prize committee	
Committee on bibliography 50.00	
Publication committee 32.74	
Committee on bibliography of modern English history	
Committee on bibliography of American travels	
Committee on the certification of teachers. 28.93	
Committee of 5 on the teaching of history in secondary schools. 5.00	
Committee on historical sites. 49.05	
Committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association 150.00	
Committee on writings on American history 200.00	
Agreement of the second of the second washest and the second of the seco	
Total committee expenses.	1,709.48
Matel dishumanasity for the week	10 701 40
Total disbursements for the year	12, (31.40
Balance, cash in bank, represented by certified check on the National Park Bank of New York, dated Dec. 18, 1911	3, 250. 43

REPORT OF SECRETARY-TREASURER, PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

The most important item in the recent history of the Pacific coast branch has been its affiliation with the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies. As a result, the branch will hereafter hold its annual meeting at the same time and place as the societies composing that organization. The chief reasons for this action are. First, the desirability of greater cooperation among the learned societies of the Pacific coast; second, the possibility of securing sufficient attendance to obtain a lower railroad rate, thus making it easier for persons living at a distance to come to the meetings. As a result the branch now meets in the spring instead of in the fall as heretofore. The first meeting under the new arrangement was held in Berkeloy, March 31 and April 1, 1911. While the attendance was not as great as was hoped, the meeting was nevertheless a good one, and it was felt that the experiment should have at least another trial (The program of the meeting is appended. A more detailed account with synopsis of the papers, has been sent to Secretary Leland, for publication in the annual report of the association.)

The branch has a committee on making libraries available, which is making progress in its efforts to collect and to open to students the historical material of the Pacific coast. There also is a committee on archives, which is endeavoring to secure data concerning the archives of the coast, and to have them cared for more effectively. The membership of the branch is now 246.

The officers of the branch are: President, H. H. Bancroft; vice president, Prof. Rockwell D. Hunt; secretary-treasurer, H. W. Edwards.

Council (in addition to the above officers). Rev. J. M. Gleason, Prof. B I. McCormac, Nicholas Ricciardi, Prof. P. J. Treat.

The report of the treasurer is appended It covers the expenses of the branch from the meeting of November, 1910 to and including those of the meeting of March-April, 1911. These expenses have already been paid by the treasurer of the association, Mr. Bowen. The expenses incurred since April, 1911, which so far are nominal, will be included in the statement for the meeting of 1912.

Respectfully submitted.

H. W. EDWARDS, Sceretary-Treasurer.

Expense account Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association from Nov. 29, 1910, to Apr. 1, 1911.

By H. W. Edwards:		
300 postal cards.	\$3.00	
225 1-cent envelopes		
100 1-cent envelopes		
50 1-cent envelopes		
Postage and incidentals		
By E. B. Krehbiel:		\$10.63
Telegrams	2.00	
Postage	85	
By Wetzel Bros. Printing Co.:	***************************************	2 35
300 typewritten letters		
1,000 programs		
300 postals (printing only)	8.00	13.75
Total expenses	- 	26.73

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

The historical manuscripts commission has the honor to report the issue (in two parts) of the second volume of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, as prepared by the late Prof. Garrison. These two volumes form a part of the annual report of the association for the year 1908. Thus is completed the most extensive

single undertaking shouldered by the association, a public correspondence in 2,263 pages. The material for a new volume of publications, being Letters of Alexander H. Stephens, Howell Cobb, and Robert Toombs, edited by Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips, a member of the commission, was sent to the secretary of the association last spring, to take advantage of a possible opportunity to print offered by the state of the appropriations. No such opportunity did occur, and the matter must now await the appropriations for the coming fiscal year, July, 1912. The volume is estimated to be one of between 450 and 500 pages.

It will be seen that the activities of the commission are dependent upon the money available for printing. The conditions which produce this situation are inevitable and can not be obviated without seriously affecting other activities of the association. They tend to produce some embarrassment in obtaining material, for holders of manuscripts are unwilling to allow the material to be out of their keeping for any length of time; and experience has shown the desirability, almost the necessity, of reading proof with the original—the best of copyists being liable to err and the best of editors being open to misreadings. The commission believes that the association should be called upon to print only such material as is in private hands, not likely otherwise to be published, and subject to loss. State and other public archives will sooner or later be printed by State agency, and material in many public institutions is at least safely stored, and is becoming each year more accessible to students. But the owners of private collections, inheriting a sense of possession and of secrecy, need some encouragement to permit even the historical portion of their holdings to appear in print. The commission has in view two such collections, but must rest until it sees the volume of southern correspondence under publication

Respectfully submitted.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, Chairman.

DECEMBER 1, 1911.

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION

The public archives commission reports that during the year its efforts to secure reports upon the archives of the States not yet reported upon have met with little encouragement. It is probable that one supplementary report upon the archives of Colorado will be ready for publication. With this exception no state reports can be counted upon.

A brief summary of what has been done in past years in connection with this phase of the commission's activity and a short statement of the present status may be helpful to an understanding of the problem Including the 1910 report, not yet published, 46 different reports upon the archives of 32 States, two cities—New York and Philadelphia—and a brief report on the archives collections of the Philippines have been presented. Of the published reports upon the archives of 32 States, 6 States have been only briefly treated, namely, those of Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Mississippi. In the case, however, of 2 of these, namely, Iowa and Mississippi, State archives departments have been in existence for some years and several reports have been published by these departments. There would seem, therefore, to be no call for our commission to publish extended reports upon the archives of those States, unless possibly to give wider currency to the information already contained in the State publications. The same may be said of West Virginia. Although no report has been published under our auspices, the archives department of that State has already issued two reports in the regular State publications.

There remain 14 States in which no reports have been published; 3 of these lie east of the Mississippi, namely, New Hampshire, Vermont, and South Carolina; 11 west of the Mississippi. Of the latter, the oldest States are Louisiana, Minnesota, and California, the rest being the newer States of the Far West, or Rocky Mountain district.

There remain some 10 States that have either not been reported adequately or have not been reported at all from which it is desirable that reports should be received. Efforts have been made in all of these States to this end, and in most of them promises of cooperation have been secured from individuals, which up to the present time have not been fulfilled. Only in the case of California is there promise of the completion of such a report within the coming year.

The situation, therefore, has been reached which was foreseen, namely, that the time would come when the commission for the present would have accomplished all that could be reasonably expected in the line of securing reports upon State archives, and that its activities in the future must necessarily be directed to other phases of archival work

A brief summary of what has been accomplished in other directions may be fitting. First, in the line of publication. Under this head may be mentioned a report upon the legislation of States and Territories relative to the custody and supervision of public records; a résumé of the archives situation in 1907; a bibliography of the published archives of the 13 original States in 1789; a list of the journals and acts of the councils and assemblies of the 13 original Colonies, and the Floridas in America preserved in the record office. As announced last year, the commission plan to supplement this material by the publication of further lists. The initial work upon the first of those under way—namely, the preparation of the list of governors' commissions and instructions—is rapidly approaching completion, and it will probably be possible to include the same in the report for 1911. The second list—namely, that of the reports and representations of the board of trade to the King in council, Parliament, secretary of state, and other departments—is also nearly finished; but as this list is much longer than the first, and will involve more difficulties in the work of editing, it will not be ready for publication for at least another year.

Another important function of the commission, which has engaged its attention from the very first, has been an effort to foster and develop public opinion in regard to the importance of the preservation and custody of public archives. To further this movement and disseminate information in regard to the administration of archives the conference of archivists, which was begun in connection with the annual session of the association two years ago, will be continued at the Buffalo meeting The program has been arranged as already announced.

The continuance of the policy of the publication of material similar to that already printed in our previous reports, and the holding of the annual conference of archivists, together with cooperation with other organizations, such as the committee of public archives of the National Association of State Librarians for the promotion of State legislation for the care of archives, would seem to be the line of activity which the commission may in future most successfully follow.

Respectfully submitted.

HERMAN V. AMES, Chairman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 29, 1911.

The correspondence of this committee for the past year shows that the amount of good bibliographical work, especially in local historical bibliography, which might be done under the auspices of the association is limited only by the ability to publish this work. Every year promising work falls to the ground for lack of means of publication.

Nevertheless, a very considerable amount of bibliographical work is now being carried on by or for the association. Besides that conducted by the general committee and the "Writings on American History" edited by Miss Griffin, there is in process a bibliography of the Tudor period by the committee of which Prof. Cheyney is chair-

man, a bibliography of American travels by the committee of which Prof. Farrand is chairman, and a bibliography of the publications of European historical societies by the committee of which Prof. Jameson is chairman. Each of these enterprises has a representative on the general committee.

The chief task of the general committee for the past two years has been a cooperative check list of collections relating to European history in American libraries, and it is gratifying to be able to report that the task has been brought to a successful conclusion—so far as such work can ever be said to be concluded, that is to say, returns to date have been digested, and copy for a provisional edition is ready for the printer.

This check list contains the titles of 2,197 collections on European history, comprising about 25,000 volumes. It was sent out to 305 libraries It is most gratifying to report that promise of cooperation has been received from all the libraries deemed vital to success, and that returns have been received in time for this provisional edition from all but 5 such libraries, while there is good chance that returns from even these will be received in time for insertion in final proof before printing this edition.

The digested returns have significant figures as to American resources for research work in history: As to numbers, geographical distribution, deficiencies, and duplications.

The 305 check lists sent out were distributed as follows: Eastern section, 86; Middle, 77; South Atlantic, 24; South Central, 11; North Central, 83; Western, 24. All these libraries contain over 30,000 volumes each, and the divisions follow the lines of the United States census, save that the North Atlantic States are divided into Eastern and Middle sections and adjacent Canadian libraries are put in the corresponding divisions.

Answers were received from 162 libraries, of which 83 libraries sent check lists, as follows. Eastern section, 22; Middle, 26; South Atlantic, 6; North Atlantic, 22; Western, 7. The South Central section did not report any copies.

Eighty-three libraries are thus represented in the edition as prepared. Of these only 1, Harvard, has as many as half the collections, 16 have less than 5 sets each, 26 have less than one-half of 1 per cent, 33 less than 1 per cent, 56 less than 2 per cent, 64 less than 5 per cent, 74 less than 10 per cent, leaving thus only 9 libraries of the 83 with more than 10 per cent, or 220 out of the 2,200 collections. These 9 will, however, undoubtedly be increased to 12 when returns are received from the University of Pennsylvania, the Newberry, and the University of California, which may be roughly estimated as having 300 each. The 9 from which we have exact returns are: Harvard, 1,267; Library of Congress, 971; New York Public Library, 864; Columbia, 771; Cornell, 628; Yale, 607; Boston Public, 528, Princeton, 294 (or if the theological seminary is included, 406); Illinois, 229. Following the first 12 come Syracuse, 218; Chicago University, 205; Hartford Theological Seminary, 197; Toronto, 195; Brown, 153; Michigan, 149; McGill University and the Chicago Public Library may be roughly estimated at 200 and 150, respectively. 1

Altogether 1,884 collections are to be found in one or another of these 83 libraries; 437 can be found each in only 1 library, 328 in 2 libraries, 232 in 3, 200 in 4, 153 in 5, and 90 in 6; 381 works are to be found each in from 7 to 20 libraries, 39 in from 20 to 40 libraries, and 4 in 40 or more libraries, 1 being in 43, 1 in 47, 1 in 51, and 1 in 61 libraries.

In the matter of quantity, thus it appears that on an average the libraries reporting contain about 1 in 20 of the sets, but excluding the 9 or 12 largest, the remaining larger libraries of this country contain, each, but 1 in 50. The smallest deficiency of any library is 930 out of 2,197 sets and 313 sets are not found in any library.

It is clear from this situation that no library is self-sufficient—even Harvard lacking 930 sets and all but 12 lacking on the average 2,153 out of 2,197 works. Even as good

colleges as Amherst and Williams, having but 26 and 17, respectively, lack 2,171 and 2,180, respectively, out of 2,197, while probably 700 of the 786 institutions doing work of college grade in the United States are worse off than these.

On the other hand, however, it is equally clear that these libraries are by way of being able to do a good deal to help one another. Altogether these libraries supply 1,884 sets. Even Harvard can thus find 617 of her 930 lacking sets somewhere in America. Harvard is thus by way of lending 1,267 sets and borrowing 617 sets, the Library of Congress of lending 917 and borrowing 913, and all others need to borrow more than they can lend. This fact has laid a pretty heavy burden on Harvard in the past, but with the use of such lists as this she should in the future be able to put off much of the burden on smaller libraries

The use of books in other than the local library is, however, handicapped on the one hand by the fact that some books can not be loaned out at all and their use therefore involves travel expenses, while on the other hand, the time and money expense of sending by express is often a serious item. This makes the matter of the geographical location of copies one of primary concern. In the edition as prepared, therefore, the indications of location are arranged in six geographical groups as already used in this report.

Following this grouping, the 83 libraries, 1,884 works, and 9,457 copies (of which 8,051* are complete, 611† more than half complete, and 795‡ less than half complete) prove to be distributed as follows. Eastern section, 22 libraries, 1,556 works, 3,249 copies (2,871*, 179†, 199‡); Middle, 26 libraries, 1,334 works, 3,599 copies (2,947*, 299†, 353‡); South Atlantic, 6 libraries, 990 works, 1,061 copies (946*, 58†, 57‡); North Central, 22 libraries, 544 works, 1,317 copies (1,105*, 64†, 148‡); Western, 7 libraries, 200 works, 231 copies (182*, 11†, 38‡).

Adding to these the estimates for the 5 other libraries gives in round numbers a total of 10,700 copies in 88 libraries, distributed: Eastern section, 22 libraries, 3,250 copies; Middle, 28 libraries, 4,100 copies; South Atlantic, 6 libraries, 1,060 copies; North Central, 24 libraries, 1,750 copies; Western, 8 libraries, 540 copies.

Analyzing a little more closely it appears that 267 works can be found in New England only, 126 in the Middle States only, 90 in the South Atlantic section only, 6 in the North Central only, and 1 in the Western only. New England must draw on other sections for 221 works and all other sections draw on it for 267.

On the other hand, however, in some cases where there is want in one section there is superfluity in another. New England has for example two or three copies each of 39 works which can not be found in any other section and the Middle States have two to four copies each of 12 works found in no other section. Again, taking the North Atlantic States together, it appears that there are 348 works which can be found in no other section of the country, but of which within this section there are from 2 to 9 copies each; 65 having three copies, 55 four copies, 25 five copies, 11 six copies, and 11 seven copies

This is not the place to point out how some of these sets belong in every library, others in every university library which professes graduate work, and others in not more than six libraries; how returns need to be amended; how defective sets must be taken into consideration; and how various statements should be qualified. Nor is it the place to point out in detail the significance of the figures. It remains only to state in conclusion with brevity the causes of and conclusions from this list.

The practical problem which caused this list starts from the facts: (1) that no American library contains all the sets which may be needed by any historical worker in his work, (2) that the cooperation between libraries in the matter of interlibrary loan is seriously limited by lack of knowledge as to where copies are located, (3) that the desultory attempt of individual libraries to supply lacks by purchase results in

waste from unnecessary duplication and competition for copies, (4) that the geographical distribution of present books is bad.

The conclusions from the figures are: (1) that the grounds were amply justified, and that a list in fact helps on each count, (2) that it is neither to be expected or desired that every working library should contain every set, (3) that efficiency and economy require that the cooperative finding-list method should be extended to all works which are not to be found in practically every library of 50,000 volumes, (4) that full solution of the problem requires at least one lending copy of each work in each geographical section and very great reduction in the cost of transportation.

It has long been a mystery to librarians that the business men who are their trustees, while urging "efficiency methods" have not waked up to the possibilities of this simple method of the joint list which implies some of the commonest factors of business economy Expensive as the method would be, if fully applied, its savings would be much greater, and if the users of historical books will cooperate with librarians, in the face of such figures as the above, in keeping the practicality of the method before those who determine expenditure, it may not be very long before the joint-list method is extended to its full practical limits.

For the committee,

E. C. RICHARDSON, Chairman.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL EDITOR OF THE "ORIGINAL NARRATIVES OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY."

During the past year only one volume in this series has been published. This was the volume entitled "Narratives of Early Carolina," edited by Mr. Alexander S. Salley, jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, and published in the spring. The volume embraces narratives relating to both North Carolina and South Carolina and extends to 1708.

Another volume, "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware," edited by Mr. Albert Cook Myers, was expected to be issued in the autumn. It has, however, been so much delayed, through no fault of the general editor, that while all proofs have passed and the book is perhaps already printed, it could not be published before Christmas and therefore will not be published until February. This volume embraces translations of the leading Dutch and Swedish narratives for the period before 1664, some of them being pieces never before presented in English print, and one entirely novel It includes the earlier English tracts respecting the foundation and early days of Pennsylvania It also includes a translation of Pastorius's "Circumstantial geographical account of Pennsylvania," the leading narrative from the point of view of the first German emigrants, of which only a small part has ever before appeared in English. This volume comes to an end with the year 1707. It will be the thirteenth of the series. The fourteenth, of which the manuscript is nearly complete, will be the translation from the Dutch of the "Journal of the Voyage of Dankers and Sluyter, Agents of the Labadist Community," who visited the Middle States and Boston in 1679 and 1680 with a view to finding a place for a colony. It has been edited by Rev. B. B. James, of Baltimore, author of "The Labadist Colony in Maryland."

Respectfully submitted,

J. F. JAMESON, General Editor.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE METROPOLITAN CLUB, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 1, 1911.

The council met at 10 a. m. with President Sloane in the chair. Present: Messrs. Dunning, Leland, Bowen, McMaster, Jameson, Adams, Hart, Turner, Greene, Hull, Riley, Fling, Woodburn, and the secretary.

The secretary of the association presented his report, showing that the total membership November 27, 1911, was 2,891 as against 2,835 on November 15, 1910.

The secretary of the council also reported briefly.

The treasurer presented the following report.

Cash on hand December 20, 1910	
Disbursements	14,214.18 10,689 45
Balance on hand December 1, 1911	3,524.73
assets, december 1, 1911.	
Cash on hand	20,000 00 141 67
Assets at last annual report, December 19, 1910.	28,666 40 27,517 89
An increase during the year of	1,148 51
CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Ty	easurer.

New York, December 1, 1911.

It was voted to authorize the treasurer to purchase 9 shares of stock in the American Exchange National Bank, making in all 20 shares

Reports were received from the following standing committees. The historical manuscripts commission, the public archives commission, the committee on the Justin Winsor prize, the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, the committee on bibliography, the committee on publications, the general committee, the editor of the reprints of "Original narratives of early American history," the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, the committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association, and the committee on the Year-book of History and Political and Economic Science.

The editors of the American Historical Review, to whom as a committee was referred the question of the relation of the association to the History Teacher's Magazine, reported a plan for carrying on this magazine which, with certain modifications, was adopted as follows:

Voted.—That the American Historical Association ought to participate in the publication of the History Teacher's Magazine.

Voted. That the association will appropriate \$600 annually for this purpose upon the following conditions: (1) That an annual guarantee fund of \$600 be raised; (2) that the price of general subscription for the magazine be \$2 a year; (3) that the magazine be offered to members of the American Historical Association at \$1 a year; (4) that local and regional associations of history teachers be requested to make the same arrangement concerning the price to their members; (5) that a committee of the American Historical Association be appointed to undertake the raising of the guarantee fund; (6) that if this plan of reviving the magazine is successful, the association will undertake the appointment of an advisory committee to represent the association in the publication of the magazine.

Voted. That the association will continue this arrangement for a period of three years if the plan is successful.

As the committee on raising the guarantee fund, the president appointed Messrs. St. G. L. Sioussat (chairman), J. F. Jameson (treasurer), F. M. Fling, H. D. Foster, Henry Johnson, and A. H. Sanford.

The following appropriations were provisionally voted for the year 1912:

Historical manuscripts commission.	\$300
Public archives commission	300
Committee on the Justin Winsor prize:	
For the prize	200
For incidental expenses	25
Committee on bibliography:	
General appropriation.	100
Special appropriation for the bibliography of American travels	50
General committee	200
	1 250
	2 500
Committee on the work of European historical societies	10
Bibliography of writings on American history	200

It was voted to reimburse the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize for expenses in forwarding essays, etc., not to exceed \$10.

It was voted to instruct the treasurer to keep as a separate fund the balances of the three annual appropriations of \$250 for the bibliography of modern English history, together with any subscriptions for this undertaking which the committee may receive.

Under the order of reports of special committees Mr. Sparks reported for the committee on historical sites and buildings, and upon motion the report of the committee was accepted and the committee discharged, subject to turning over to the secretary of the association, with a view to publication, the material which it had collected.

Upon Mr. Farrand's report for the committee on the proposed bibliography of American travels, it was voted to accept the committee's plan of appointing an editor with a small annual appropriation and to place his work under the direction of the committee on bibliography.

Mr. Jameson reported for the committee on the work of European historical societies, and Mr. Hull for the committee on program for the Buffalo meeting.

A report was also received from Mr. Munro on behalf of the committee on the certification of high-school teachers of history, but no action was taken upon the report.

For the meeting of 1912, the secretary of the council reported that invitations had been received from Boston and Cambridge and from Minneapolis, and after discussion it was voted to accept the invitation of Boston and Cambridge.

Upon Mr. Jameson's report concerning the status of the plans for a national archive building, the council voted to affix the signatures of its members to a memorial on behalf of such a building. It was further voted to instruct the committee to continue to urge the subject upon Congress, and to request a hearing on behalf of the council before the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, when the proposal should reach that stage.

Unfavorable action was taken upon a proposal to appoint a committee of one to confer with similar committees from the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association with reference to raising the dues of the three associations. The council likewise declined a proposal to publish a translation of Bernheim's Lehrbuch der historischen Methode under conditions similar to the prize essays.

It was voted to appoint a committee to consider in consultation with the president appointments to the various commissions and committees for 1912, and to report at the Buffalo meeting. Messrs. Greene, Leland, and Haskins were appointed.

It was voted that the council meet next December 27 at 3 p. m. at the Hotel Statler in Buffalo.

Having sat and continued its discussion through luncheon, the council adjourned at 3.30 p. m.

¹ And the unexpended balances of 1910 and 1911.

The annual dinner of the council was held Friday, December 1, at the Metropolitan Club, where the members of the council, chairmen of committees and commissions, and editors of the American Historical Review were the guests of President Sloane and ex-President Rhodes. There was no formal discussion of business, but brief remarks were made by Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Seth Low, who was present as a guest, and Mr. Charles Francis Adams

CHARLES H. HASKINS, Secretary of the Council.

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE HOTEL STATLER, BUFFALO, DECEMBER 27, 29, AND 30, 1911.

The council met at 3 p. m, December 27, with President Sloane in the chair. Present. Messrs. Baldwin, Bowen, Dunning, Hart, Hull, Jameson, Leland, Turner, Woodburn, and the secretary.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and approved

After consideration of the report of the committee on the certification of high school teachers of history the council voted (1) to express its approval of the efforts which are being made to secure a better preparation on the part of teachers of history in elementary and secondary schools; (2) to appoint a committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools to advise with and cooperate with similar committees of local associations of teachers; (3) to appropriate \$50 for the expenses of this committee during the coming year

It was further voted that the committee should have no authority to set up any specific standards of preparation without further action by the council.

Whereupon the committee on the certification of teachers was discharged and its report accepted

Upon a report from Mr Jameson that \$350 had already been subscribed toward the guaranty fund for the continuance of the History Teacher's Magazine, it was voted that the council feels sufficiently assured of the raising of this guaranty fund to justify proceeding with the arrangements with Mr. McKinley for the continuance of the magazine.

The appropriations provisionally voted December 2 were, with additional items, finally voted as follows for the year 1912:

Historical manuscripts commission.	
Committee on the Justin Winsor prize:	
For the prize-	200
For meidental expenses	. 25
Committee on bibliography:	
General appropriation	100
For the Bibliography of American Travels	. 50
General committee.	
Committee on a bibliography of modern English history	
Committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association	
Committee on the work of European historical societies	
Bibliography of Writings on American History	
For indexing the annual report.	50
For the editorial duties of the secretary	300
History Teacher's Magazine.	
Committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools.	
Committee for furthering the effort to secure a national archive building	25
C	

An invitation having been received from the Chamber of Commerce in Charleston, S. C., to hold the meeting of 1913 in Charleston, the council voted to recommend to the association that this invitation be accepted with the understanding that special trains be arranged with stops and possible sessions on the way.

Adjourned at 5.30 p m

And the unexpended balances of 1910 and 1911. And the unexpended balance of 1911.

The council met at 3 30 p. m., December 29, with President Sloane in the chair. Present: Messrs Dunning, Hull, Leland, Turner, Woodburn, and the secretary.

The board of editors of the American Historical Review made a further report with reference to the History Teacher's Magazine which, with verbal amendments, was adopted as follows (1) That the council appoint for the History Teacher's Magazine an advisory board to have charge of the expenditure of all moneys voted by the association to this magazine or raised for it by the association through a guaranty fund, and to have general control of the editorial policy of the magazine; (2) that the board be, for the coming year, composed of the following persons. Henry Johnson (chairman), F. M Fling, Miss Blanche Hazard, George C Sellery, St George L. Sioussat, and James Sullivan, and that at the end of each calendar year two members give place to two others to be elected by the council at its annual meeting, determination being at once made by lot as to which members of the original board shall serve for three years, for two years, and for one year, respectively; (3) that this board at once arrange, by correspondence between its members, the details of the relationship between the association and the History Teacher's Magazine in accordance with the previous votes of the council; (4) that the editors of the American Historical Review, after consultation with the chairman of the advisory board, report at the next meeting of the council as to the relations between the province of the American Historical Review and that of the History Teacher's Magazine, it being understood that in the meantime the province of each journal remains as heretofore; (5) that these provisions go into effect for the coming three years upon the receipt by the council of Mr. McKinley's acceptance of the position of editor for that period under these terms.

The report of the council's committee on appointments, which had already been considered at the meeting of December 27, was then adopted with certain modifications, and the following appointments were made for the committees and commissions of the association for the year 1912

Editors of the American Historical Review —George B. Adams, J. Franklin Jameson, Frederick J. Turner, Andrew McLaughlin (these four to hold over); George L. Burr, elected to serve for six years from January 1, 1912; James Harvey Robinson, elected to serve for three years from January 1, 1912, in place of William M. Sloane, resigned.

Historical Manuscripts Commission — Worthington C. Ford, Herbert D. Foster, Ulrich B. Phillips, F. G. Young, C. W Alvord, Julian P. Bretz.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize—Claude H. Van Tyne, Carl Becker, Francis A. Christie, William MacDonald, J. G. de R. Hamilton

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—George L. Burr, Guy S. Ford, Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen, A. B. White.

Public archives commission.—Herman V. Ames, Charles M. Andrews, Victor H. Paltsits, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Jonas Viles, Eugene C. Barker

Committee on bibliography.—Ernest C. Richardson, W. Dawson Johnston, George Parker Winship, F. J. Teggart, C. S Brigham.

Committee on publications.—William A. Dunning, Herman V. Ames, Waldo G. Leland, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Worthington C. Ford, Ernest C. Richardson, George L. Burr, C. H. Van Tyne.

General committee.—St George L. Sioussat, Miss Susan M. Kingsbury, F. L. Paxson, W. L. Fleming, C. S. Paine, S. P. Heilman, I. J. Cox, and W. G. Leland and H. W. Edwards, ex officio.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Edward P. Cheyney, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools.—Dana C. Munro, K. C. Babcock, C. E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, R. A. Maurer.

Program committee.—C. H. Haskins, E. D. Adams, F. M. Anderson, G. S. Ford, S. C. Mitchell, H. B. Wright.

Local committee of arrangements —C. F. Adams, A. C. Coolidge, R. B. Merriman (with power to enlarge its membership).

Chairman of the conference of historic societies.—Waldo Lincoln.

Advisory editors of History Teacher's Magazine.—Henry Johnson (chairman), and Miss Blanche Hazard, to serve three years; F. M. Fling and James Sullivan, to serve two years; George C Sellery and St. George L. Sioussat, to serve one year.

Adjourned at 4.15 p m.

At an informal meeting of the council held en route to Ithaca December 30, Max Farrand was appointed chairman of the committee on publications for the year 1912 in place of William A. Dunning, resigned.

CHARLES H. HASKINS, Secretary of the Council.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BY THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION RESPECTING A NATIONAL ARCHIVE BUILDING.

> AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, December 2, 1911.

Size: The undersigned, members of the executive council of the American Historical Association, beg leave to ask your most earnest attention and that of your committee, in the present session of Congress, to the providing in Washington of an adequate national archive building. The need of such a building has been felt for many years, and many executive officials have in their annual reports recommended legislation looking toward its erection. A committee acting for this body addressed a memorial to Congress upon the subject, which was presented in the Senate last February by Mr. Lodge and in the House by Mr. George P. Lawrence. We understand that, partly by reason of the destruction of archives by fire at Albany last March, renewed interest in the matter arose in Congress this spring and that a bill looking toward the erection of such a building was introduced by you and is now before your committee. We beg leave to express our hearty gratification that this step has been taken.

We quite understand that the main reasons for the erection of such a building are administrative reasons—the utter madequacy of present arrangements, the chance of enormous pecuniary losses in case of an extensive fire in the places now used for storing Government records, the damage which they are suffering from dampness and other causes under present conditions, and the extraordinary inconvenience and waste of time which their mode of storage now inflicts upon all departments of Government business. It is for others to dwell upon these arguments. But we submit that the interests of history involved in the matter, while secondary, are by no means slight and unimportant. On the contrary we believe that those interests are of great value and significance to the Nation, and, as the executive council of a body incorporated by act of Congress to care for "American history and history in America," we beg leave to represent to you in emphatic terms the magnitude of the interests involved.

At the present time the manuscript materials in Washington for historical work, except those in the Library of Congress, are in most cases exposed to all the dangers which environ the mass of administrative papers, and are subject to even greater inconvenience in respect to use by scholars, since there are a multitude of offices in which it is barely possible to find space for official use of the papers, but quite impossible to provide opportunity for investigators. This means that those who are competent and desirous to write the history of our country in accordance with those modern methods which make it instructive to modern minds, are definitely prevented

from doing so by want of access to the most necessary materials, and that meanwhile those materials themselves are constantly in danger of destruction. What is involved in this may be seen by a brief enumeration of some of the more salient portions of the historical treasures now possessed by the Government. No sum of money could duly represent the value to the Nation of the whole body of these materials, and it would be both difficult and unworthy to attempt to set a price for even those individual portions which a single fire might at any time wipe out of existence.

The archives of the Department of State embrace some 3,000 bound volumes of diplomatic papers, of which hardly one-fourth is available in print, 3,500 volumes of consular archives, and more than 2,000 volumes of miscellaneous papers. Our treaties, the correspondence of our Government with other Governments from 1789 down, and great masses of material respecting arbitrations and Federal relations with the States and Territories, are embraced in this collection.

The archives of the Treasury Department, running from the times of Hamilton and Gallatin to the present date, and containing tons of material ranged upon miles of shelving, largely exposed to destruction by fire and otherwise, embrace correspondence of the department with Congress, its committees and members, with successive Presidents and members of Cabinets and with the public, and are the indispensable foundation of all history dealing with our finance, our banks, and our public lands.

The archives of the War Department contain as a matter of course the copious records of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, many Indian conflicts, the Civil War, the Spanish War, and the Philippine insurgent government. Excepting those of the Civil War, but a very small part of this material has ever been utilized for purposes of history. It is not to be forgotten, too, that besides furnishing the basis for military history these archives embrace abundant materials for the whole history of the West, and of all parts of our territory that have ever been under military occupation. Similarly, the extensive archives of the Post Office Department are rich in papers illustrating the development of transportation and the gradual opening up of all the newer portions of the country to settlement.

The Navy Department archives, embracing thousands of volumes, contain correspondence of the department with officers of the old and new Navy from 1798 to the present time, and the logs and other records of that Navy as well as the office papers of the department itself. It has also accumulated from outside sources a great mass of personal papers of naval officers. These archives not only supply the material for naval history, but through the movements and international relation of fleets and squadrons and through the records of the work of exploring expeditions they cast light on the history of many remote and obscure portions of the earth.

How much of value toward a knowledge of the internal development of the United States may be derived from the vast masses of papers in the Indian Office and the Land Office, under the Department of the Interior, and in the materials of past censuses needs no extended statement. But in view of the modern tendency toward the history of economic and social movements this portion of the governmental archives yields to none in respect to historical importance.

Finally, there are the files of the Senate and House of Representatives, rich in materials almost entirely unknown to scholars, illustrating the history of American legislation and of all the objects with which American legislation has been concerned.

In short, these scattered, unorganized, and ill-protected archives contain a greater part of the materials for United States history than is to be found in all other places put together. If the history of the United States is worth studying, and if a national government has any obligation to preserve for posterity the means for studying the national history, the duty of providing for these archives a proper storehouse is one that ought to claim the early attention of Congress. The lesson of our needs in this respect may at any time be powerfully enforced by a calamitous fire; but it would

be a pity to wait for such an enforcement of a lesson already sufficiently plain and cogent. Speaking in the name of all who work in American history, and of all who care for it, we beg leave to request decisive action in the present session of Congress. Very respectfully, yours,

Charles Francis Adams, George Burton Adams, James Burrill Angell, Simeon E. Baldwin, Clarence W. Bowen, A. Howard Clark, William Archibald Dunning, Fred Morrow Fling, Evarts Boutell Greene, Charles Homer Haskins, Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles Henry Hull, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo Gifford Leland, John Bach McMaster, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Franklin Lafayette Riley, James Ford Rhodes, Theodore Roosevelt, James Schouler, William Milligan Sloane, Edwin Erle Sparks, Frederick Jackson Turner, Andrew Dickson White, James Albert Woodburn.

Hon. Morris Sheppard,

Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

BERKELEY, CAL., MARCH 31-APRIL 1, 1911.

By H. W. EDWARDS, Secretary of the Branch.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By H. W. EDWARDS.

The eighth annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of California, Berkeley, March 31 and April 1, 1911. The president of the branch, Prof. Bernard Moses, presided. The sessions began on Friday afternoon, April 1, with a paper by Prof. Richard F. Scholz, of the University of California, entitled "A new interpretation of the edict of Caracalla, with especial reference to the Colonate."

Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of Stanford University, read a paper on "The explorations of Athanacio de Mézières, 1770-1779." stated that after the cession of Louisiana by France to Spain in 1762 the Spanish Government made considerable effort toward exploring the new Province and the border country between it and former This was done for the double purpose of acquiring influence over the Indian tribes and of establishing communication between the principal Louisiana posts and the former outposts of New Mexico and Texas. The chief agents in this work, so far as it concerned the country south of St. Louis, were Anthanacio de Mézières, Pedro Vial, Alexandro Martin, José Mares, Santiago Fernández, and San Francisco Xavier Fragoso. Among the results accomplished before the end of the eighteenth century were the exploration and official description of routes from Santa Fe to San Antonio, Natchitoches, and St. Louis, and the reconncitering and "pacification" of most of the tribes between these points.

For the rest of the men named, the work of de Mézières prepared the way. After the cession of Louisiana one of the first problems of the new frontier with which Spain had to deal was that of bringing to Spanish allegiance such of the "Nations of the North" as had been partisans of the French and enemies of the Spaniards, notably the Comanche, Wichita, and Tonkawa groups lying on both sides of the Red River. These tribes had been hitherto on the outer rim of New Spain, partly on French and partly on Spanish soil, and could be dealt with as external enemies; but now they were in the very heart of Spanish territory, and so long as they were hostile they

formed a complete barrier to communication between the old outposts of New Mexico and Texas and the new outposts of Louisiana. To bring about their allegiance to Spain, use was made of the talents, as Indian agent, of Athanacio de Mézières, a military officer at Natchitoches, who had formerly been in the service of France and had been reappointed to his post by the Spanish Government. principal services of de Mézières for Spain were performed in four expeditions among the tribes in question. In 1770 he went to the Caddodacho village on the Red River, where he met some of the representatives of the formerly hostile tribes and arranged for treaties of peace with them. In 1772 he made a tour among these tribes, a journey which took him through the country of the Hasinai, the Tonkawa, and the Wichita of the upper Brazos, and through the Comanche and Apache country of western Texas. In 1778 he made another expedition over pretty much the same ground, going also to the Taovayas of the Red River. A fourth expedition was made. as far as the Towakoni, in 1779. Besides securing and keeping peace with this large group of tribes during the decade of his operations, the principal value of de Mézières's work is found in the excellent official reports which he made of the country which he traversed and of the people he visited. These records when published will form one of our very best sources for the history of the tribes concerned and for the history of Texas in the later eighteenth century.

The last paper of the afternoon was by Prof. H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, on "The historiography of the French Revolution." This was the paper presented by Prof. Stephens at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Indianapolis in the preceding December.

The annual dinner was on Friday evening. Prof. Moses read his presidential address on "Colonial society in America." Following this, the dinner resolved itself into a gathering in honor of Prof. Moses, the occasion being his retirement, as professor emeritus, from active service in the University of California. Prof. Jessica Peixotto and Prof. George T. Clark spoke appreciatively of Prof. Moses as a teacher and of his services to scholarship in the West. Prof. David P. Barrows paid high tribute to the work of Prof. Moses as a member of the first Philippine Commission.

The Saturday morning session opened with a paper by Prof. Burt Estes Howard, of Stanford University, on "The accession of William II," which presented an interesting account of the circumstances attending the death of Frederick III.

Prof. Frederick J. Teggart, in a paper entitled "The approaches to California," showed the influence of natural conditions on the early emigration to that region.

The concluding paper of the morning was by Prof. Frederick C. Woodward, of Stanford University, on "The legal interpretation of liberty and the fourteenth amendment," an abstract of which is here presented:

Of the fundamental rights of life, liberty, property, and equality which are guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment, that of liberty is the least definite in content. Vague as is our conception of liberty, however, the courts have been called upon from time to time to interpret the guaranty, and a discussion of the extent to which, by a process of inclusion and exclusion, the content of liberty has been ascertained may be of interest.

Almost immediately upon the adoption of the fourteenth amendment the question of its scope was presented to the Federal courts, and inevitably a difference of judicial opinion arose. It was contended that the amendment applied almost exclusively to the status of the negro, but a more liberal view prevailed, and it has become a new Magna Charta. As a result, the guaranty of liberty is vastly more than a guaranty of personal and political freedom; it is a guaranty of all the rights which have been regarded as fundamental "by the traditions of our people and our law."

What are the fundamental rights, in addition to that of personal liberty, that have so far been held to lie within the protection of the guaranty?

- 1. Freedom of religion.—This includes not only the right to express one's own religious beliefs and to observe such religious customs as one chooses, but the right to attack other religious beliefs and practices. One has no right, however, to indulge in practices which violate social duties or endanger the health or good order of the community. The practice of polygamy, therefore, and also the professional practice of Christian Science healing, may be prohibited by law. The reading of the Bible in the public schools, it would seem, is not a violation of religious liberty if pupils are not required to attend and if no public funds are expended to provide for such reading, but there is some conflict of authority on this question.
- 2. Freedom of speech and of the press—Seditious libel is now obsolete, and public sentiment sanctions the widest latitude in the criticism of public affairs and of all departments of the Government, including the judiciary—Even the teaching of the doctrine of anarchism probably can not constitutionally be prohibited. But direct incitement to crime is punishable, of course, and anarchists may be prevented from entering the country. While the criticism of judicial decisions is clearly within the constitutional rights of newspapers, the publication of misleading accounts of a case pending in a court of law, or of matter which is calculated to prejudice the jury or the public as to a pending case, has always been regarded as a contempt of court for which the offender may be summarily punished—It must be conceded, however, that this restriction of the freedom of the press is more rigidly enforced in England than in America. In the Crippen case, for example, two London papers were heavily fined for publishing alleged facts not in evidence.
- 3. Freedom of occupation.—This includes the right to enter upon any vocation one may choose and pursue it without arbitrary or unreasonable hindrance by the State. If a license or test of fitness is necessary for the protection of the public from fraud or crime, or for the preservation of public health or morals, the requirement of such a license or test of fitness is not an abridgment of individual liberty. This clearly justifies the common restrictions upon the practice of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and law, and the licensing of liquor dealers, pawnbrokers, pilots, plumbers, engineers, and others. But there is an increasing tendency to place similar restrictions upon callings which do not so clearly affect public safety, health, or morals. Laws prescribing apprenticeship and examination of barbers and horseshoers are examples. If one has

the right to enter upon any employment he chooses it would seem to follow that he has a right to quit when he pleases, so long as he does not violate his contract. This suggests the question as to the right to strike. While the matter is not entirely clear, it seems probable that laborers have a constitutional right to quit work in a body. It has been held, however, that the prohibition of "picketing" is not a violation of individual liberty, and the coercion of other laborers undoubtedly may be forbidden by law.

4. Freedom of contract.—The so-called labor legislation of recent years has been challenged upon the ground that it violates the constitutional right of the employer to make such contracts with his employees as he may see fit. Such freedom of contract has never been expressly guaranteed, and it can hardly be said to be a right which, like political and religious liberty and freedom of speech and of the press, has been cherished by our people as an integral part of their liberty. Indeed, there is difference of opinion as to whether such a right ought to be recognized at all. In the Lochner case Justice Holmes said. "The fourteenth amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'Social Statics." A constitution is not intended to embody a particular economic theory." But the prevailing opinion in that case was that freedom of contract between employer and employee is guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment. Laws which restrict the right of the employer to employ labor on any terms he chooses are therefore unconstitutional unless, as in the case of 10-hour laws for women and 8-hour laws for mine workers, they may be upheld as provisions for the preservation of the health of the workers

It is hoped that this brief survey has shown that the guaranty of the fourteenth amendment is a very potent instrument for the protection of individual liberty, and has given you a more definite idea of the legal content of that guaranty so far as it has been ascertained.

The topic of discussion at the teachers' session was historical geography. Prof. Don E. Smith, of the University of California, outlined the principal features of the geography of Europe, as they have affected history. The chief points to be noticed are: (1) The location of Europe on the land mass of the globe. The points of connection with Asia (Byzantium) and Africa (Sicily and Spain) are important. (2) Natural divisions of Europe. (3) Salient physiographic features: Mountains, including the great passes, the great plains, rivers, and harbors, the Rhine-Danube frontier. In all this it is necessary to bear in mind the reaction of man upon nature in order to understand the successive works of man in modifying natural features.

Mr. W. J. Cooper, of the Berkeley High School, followed with a practical discussion of methods of teaching historical geography in high schools. A preliminary survey of geography should precede each course in history. This may be conducted in such a way as to put the pupil in an expectant attitude, thus arousing interest. Physical maps should be extensively used, or else the many meanings of such terms as France, Germany, will leave the pupil with a false conception of Europe. Maps made by the pupil should be original, not copied. Pictures illustrate geography and correct the tendency of the children to project their present ideas into the past.

Miss Maude F. Stevens, of the Palo Alto High School, maintained that in order to make history valuable for the future lives of the pupils, we must make it definite and concrete, and for this purpose map work is most effective. Good maps can easily be made by the teacher in any size desired. They should be made simple, each one bringing out one main point.

Mr. Alden H. Abbott, of the San Jose High School, spoke of the use of geography in teaching the history of California. Geographical features exercised a great influence in determining the direction of approach to California. The difficulty of the overland routes explains the use of the Panama and Cape Horn routes.

Prof. H. Morse Stephens urged that every pupil should have an atlas. He would prefer that the textbooks be printed without maps, thus reducing their cost, and that the money saved be invested in a good atlas. Prof. E. D. Adams and others agreed with this view, and also pointed out how inaccurate are many of the maps in our textbooks.

At the business session the secretary reported a steady increase in the membership of the branch. He also reported that the council of the branch, to which had been referred the matter of affiliating with the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies, had voted to cooperate with that organization to the extent of holding its annual meeting at the same time and place as the meeting of the association. This action was due to two main reasons: Desire to cooperate with other societies in advancing the interests of learning in the Pacific States and the belief that the lower railroad rates obtainable under this arrangement would increase the attendance at the meetings and promote a wider interest in the activities of the branch. It was voted that the report of the secretary be accepted.

The auditing committee, consisting of Prof. J. N. Bowman and Mr. W. J. Cooper, reported as follows:

APRIL 1, 1911.

Your auditing committee begs leave to report that it has examined the accounts of the secretary-treasurer, Mr. H. W. Edwards, and has found them correct and in good order.

On motion the report was adopted.

The committee on resolutions, consisting of Prof. E. I. Miller and Mr. Alden H. Abbott, reported as follows:

Your committee appointed to draft resolutions for this association beg leave to submit the following:

- 1. We wish to express our hearty appreciation of the courtesies extended to the branch by the University of California.
- 2. We wish to express our appreciation of the work of the various officers and committees in preparing for this meeting. Also, we wish to express our appreciation of the excellent papers that have been read.

3. We wish to congratulate the Nevada State Historical Society on the success of its campaign for greater support in its important work.

4. The members of this association wish to express their regret that Prof. Moses is about to sever his active connection with the University of California, and their high appreciation of his distinguished services to historical scholarship on the Pacific coast. We further wish him all success in the continuation of his historical work.

On motion the report was adopted.

The committee on nominations, consisting of Prof. E. D. Adams, Miss Maude F. Stevens, and Prof. R. F. Scholz, reported the following nominees:

For president, Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft.

For vice president, Prof. Rockwell D Hunt, University of Southern California.

For secretary-treasurer, Mr. H W. Edwards, Oakland High School.

For the council, in addition to the above officers, Prof. P. J. Treat, Stanford University; Prof. E. I McCormac, University of California; Rev. J. M. Gleason, Palo Alto, Cal.; Mr. Nicholas Ricciardi, Fremont High School, Oakland, Cal.

The report of the committee was adopted, and the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the persons named in the report.

On motion, the selection of the delegate of the branch to the council of the American Historical Association was left to the council of the branch.

The meeting adjourned.

III. THE ARCHIVES OF THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC.

By THEODORE F. JONES, Assistant Professor in New York University.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC.

By THEODORE F. JONES.

The archives of the Venetian Republic now contained at the Frari rank easily among the most important in Europe, and the student who visits them in search of new material, especially for the history of the sixteenth century, will be richly rewarded. It is my hope that the interests of this conference may be served to some degree through an attempt, by one who has used those archives, to explain to those unacquainted with them the great opportunities to be found there.

The importance of the Venetian archives is not due entirely to their size; they are large enough, to be sure—it has been estimated that they contain about 12,000,000 volumes and packages—but the Siennese archives for the sixteenth century are, to outward appearance at least, as full as the Venetian, while their importance to the student is very considerably less. The Venetian archives have, in the first place, the advantage of being admirably arranged and in the best of order. The great fire of 1574 has left lamentable gaps in some places, it is true; but they are, for the sixteenth century, lamentable only and not irreparable. A second and greater cause of their value lies, of course, in the remarkably central position which Venice occupied in Europe geographically, and still, to a certain extent, until 1550, economically. Since the Portuguese had found the way around the Cape, Venice was slowly ceasing to be the market of Europe: but she still remained the bulwark of Christendom against the Turk, a fact which made her the point to which all ramifications of the eastern question led; whether we study, for example, the relations of Francis I with the Porte or of Charles V with the Barbary Corsairs, we must almost inevitably find the connecting link at Venice.

Even more, perhaps, their value comes from the brilliancy of the Venetian diplomatic service. From Venice went forth throughout the sixteenth century a series of ambassadors superior as a body in native genius and in training to that of any other nation, and their correspondence with the home Government, if preserved, must therefore, be of entrancing interest.

From these three causes, then, the fact that Venice was the focal point in all relations between the East and the West, the remarkable order and preservation of the archives, and the fact that the contents of those archives were especially worth preserving, one may perceive how much Venice merits a visit from any student of sixteenth-century history.

To me the archives appealed particularly as a student of the eastern question, and I feel that I can make this paper of most general interest by describing the sources which I found there to be the most practicable, and by hazarding an opinion as to what other investigators may find of most value.

The documents at the Frari are and have long been arranged in three sections called chanceries—the inferior, the ducal, and the secret. For the student of social and economic history the contents of the first two, containing little of direct political importance, would be of much interest. The attention of the political historian will be almost exclusively directed toward the last, the "secret chancery;" for in it were placed almost all the documents concerning the executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments of the State, save in matters of mere ceremonial or petty administrative detail.

The ordinary investigator would turn, then, first of all to the secret archive. But how could he find his way among the huge mass of material there contained? Without a summary understanding of the machinery of the Venetian Republic it would be difficult to explain the arrangement of the secret archive. I must, therefore, premise that the principal executive body in the republic was the so-called *Collegio*, consisting of the Doge, his 6 councillors, 3 judges, and 16 ministers, and that there were two legislative bodies, the ordinary one, the Senate, and the extraordinary, the Council of Ten. Both were, of course, elected by the Great Council, consisting of all the patricians; and the *Collegio*, also elected by the same body, decided whether business should be sent to the Senate or to the Ten for final decision.

Only the most urgent matters were sent before the Ten, and, as a rule, the Senate kept fairly strict control over foreign affairs. The business of the Ten was chiefly concerned with keeping order at home. My attention was therefore first devoted to discovering how complete a record has been preserved of the deliberations of the Senate; and no student who has used the Venetian archives will ever forget their fullness in that respect. From 1401 to 1797 not a single page of the minutes of the meetings of the Senate has been lost. At the end of each day's meeting one of the secretaries entered a summary of the proceedings in a parchment volume in folio known as the Registro of the Deliberazioni of the Senate, and these registers,

well indexed, too, by the secretary, are all in the best state of preservation and in excellent handwriting.

These registers, which record matters of all sorts-internal government, proposals of alliances, conduct of war, everything, in short, of which the legislative department would take cognizance—are the most obvious source for the political history of Venice, and all writing of that history must rest on them as a basis. Official histories, like Paruta's history of the years 1513-1552, are, in fact, based almost entirely on them. But of course they are very incomplete. They simply record decisions without giving the reasons which led to those decisions. We are fortunate enough to have preserved for us a far more interesting collection than the registers; we also possess an almost complete series of filze—that is, of the dispatches, accounts, etc., produced by the movers of the motion and of the notes hurriedly taken by the secretaries—a practical memorandum of all that took place during the meetings of the Senate. Ordinarily, of course, one would consult the filze only when the register appeared wanting in detail; but they are never to be neglected. It may also interest students of the East to know that after 1557 the proportion of business in which the Senate had to do with the Turks became so large in comparison with the rest of its business that it was necessary to keep two record books, one for Constantinople affairs and one for other business.

A second very interesting section of the Secret Archive of the Senate, particularly for those who would study the colonial methods of the republic, consists of the huge collection, practically complete, of the correspondence between the home Government and the governors of the dependencies; for the maritime possessions the series is known as Senato Mar; for the mainland, Senato Terra. This whole series is in many places completely virgin soil; for example, the whole history of Crete under the Venetian régime remains to be written, and Miller has confessed that it can not be done until the whole correspondence of the Rectors of Crete has been examined.

But by all odds the richest part of the senatorial section, and probably of the whole archive, is the correspondence and reports presented to the Senate by the Venetian representatives, not in the colonial possessions, but at foreign courts; the series known as Senato Dispacci and Senato Relazioni. To attempt a description of the Venetian relazioni, the reports addressed in person to the Senate by returning ambassadors would be useless, for they are well known to all, thanks to the work of many editors. Before 1835 their value was unknown to any save a few Venetian antiquaries; but since Ranke used them for his "History of the Popes" in that year, they have become one of the best known of all sources of sixteenth-century history. Published in full, for the sixteenth century by Alberi, for the seventeenth by

Berchet, their great value is known by all, and one need no longer go to Venice, as did Ranke, to use them.

Their value, however, is far surpassed by the enormous collection of dispacci, the dispatches from the same ambassadors, not read to the Senate in person, but sent by mail, usually at periods of about a fortnight each. These dispacci are obviously of much greater interest than the relations, and comparatively very few have been published. The relazioni were of course written for effect and from memory, to interest the Senate, and were composed according to a scheme fixed by the Senate, so that little originality could be displayed. The dispatches, on the other hand, were written from day to day, under the impression of the moment, and contain the most lively touches. May I be pardoned if I illustrate by reading a selection from one of the first of the dispatches from Constantinople which has been preserved, a letter of Piero Bragadin, dated January 29. 1525? I read this, not as a contribution to political history, but in order to show how strong are the personal touches to be found in the letters. Bragadin acknowledges the receipt of a letter from the Senate which expressed great surprise that he had cashed a bill of exchange for 1,150 ducats sent him by the Senate in order to pay the tribute for Cyprus, and yet had not paid the tribute. He explains to the Senate that he had not drawn the money until the very day he received the letter, and besides, had received instructions not to pay the tribute until forced to do so by the Porte. Then he adds:

I judge that Your Serenity has received some false report, either that I have been speculating with your money, or that I have lost it at cards, or spent it in some other way. I speak with great indignation, for I hold no less dear the good favor of the Republic than that of God, and shall always do my duty to it, nor do I think of anything, night or day, but to serve it with all my heart and soul. And when I get back to Venice, I should like to have an encounter with the fellow who has spoken so of me. I trust in the truth which God loves, and if Your Serenity is not pleased with my service—and the only cause for that would be my lack of wisdom—please elect somebody else in my place; for when you receive this letter I shall have been away from Venice a year—and it seems more than 10 to me. And to tell the truth, from Aleppo to Venice there's not a place which hasn't given me trouble, and everybody has been well pleased with me; still I'd rather be last in Venice than first here—especially if I am in disfavor—and I'd like to be with you an hour and tell you the truth. To God I commend myself.

PETRUS BRAGADINUS BAYLUS.1

Such dispatches form naturally as rich material for contemporary history as could be desired; and when one reflects that of them there exist 139 volumes for dispatches from England, 242 from Constantinople, 276 from France, 230 from Milan, and 202 from Germany, one perceives what still remains for the student at Venice. Of them, of course, a few have been published—those from Rome for 1502—

1505, which have been of great service in giving new credit to Burcardus's diary, those of Sebastian Giustiniani at the court of Henry VIII, and those from Vienna from 1538 to 1576, published by the Vienna Academy. But the mass is still untouched, and form, says Horatio Brown, with the relazioni "the most varied, brilliant, and minute gallery of national portraits the world possesses." From 1558 on, the secretaries kept a summary of the dispatches from each court in a volume known as the rubricario, which is very useful. For example, in reading the dispatches from Constantinople, I found that ordinarily after 1558 the rubricario contained all I wished to know. Occasionally I found matters only hinted at in the summary, which promised reward if I examined the files themselves. Here, again, a specific example may be of interest.

In the rubricario for July 21, 1562, I found the following: "From the baylo at Constantinople. Writes the case of Girolamo Columbina, one of the two youths sent to learn the Turkish language, who has made himself a Turk." This promised interesting details, and I examined the filza, where I found the letter, in the ambassador's own hand. He wrote:

The other day, while many gentlemen and merchants were at my table, that fellow Columbina, sent here by your serenity to learn Turkish, had the idea, after insulting our faithful dragoman, Salvegio, of getting up from table with his knife in his hand, and of trying to stab Salvegio; whereupon I and the other seized him, so that, thank God, he only scratched him on the arm. Then I ordered Columbina to be shut up in his room, and, in order that he might not escape, to have his feet ironed, intending not to punish him any more, but to send him back to Venice by the next boat, for he had already proved obnoxious to everybody here. I was advised, the next day, to release him from confinement, and did so; whereupon the wretch at once ran off to a boy's seraglio near by, and, finding the agha, told him he was a person of very noble birth, and desired to turn Turk. So the agha sent him off to the Sultan's seraglio at once, where he made himself a Turk. You can imagine my displeasure.

Unfortunately, many of the dispatches were destroyed in the fire of 1574, the greatest single loss the archive has suffered; and, for Constantinople, only 10 dispatches exist for the period before 1554, after which the series is complete. The loss would be irreparable—and for the years 1533 to 1553 it is irreparable—were it not for the existence of what seems to me the most valuable single printed source for the first half of the sixteenth century. A library which is fortunate enough to possess the diary of Marino Sanudo possesses that which is almost the equivalent of the whole Venetian archive, when still unimpaired, for the years from 1500 to 1533. It would be quite beside the point, in this discussion, to describe that diary at length. Sanudo, a member of one of the 10 oldest families 2 in Venice, and several times a senator, kept from 1496 to 1533 a com-

¹ Secreto: Dispacci Constantinopoli, Filze, July 21, 1562.

plete diary, so far as he, in the later years with State support, could make it, of everything that happened in Venice. Through 35 folio volumes, published from 1878 to 1903, we can find, day by day, a full account of all business transacted by, and of all debates, in the Senate and other governing bodies, a transcript of all letters received from generals, admirals, colonial governors, and ambassadors, and finally, least valuable perhaps, but the most interesting, the gossip and scandal of the day. It forms a marvelous collection, indeed, and is superior in human interest to any romance.

In order to illustrate, again, not any new point of history, but the more vivacious side of the diary, I have translated the account which Sanudo gives of the manner in which Venice received the news of Leo X's death:

In the morning betimes, the nobles went to St. Mark's to hear this news, so excellent and miraculous for our Republic, and we congratulated one another as if we had won some great victory. For indeed the late Pope was a very great enemy of Venice, being a Florentine and trying to abase our State to exalt the house of Medici; nor did he consider the fact that the Turks were at the gates of Hungary, nor any other loss which Christendom was suffering, but kept on making war on Christians. So the whole city was extremely glad to learn of his death, even the shopkeepers, and the people said, "The captain general of the Turks and the chief enemy of Christendom is dead"; and so we were all jubilant, nor could better news have come. And we said to one another, "This is the Lord's doing and marvelous in our eyes," for we heard the news both of his sickness and of his death at the same time. So for all this, blessed be our Lord God.

The dispatches, therefore, lost by the fire of 1574, may be found in the diary, usually in full, until 1533. Between then and 1554, we have no recourse, save to the *deliberazioni*, where, in the answers sent, we often find quotations from the letters received, and to a second, more helpful, source in the archives of the Council of Ten.

The secret archive of the Ten is not, for purely political history, as I have already said, of nearly as much value as that of the Senate. Most of its attention was turned to internal affairs needing quick and secret action. But in a few cases when foreign affairs were considered by the ministers too secret to be divulged to so large a body as the Senate, they were given to the Ten for decision. In such cases the collection known as *Dieci Parti Secrete* is of the utmost interest. For example, the negotiations for the peace of 1540 with the Turks are to be found in the archive of the Ten, who gave the negotiators instructions quite different from those given by the Senate.

In some cases, too, the ambassadors and other Venetians at Constantinople, on their own initiative, sent dispatches not to the Senate, but to the Ten, or rather to the heads of the Ten, and these secret letters, of great interest, are to be found complete from 1500, in the series called "Letters to the Capi from Constantinople," and

are the source to which I referred a few moments ago as filling to a certain extent the gap in the dispatches between 1533, when Sanudo ends, and 1554, when the dispacci begin. Most of the letters, for example, written to Venice by that interesting person, Lorenzo Gritti, were sent to the heads of the Ten, and are to be found in their archives. To illustrate the system, I append a brief extract from one of his letters, dated June 24, 1539. He is writing in cipher about the negotiations for peace; suddenly he quits the cipher and writes: "I should not fail to tell your serenity of the good offices which the French ambassador, Rincon, and Cesare Cantelmo are using in our behalf with the Vizir; they could not do better." Then he returns to cipher and says: "I have had on every account to write the above about Cantelmo; but you should know that he and Rincon could not be doing worse for us, and we should have had a peace long ago, were it not for them." 1 When the Ten communicated this letter to the Senate, the last part, in cipher, was omitted.2

The last section of the secret archive of which I shall speak is one that merits more attention than it has received. It is the records of the Ten when they sat as a criminal court; the *Dieci al Criminal*, the records of which are complete. I found some very interesting material concerning political trials therein.

Finally, may I be permitted to venture an opinion as to what would be the most profitable investigation for an American student to undertake? I have already intimated, I think, that the side of Venetian history which has been least successfully handled is the economic one. A history of Venetian commerce is yet to be written, and for writing such a history the archive of the Venetian Board of Commerce offers a terrifyingly large amount of material. The archives of the mint and of the public banks are almost untouched. A considerable amount of material must be at hand for the study of sumptuary legislation. The history of Venetian Crete is unwritten. And finally, to one fond of piquant details, I should recommend a biography of some of the Turkish ambassadors to Venice, who came as often and stayed as long as the Republic allowed—of that very interesting Jonusbeg, for example—and for such a purpose the records of the Dicci al Criminal would be invaluable.

¹ Lettere al Capi, II, 137.

^{*} Diedi Secr., July 18, 1539.

IV. MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF GERMANY IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By SIDNEY B. FAY,
Professor in Dartmouth College.

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF GERMANY IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By SIDNEY B. FAY.

Having understood from the chairman that he preferred that the papers to-day should suggest the opportunities for advanced study and should discuss the materials for, rather than the results of, investigation, I wish to speak very briefly on two groups of material—that relating to Brandenburg-Prussia under the Great Elector, and, secondly, that relating to peasant conditions in south and west Germany before the peasant revolt of 1525.

The American student who plans to write a doctor's thesis in modern European history often goes abroad too soon. The preliminary study can usually be done much more economically, both in time and money, in this country, where so much more freedom is allowed in the use of stacks in libraries. If the student masters as much printed material as possible on this side of the Atlantic, he will be in a position to know much more quickly and exactly what material he has to investigate abroad.

Of the printed material relating to Brandenburg-Prussia under the Great Elector there are three collections of prime importance, all of which are easily accessible in this country. First, there is the "Corpus Constitutionum" of Mylius.¹ Mylius, with the approval of Frederick William I and with free access to the archives, gathered and printed in his collection all the laws, edicts, and proclamations of the electors of Brandenburg up to his own day (1736). He thereby preserved many documents of which the originals subsequently disappeared. He then classified them according to subject matter, his main classes being religion, law, feudal matters, army, tariffs, hunting, coinage, postal system, direct and indirect taxation, police, manufactures, artisans, towns, and villages. Within each class he arranged the documents chronologically, so that it is easy for the student to trace the development of an institution or subject.

¹C. O. Mylius, "Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum" (6 parts in folio, Berlin and Halle, 1736—); also continued in later volumes and given statutory authority by a patent of April 11, 1803.

Secondly, there are the "Urkunden und Actenstücke." This collection, begun under the inspiration of Droysen and Sybel and continued with the financial assistance of the Prussian Government, has already reached 19 large volumes and is still in course of publication. It includes various kinds of documents—the Great Elector's private and public correspondence, diplomatic documents of all sorts, excerpts from the archives of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Netherlands, France, and Austria, and the principal documents in the struggles of the Elector with his provincial estates in Brandenburg, Cleves, and Prussia.

Thirdly, there are the records of the Elector's privy council.² The five volumes already in print calendar in a good deal of detail the proceedings of the privy council from 1640 to 1660. It is still in course of publication under the editorship of Otto Meinardus.

Here, then, are three collections of sources from which light may be drawn and made to converge on many topics. Mylius gives the formal edict. The "Urkunden und Actenstücke," containing the Elector's official letters and also his private correspondence with his confidential ministers, like Waldeck and Schwerin, and with his wife, explain his motives, his hopes, and his disappointments in regard to the edict. The records of the privy council often give the facts, the statistics, and the conflicting arguments and interests which were weighed before the edict was adopted or which were heard from after it was put into execution. These three sets of material thus form an excellent basis for the preliminary part of an investigation toward a doctor's thesis. When the student has mastered such material as they contain bearing on his subject, he is in a better position to go into the manuscript material which can be used only on the other side of the Atlantic.

Let me give one or two examples of what I mean. Several very worthy doctoral dissertations in Germany have been written as biographies of statesmen or generals who served the Great Elector. One important and interesting man who has as yet received no adequate treatment is Daniel Weimann. He was one of the keenest and most trusted of the Elector's privy councillors in the decade 1651–1661. As chancellor of Cleves he proved himself a skillful and tactful administrator. At the same time he went as the Elector's ambassador on several occasions to England, to Denmark, and to the Netherlands. He negotiated treaties for the Great Elector with the Dutch in 1655 and with the restored Charles II in 1661. His dispatches and memorials show a keen insight into conditions in England and

^{1&}quot;Urkunden und Actensticke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg" (20 vols , Berlin, 1864–1911).

^{2&}quot; Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rates aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm" (5 vols., ed. O. Meinardus, Leipzig, 1889-1907), Publikationen aus den Kgl. Preuss. Staatsarchiven, vols. 41, 54, 55, 66, 80.

the Netherlands in the period of the Anglo-Dutch wars, and a shrewd estimation of the character and way of thinking of the principal men whom he met at Cleves, at The Hague, and in London. Many of these dispatches are conveniently printed in the "Urkunden und Actenstücke." Similarly, in the meetings of the privy council in Berlin, at which the Elector usually presided, but at which each councillor freely gave his opinion before the Elector reached his decision. Weimann's dispatches and arguments were discussed at length. From these privy council records one can determine the considerable influence which Weimann had upon the Elector's policy toward Cromwell and the Dutch. When one has studied Weimann's activity as revealed in these two printed collections, he is in a position to go to the Geheimer Staatsarchiv in Berlin and read his diary in 10 large volumes.1 Weimann kept a full diary from 1655 to 1661 of all his important missions, negotiations, and conversations. He also copied into his diary a good many documents of which the originals are no longer discoverable. It is fairly legible and very interesting. With this diary and with some intimate letters which Weimann wrote to the Elector and the Electress, a student would have a good basis for a respectable biography of this statesman. This material could probably be further supplemented by manuscript records of his administrative work as chancellor of Cleves in the library of the Gymnasium at Wesel and in the provincial archives at Düsseldorf. His diplomatic work might be illuminated by material at The Hague and in the Public Record Office in London. From this printed and manuscript material, in addition, of course, to the considerable literature to which Dahlmann-Waitz's "Quellenkunde" would serve in part as a guide, a good doctor's thesis, and a biography of real value in German history, might well be written.

Or, if a student, instead of a biographical or diplomatic subject, prefers to study the development of an institution—of the Elector's postal system, his religious policy, or his economic measures—he can find all the principal edicts for the Electorate of Brandenburg in the collection of Mylius. He can learn the motives of the Elector which lay behind the edicts, and the extent of their success or failure, partly from the Privy Council records, and partly from the Elector's correspondence, which is scattered through different volumes of the "Urkunden und Actenstücke." For his further study the student would go to the manuscript records of the agents and local boards which carried out the edicts. These are largely preserved in the archives of the Province of Brandenburg, which are housed in Berlin in the same building with the Prussian state archives. There are also many valuable but fugitive pamphlets preserved in the manuscript

¹ This dary is not, as stated in the "Urkunden und Actenstücke," IV, 24, and, on its authority, by A. Waddington, "Le Grand Electeur, Sa Politique Extérieure" (Paris, 1905), I, 278, note 1, in the Provincial Archives at Disseldorf, but in Berlin in the Gehelmer Staatsarchiv, Repartorium, 92.

division of the Royal Library at Berlin, which throw much light on the Great Elector's administrative and economic measures.

Or, again, a subject of general interest in the history of institutions is the struggle which the Great Elector waged against the provincial estates in Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves. Three of the volumes of the "Urkunden und Actenstücke" contain the principal documents in each of these struggles. The Privy Council records so far published throw much new light on this struggle. Here is excellent material for a preliminary investigation of an important constitutional question. Mr. Tuttle, in his "History of Prussia" has severely criticized the Elector for having crushed constitutional liberty. He compares the leader of the Prussian Estates with Hampden. But a study of these printed documents and the manuscript material to which they will lead will show, I believe, that a victory of the Estates would not have meant constitutional liberty, personal freedom, and national development, but quite the opposite. It would have meant a continuance of the medieval privileges of nobles and guilds, of a narrow provincialism, and of a bigoted Lutheranism.

I come now to the second group of documents to which I referred at the outset, that relating to peasant conditions in south and west Germany in the sixteenth century.

It has been said of old, "No man can serve two masters." The German peasant of Luther's day, however, often had to serve two, three, or even four different masters all at once. He was subject to several different kinds of lords.

First, from an economic point of view, as a holder of land not his own, he was subject to a landlord or Grundherr. Upon taking up his tenement the peasant must make a payment (Handlohn) to the Grundherr. If at any time he wished to move away or give up his tenement he must pay to the Grundherr an alienation fee (weglöse, abfahrt). At a fixed time every year he must recognize the Grundherr's right of ownership by an annual gift, very commonly a hen at Shrovetide. Besides these recognition fees the peasant must pay to the Grundherr an annual rent in kind or in money (Gült or Zins). This was usually large, often equivalent to a third or even a half of the peasant's crop. The work services performed for the Grundherr, on the other hand, were comparatively slight.

Secondly, from a political point of view, the peasant was subject to a civil authority, a Gerichtsherr. In recognition of the Gerichtsherr's jurisdiction the peasant must ordinarily pay to him the annual hearth tax of a fowl, known, therefore, as Herdehuhn or Rauchhuhn. To the Gerichtsherr also he might have to pay many special taxes and the fines to which he was condemned for wrongdoing. At the call of the Gerichtsherr, likewise, the peasant must help build and repair

¹ Herbert Tuttle, "History of Prussia to the Accession of Frederick the Great" (Boston, 1884), 184 et seq.

the lord's castle and such public works as roads, bridges, and fortifications.

Thirdly, from a personal point of view, many a peasant was personally unfree (leibeigen), and subject therefore to a personal lord, Leibherr. As an annual reminder of his bondage the unfree peasant must pay to his Leibherr an annual fowl (Leibhuhn) or a money equivalent (Leibzins). The unfree woman who lay in childbirth might be given back her fowl; but its head was wrung off and remained with the Leibherr as an evidence of the woman's lack of freedom. To his Leibherr the unfree peasant must pay a fee for permission to marry (Heiratssteuer or Bumede). At his death the Leibherr appeared to seize his best chattel (Besthaupt or Todfall).

And fourthly, from an ecclesiastical point of view, every peasant was expected to pay tithes to a tithe lord (Zehntherr), who, however, was not always an ecclesiastic.

I could give interesting examples from the sources of the confusing way in which the poor peasant of Luther's day had to serve several masters, but time forbids. Of course, it frequently happened that the peasant rendered all his obligations to a single individual, who happened to have gathered into his single hand all the rights of Grund-Gerichts, Leib, and even Zehntherr. In such cases the manifold dependent relationships in which the peasant stood would naturally soon be lost sight of. This frequent coincidence of different kinds of rights in the hand of a single lord has led most writers to lose sight of this essential analysis of the peasant's obligations.

Now, before we can arrive at any conclusions of value concerning the conditions of the peasantry in the sixteenth century, we need to have detailed monographs upon a number of actual individual manors in south and west Germany. We need to know to what extent peasants had to serve several masters; whether there was a general tendency, as Theodor Knapp believes, for the lords to sell and exchange their rights over peasants in order to concentrate in a single hand all the different kinds—economic, political, and personal rights—and thus bring it about that the peasant served but a single individual. We need to know whether the peasant was better off when he served only a single individual instead of several. Wherever he served several lords he might hope to get the protection of one against the excessive demands of another. Yet serving several masters led to such a demand as that of the peasants of Renchen, near Strassburg, on May 22, 1525:

Since we are subject to many lords to whom we have heretofore made payments, henceforth we will pay dues and services only in the place where we live; and in order that lords may suffer no loss they shall make agreements with each other and with the peasants, so that each lord shall receive the same amount as before, but we can pay our obligations at the place where we live.¹

¹ H. W. Bensen, "Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Ostfranken" (Erlangen, 1840), 547.

We need also to know for each manor how many tenants there were; how much land each held, and on what terms; what payments and services the peasants had to make to each of his lords; whether the obligations were increasing or decreasing in actual amount and in burdensomeness; how fast the level of prices was rising, and how the rise affected the peasant; to what extent the peasant was being deprived of his old customary privileges in regard to the use of commons and of the forests for hunting and fishing; and whether the increase of population was leading to an excessive subdivision of tenements.

Only when we have answered these and similar questions for a number of individual manors shall we have the necessary background for an understanding of the economic causes of the peasant revolts. Until we have this information it is futile to argue, so it seems to me, as do some German writers, that from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries there was a general deterioration in the condition of the peasantry; that they were growing worse off, and revolted because they could stand the increasing burdens no longer. And it is equally futile to assert, as do other writers, that there was a general amelioration of peasant conditions during this same period, and to try to explain the revolts by maintaining that the peasant was growing restless and discontented because he had become well enough off to know that he was badly off and thought he ought to be still better off.

The materials on which such a manorial study must rest fall roughly into four classes: (1) The Urkunden are the formal documents which evidence and describe in detail the terms on which land, or the right to occupy land, was transferred. (2) The Urbare or surveys, made by the landlord, show the number and character of his tenants, their holdings, and the dues and services which they ought to pay him. (3) The account rolls show what they actually did pay him from year to year. And (4) the Weistümer, which show primarily the peasant's relations to his Gerichtsherr, but which also contain incidentally a mass of miscellaneous legal and economic information about the law and custom of the manor.

Only a small part of this material has been published; and even where it has been published it has not been published in such a way as to facilitate its use for the study of individual manors. Series of Urkunden have been printed for one locality, series of Urbare for another, and series of Weistümer for still a third. The kind of publication which we really need for these manorial studies is a collection which shall print or indicate all kinds of material for one locality; then all the existing documents relating to an individual manor may be used to supplement each other and made to contribute to a single complete picture. This is not the kind of publication which Germans have been interested in in the past. But a new

under the inspiration of Karl Lamprecht by the Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde.1 Under their auspices, Benno Hilliger has undertaken to print or indicate all the material which exists in regard to the estates of a single Grundherr, namely, the monastery of St. Pantaleon near Cologne. The lands of this monastery comprised some 23 manors. Urbare or general surveys of them all were constructed by the abbots in 1225, 1318, and 1618. Local surveys of individual manors were often made at shorter intervals. For the manor of Klein-Königsdorf, for instance, special local surveys were made in 1466, 1503, and 1515. From that of 1466 we can learn the names of the 30 tenants, the number of acres which each held, and exactly what each had to pay annually in oats, in wheat, in rye, in fowls, and in money. These figures for 1466 may be compared with those for the other dates just indicated. In addition to these surveys Hilliger has also printed or indicated the whereabouts of all the Urkunden, account-rolls, and Weistümer which he has discovered relating to these 23 manors. In the same way Rudolf Kötzschke published in 1906 the first volume of a similar collection for the large number of manors belonging to the Abbey of Werden, near Cologne. The first volume contains the surveys; a second volume will contain all the other kinds of documents or at least a guide to them. Here is splendid material for an advanced student to make a preliminary study of any one of a number of interesting manors. He could continue it by going to the full manuscript records, of which Hilliger and Kötzschke in many cases indicate only the location and general character.

But these manors in the neighborhood of Cologne are not the only ones, I am convinced, which could be made the object of fruitful and valuable studies. From an examination of the inventories of existing archives, from talking with men who have done some work with this kind of material, and from the sources quoted in certain German monographs, I am convinced that rich materials for the reconstruction of manorial conditions exist in the archives at Spires, Worms, Strassburg, Basel, Zürich, Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Heilbronn, Ulm, Innsbrück, and elsewhere. It is a splendid field, in which the ground has scarcely been broken, and affords, so it seems to me, a rich opportunity to the investigator who will make use of it. American student who would do so could profitably begin to prepare himself on this side of the Atlantic by familiarizing himself with the excellent studies which have been made of many English manors, and then by reading Grimm's Weistümer, the series of peasant grievances drawn up in 1525, and some of the secondary works on agrarian conditions and on the peasant revolt indicated in Dahlmann-Waitz's bibliography.

^{1&}quot;Rheinische Urbare:" I, "Die Urbare von S. Fantaleon in Köln" (ed. B. Hilliger, Bonn, 1902); II, "Die Urbare der Abtei Werden a. d. Ruhr," part I, "Die Urbare vom 9.-13. Jahrh." (Bonn, 1906).

٧.	THE	MATERIALS	FOR	THE	STUDY	0F	THE	ENGLISH	CABINET
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By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER,

Professor in the University of Michigan.

THE MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE ENGLISH CABINET IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By Edward Raymond Turner.

There are few subjects of more interest to the constitutional historian than the organization and growth of the English cabinet, but unfortunately it is difficult to write the history of this cabinet at any time.¹ No official minutes are kept, and the transactions, being considered a profound secret, are supposed never to be revealed.² Therefore cabinet history has usually been written from the outside. To a large extent use has been made of accidental information or hearsay, and frequently results have been traced back to their probable causes.

The first half of the eighteenth century, particularly the years of the ascendancy of Walpole, from 1721 to 1742, is the formative period in the development of the cabinet. At that time a shape was given to its organization and a method was worked out, which have never been entirely lost. Accordingly if we are to understand how the cabinet grew and why it assumed a certain form, we must get behind the scenes during these years and discover what the principal actors did and why they so played their parts. A search for possible sources has shown that this may be done, and that if enough patience be had the old life can be reconstructed in a picture fairly complete. The more important sources may be classified as follows:

First, the informal records of the cabinet itself. It is true that no formal record of the cabinet seems ever to have been kept, but there

¹ Wolfgang Michael, speaking of the cabinet in the period of Walpole, says: "Eine genaue Schilderung zu geben ist freilich unmöglich, ja auf die einfachsten Fragen, wie diese: 'Wer beruft das Kabinett? Wo und wie oft versammelt es sich? Wer führt darin den Vorsitz? Nach welchem Modus faszt es seine Beschlusse?' laszt sich eine sichere Antwort nicht geben." "Walpole als Premierminister," Historische Zeitschrift, CIV, 516. The difficulty is certainly very great, but I shall attempt to answer some of these questions in another paper.

² At the end of the sixth volume of his Journals Sir John Norns says: "What ever remarks I have maid in this Book since I had the honor to be maid a previ counsellor is only intended by me to keep in memory for my one private reflection,—as It mite otherwise ship my memory, upon insidents, that may be necessary for his Magestys servis, and as the secrits of the Cabinett are never to be devulged I doe hearby Enjoyne my aire never to permit any thing I relate in that time to be published red or Coppyed, as by the oath of a previ Counsellor no man is to doe, and if before my detth I dont destroy these remarks, I request my Sun to keep it as private maniscrip to which I sett my hand. Ino Norns"—Additional Manuscripts (British Museum) 28,132, f 198. "Good Sir, the Cabinet is not to be thrown open to every petulant Enquirer, nor to the Houses of Parliament themselves, . . . For this would clog the Wheels of all Business, and make all Government impracticable, by prostatuting and exposing its Counsels, which in their Nature require secrecy, and must become abortive, if revealed."—"An epistle to W. S. Esq.; By a Member of Parliament" (London, 1728), 12.

would always be certain members who would find it necessary to have some way of recalling what had been done at previous meetings. Either the members would make notes for themselves, or some one of them would be deputed to keep a rough record for the use of the rest. Such memoranda were made; how, or by whom, it is not possible to say. They were not written by a clerk or by an official appointed for that purpose, since not only do we know nothing of such a person, but the memoranda are not in the same hand for any length of time, and are roughly jotted down. For the most part it would appear that some member who was particularly methodical, or who had greater difficulty in remembering the business transacted, made notes at meetings when he pleased; though it is not improbable that at times there was among the members an informal understanding that one of their number should regularly write down that which all of them did. No doubt there were many meetings of which no record was taken. At all events it is impossible now to obtain a continuous account. Here and there one can find masses of scattered papers, but frequently a long time elapses before one account follows another. is, of course, quite probable, that many papers have been lost. They were not transcribed in folio volumes like the records of the Privy Council. Doubtless a member might carry off a sheet of notes, and after using it, throw it away, or keep it among his private papers. A great many cabinet memoranda have been found among the Newcastle and the Hardwicke manuscripts,1 and it may be that more will be discovered from time to time hereafter. Up to the present, however, the greatest number have been found among the papers of the ministers, now preserved in the State Papers Domestic in the Public Record Office in London.²

A second source of information, somewhat less formal but more continuous, and perhaps almost as trustworthy, consists of the journals written by some of the cabinet members who kept a record of what went on in the meetings which they attended. Lord Hervey kept a record of this kind, since despite the fact that it is entitled "Minutes of what passed in the Cabinet Council from the time the King made Lord Hervey Keeper of his Privy Seal, April 23, 1740,"

¹ Cf. Hardwicke Papers, Add. MSS. 35,870, ff. 26, 27 (Sept. 9, 1737), "Minutes of the Cabinet Council at Lord Granville's office," Add. MSS 35,870, ff. 85, 86 (Nov. 13, 1744). At times the Lord Chancellor seems to have written memoranda for his own use. Cf. Add. MSS 35,870, f. 19 (Feb. 19, 1736–1737, written before he had received the seal). Upon some of these notes the second Lord Hardwicke comments as follows: "N. B. -- These Extracts were probably made by my father for his own Information when He was first called to the Cabt. Councils and as they were discontinued so soon It is most likely that his other Business did not permit him to go on with Them."—Ibid., I.14. Cf. also "Minute of a Cabinet Paper by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke in Decr., 1744, on the then posture of public affairs," MS. State Papers, 1744–1772, Stowe, 254, f. 172.

²Cf MS. State Papers Domestic, George II, bundle 51, June 16, 1740; id., June 19, 1740, id., July 2, 1740; id., July 3, 1740; bundle 52, Sept. 18, 1740, bundle 53, Oct. 9, 1740; id., Oct. 14, 1740; id., Oct. 27, 1740; id., Nov. 20, 1740; id., Nov. 25, 1740; id., Nov. 27, 1740; bundle 54, Dec. 2, 1740, id., Dec. 12, 1740; bundle 56, May 7, 1741; also State Papers Domestic, Various, passim. Cf., Michael, Historische Zeitschrift, CIV, 516.

it is in reality more of a diary than anything else. Probably one of the best, and one also which reveals most clearly the defects of the information thus afforded, is Sir John Norris's Journal. Sir John is best known as one of England's naval commanders, but in 1739 he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, and shortly after invited to attend those meetings in which naval affairs were discussed.2 He assumed his dignity very seriously, attended regularly, took as active a part as his comrades would allow, and perhaps made himself something of a nuisance, for he indicates that Walpole snubbed him on one or two occasions.3 For some years he had been keeping a diary, so now he naturally entered what he could remember of cabinet proceedings. His spelling is execrable, and his thought crude and simple, but all of this may be pardoned in view of his painstaking minuteness. As he was keeping a diary of his own doings, he quite properly gives most space to what he said and did at the meetings, regarding the part taken by Walpole and Newcastle as merely illustrative. But, unfortunately, he had very little influence and small importance in the cabinet, so that his narrative seems disproportionate and unsatisfactory. He gives all sorts of curious information, however.

A good example of his description of cabinet business is the following:

This Evening I mett at Sr Robert Walpole the Duke of Newcastle lord Harrington, the Duke of Grafton and Sr Charle Wager,-when the duke of Newcastle read the intened instrucktions for Capt Anson who was to stop in the River plate till the seson of the year would permit him to go about Cape Horne to the South Sea,—and while he was in the River to take and destroy all the Spanish and vessell he could and give them all the distirbance he could on their settlements on shore,—after this Lord Kitcart and Coll. Blayden were cald in and the method of raiseing what people he had in our Continent in america,—to Joyne the Expedetion intended from hence and Lord Kitcart to the West indies,—and as Mr Bladen had been long one of the Lords Commistioner of Trade and plantation and was suposed to have the most genrall knoledg of all the plantation,—he was desiredd to relate his sentiment of what number of men we mout hope could be raised in all the plantations Mr. Blayden haveing prepaired him selfe for this mete,—related his sentiments of the severall plantation, and from a list of them all including all the Hands in america he was of opinion,that about tow thousand five hundred mout be raised,—upon the advantage genrall given to our trups this finale number,—was sum surprise to the Cumpany considering the number of People on the Continat and the ilands,—but on resoning upon it twas thought most or all the people in those parts had their imployments to live and very

¹ Among other matters he gives full reports of four cabinet meetings which he attended. Two of these meetings are reported also by Sir John Norris. "Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second from His Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline." By John, Lord Hervey (ed. Croker, Philadelphia, 1848), II, 402-421.

² Add. MSS., 28, 132, f. 28.

³ Add. MSS., 28, 132, ff. 40, 41, 78, 79, 183. "This morning I was at Sr Robt when the Duke of Newcastle came in, and fantied I look grave that I was not summoned to the Cabmett that thay said related only to the King speach to parlument and Sr Robt said he was against increasing the number of the Cabinett counsell and that in all navel affairs I was cald,—I avoyed showing any Conserne about it,—though I dont think it good yousage." Add. MSS , 28, 132, 1. 179.

few that wanted buisness,—and yet the mallistion in New England and those parts have ben knone to be about 16 or 17 thousand men,—this lead the discorse to press Mr Blayden is it not possable to find more and in conclution he did believ with proper orders to severall Governers that about four thousand mout be had and according his Grace of Newcastle took minute to have the same put in Exsicution,—and it was desired that Ld Kitcart Coll blayden and Sr Charle and my selfe would mete,—to reson with his Lordship,—upon forwarding the same and considering the time it would tak up to heier transport for seven thousand men to have six months provetion on board them,—and get to portsmouth as the randivose to Embark the trups Sr Robert Walpole was [in favor of?] . . . thair being ordered to be Emediatly taken up and sent to the Randivose that when the trups could be ready to Embark no time should be lost,—and by common accidents the transports would be upwards of two months before they would all be rady and it was thought the trups desined could not be raised and fitt to Embark under three months.¹

The recollections written by Lord Hervey are much fuller and more intelligent, but concern only a few meetings. In one of his accounts occurs the vivid and well-known description which throws so much light upon the relations between Walpole and Newcastle in the latter years of their association.

His Grace to this answered, with retrospective wisdom (the easiest of all wisdom, and consequently the only wisdom he could have the appearance of possessing) . . . Upon which Sir Robert Walpole interrupted him, and said,—"For God's sake, my Lord, let us do the best we can ourselves, and leave off arraigning and condemning the conduct of those to whom the care of this country is committed, who are employed and trusted by the Crown, and who do the best they can." . . .

Just as Sir Robert was upon his legs to go away, the Duke of Newcastle said, "If you please, I would speak one word to you before you go;" to which Sir Robert Walpole replied, "I do not please, my Lord; but if you will, you must." "Sir, I shall not trouble you long." "Well, my Lord, that's something; but I had rather not be troubled at all: won't it keep cold till tomorrow?" "Perhaps not, Sir." "Well, come then, let's have it,"—upon which they retired to a corner of the room—where his Grace whispered very softly, and Sir Robert answered nothing but aloud, and said nothing aloud, but every now and then, "Pooh!—Pshaw!—O Lord! O Lord!—Pray be quiet —My God, can't you see it is over?" 2

A third source, more casual and fragmentary, but sometimes of greater value than accounts found in journals, consists of letters written by cabinet members to one another, in which they sometimes allude to what was done in former meetings, and sometimes ask or give counsel about what was to be done at meetings in the future.

In a letter written in 1725, probably to Townshend, Newcastle says:

Upon the receipt of your Lops. very private Letter of the 31 Augt/11 Sepr In pursuance of His Maty's Commands therein contained, I went and consulted Sr Robert Walpole and we agreed to have a Meeting with My Lord Chancelor, Ld Berkeley and Ld Godolphin, the Duke of Devonshire is out of town, otherwise your Lop may believe he would not have been left out of this Consultation.

Sir John Norns, Journals, Add. MSS., 28, 132, ff. 111, 112, 113 (Dec 31, 1739). These deliberations took place not in a "cabinet" or "cabinet counsell," but in one of the "private meteing[s] at Sr Robt Walpole." Cf. ibid., ff. 109, 111, 114, 117, 119, 120, 131, 168, 169, 174, 180, 183, 190, 193.
 Lord Hervey, "Mamoirs," II, 413-415.

We accordingly met yesterday at Sr Robert Walpole's and I began the Conversation by laying before them in as clear and methodical a manner as I was able, the separate Transactions at Vienna wch produced the late Treaty between the Emperor and the King of Spain. . . .

Sr Robt Walpole and I explained to them how that Government is now under the sole Direction of an ambitious passionate Woman . . .

Upon the whole [after a discussion of Spanish policy] they lookt upon the deferring of any preparation till a seizure be actually made by Spain of our Merchants Effects to be agreeable to the paragraph in the close of your Lop's Letter as well as to their own Sentiments; They are of Opinion that His Maty should continue firm not to give Spain any hopes of the Restitution of Gibraltar and that Mr Stanhope should be directed not to exasperate their Cath Matys whilst they continue in the moderate way they seem at present to be in, but if they order the seizing of our Merchants Effects or threaten to do so, then to lay before them in the strongest manner the Consequences they will draw upon themselves by such a Step; and if they should proceed to an actual seizure that then a Squadron should immediately be fitted . . . not to threaten but make Reprisals. This My Lord was the Result of our Discourse and what I am to lay before His Maty as our humble Opinion and Advice.¹

A letter of Walpole to Newcastle, Houghton, November 17, 1736, throws an interesting light upon the relations of the cabinet with yet smaller groups:

I return you [he says] the Pacquetts wch came hither last night, and upon calling a little Cabinett wch we have here, the Two Sussex Brothers, and Brother Harry, we think nothing can be said upon the affair of Portugal untill Monsr Chauvelyn gives his Answer . . . when no Answer should be sent with out the advice of the Cabinett-Councell upon the affair of Portugal . . . If yr Grace will be pleased to suffion a Cabinett Councell at the Cock-Pitt next Tuesday at seven in the Evening I will certainly be there.²

Such information is often allusive only, and sometimes, accordingly, of little value. When, however, the more important members of the cabinet, such as Newcastle or Hardwicke, are the authors, it becomes of importance. It is most fortunate that both of these men were indefatigable writers. Their manuscript correspondence and memoranda fill more than a thousand volumes folio. Indeed one is tempted to say that Newcastle is more important as a correspondent than as a statesman. Apparently he wrote everything he knew to some one. Newcastle's writings are a source for some of the best-known stories of the time, and in many cases throw light upon Walpole's policy and motives. Speaking of the death of Queen Caroline, upon whose support Walpole had relied so much, Newcastle says:

This is the greatest Blow, that ever He received; and goes deeper, than any, I have ever known. But a Concern for His own Honor, the Good of the Publick, a Regard for His Friends, and a Desire to comply with the dying Requests of the Queen, has determined Him to engage, and go on, and indeed He thinks He has no Choice; The Goodness of the King to Him, and the King's Service, make Him not His own Master.³

¹ MS. indorsed "Memd of wt past at Sr Ro Walpole's 9 Sepr 1725," Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS., 32,687, ff. 155-160.

² Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS., 32,793, f. 191.

^{*} Add. MSS., 32,690, f. 446.

Particular value attaches to anything of the kind written by Walpole, but up to the present no great mass of his papers has been found. A search through the Walpole manuscripts at Houghton Hall may reveal something more.

There is another source from which may be derived information of less value, but information which in most cases can be obtained in no other way. Cabinet crises, the disputes which disrupted a ministry, the reason why a ministry was formed in some particular way, why some great leader obtained the premiership, why some one to whom destiny seemed to point was passed over, all of these things were as a rule profound secrets which the leaders were only willing to declare long afterwards when they were in a reminiscent mood, or which they sometimes left buried among their private papers.

Such is the account of the dispute between Walpole and Town-shend in 1730:

It was not at a Cabinet meeting, that the quarrel arose between Sir Robert and him, but at my Grandfather, Colonel Selwyn's House in Cleveland Court, where the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, Colonel Selwyn and Mrs. Selwyn were the only persons present. The immediate cause of the dispute was a foreign negotiation, which had, at Sir Robert's desire, I believe, been dropped. Ld Townshend after having given up the Point still advanced an opinion, that the design of the negotiation ought to be mentioned in the House of Commons, at the same time that the House should be informed, that the measure was given up. Sir R took offense at this last Proposal, and, I believe, thought that Lord T's reason for wishing for the mention of a measure, which was not to be pursued, was, that it might give him a troublesome and disagreeable day in the House. Ld. T. said, "since you object to it, and the business of the House of Commons is more your concern than mine, to be sure I shall not persist in my opinion, but now I have given it up, I can not help saying, that upon my honour I think it would be the more adviseable step." Sir R. W. replied to this effect, "My Lord, there is no Man's sincerety which I doubt more than your Lordship's, and I never doubt it so much as when you are pleased to make such strong professions." A less warm man than Lord T. must have been provoked by these words, and accordingly Ld T. called him a Brute, and seized him by the Collar Sir. R. took hold of him in return, and then quitting each other, they laid their hands upon their swords. The company immediately interposing parted them, and stopped Mrs. Selwyn, who in her fright was sending her Servants for the Guards.1

Of similar character is Lord Hardwicke's account of his entrance into the cabinet. On February 14, 1736/37, Charles, Lord Talbot, Lord High Chancellor, died.

The same forencon . . . I received a Lettr. from Sir Robert Walpole desiring to speak with me on the Event of that morning, and wishing I would dine with him that day in private. I went accordingly and after dinner He proposed the Great Seal to me in the King's name.

[Hardwicke replied that he was well content with his present position] tho' I had the most dutiful and grateful Sense of his Majtys goodness, desired to be left where I

¹ Story told to T. Townshend by Newcastle and Mrs. Selwyn, and related by him in a letter to Lord Hardwicke, July 22, 1781. Hardwicke Papers, Add. MSS., 35,618, ff. 54, 55.

was . . . He grew more pressing and talked in the civil Strain familiar to Ministers on such occasions; after which I told him . . . I would consider of it.

[Walpole talked earnestly, trying to overcome his objections. At last]

I told him . . . that, if I shd. happen to accept the Grt Seal the most proper Equivalent to my Family seemed to be that of the office of Teller of the Exchequer to my eldest Son, in reversion, for life; . . .

After a few days I was made acquainted that the King persisted in his intention to put the Great Seal into my hands, and was willing to grant the Teller's place in the manner which had been suggested; whereupon I resolved humbly to submit my self to his Royal pleasure by taking on me this arduous and burdensome Station.

The contemporary pamphlets, which were issued in such prodigious numbers during this period, are not to be despised, although they abound in rancorous exaggeration and abuse, and all too frequently contain only hearsay or pure fabrication. Always the political motives or bias of the writer must be considered. Sometimes it is difficult to estimate this; sometimes impossible, where the author is unknown. Yet there were certain subsidized pamphleteers, who were doubtless supplied with the best information which the government or opposition could give them, while some of the greatest leaders, notably Walpole and Bolingbroke, were themselves active writers. There is here no dearth of material, but exceeding difficulty in knowing how to use it. The great deficiency, however, is that most of the pamphlets contain political information, and seldom much that throws light upon the organization and working of the government.²

Finally there is a certain kind of exterior information, which has been little used in the past, but which can be used with profit if discrimination and rigorous criticism are employed. In the eighteenth century some of the confidential agents maintained in London by the European Governments reported upon the important doings of the English administration. Such were Johann Philipp Hoffmann, the Austrian resident, and Friedrich Bonet, the representative of Prussia.² They had no direct access to cabinet affairs, but it was their business to be informed; they were on the scene, and they doubtless knew of indirect channels of information now closed to us.

¹ Add. MSS., 35,870, f. 18.

² As examples of. "The Secret History of the White-Staff, Being An Account of Affairs under the Conduct of some late Ministers, and of what might probably have happened if Her Majesty had not Died" (4th ed., London, 1714), "Some Reasons For A Change In The Ministry," etc. (London, 1717); "A View of the Political Transactions Of Great-Britain Since the Convention Was approv'd of by Parliament. In a Letter to an absenting Member" (London, 1739); "The Conduct Of The Ministry Compared with its Consequences; Or An Impartial View Of The Present State of Affairs" (London, 1733); "The Rise and Fall Of the late Projected Excise, Impartially Consider'd. By a Friend to the English Constitution" (London, 1733); "The Ministry and Government Of Great-Britain Vindicated. In Answer to a Book Entituled, An Enquiry into the Conduct of our Domestick Affairs, etc. In a Letter to the Author" (London, 1734).

² Michael, "Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhunderte," vorwort, IX. "Rechtlehrreich sind um diese Zeit die Berichte des österreichischen Residenten im London, Joh. Philipp Hoffmann, welcher Walpoles Vorganger Sunderland persönlich sehr nahe stand." "Walpole als Premierminister," Historische Zeitschrift, CIV, 508. The reports of Hoffmann are in the Haus-Hof-und-Staatsarchiv in Vienna; those of Bonet in the Geneimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin.

Their comments, moreover, on what was a matter of common gossip, or the results of what they could themselves see, have the distinct value of contemporary information. These reports must at least be considered.

Of contemporary histories it is not necessary to speak, since they are relatively well known and have been used. The newspapers are of minor importance, notwithstanding the fact that at times they gave so great offense to the Government as to bring about the prosecution of their owners. The information found in them concerns very largely the Government's foreign policy and gives no account of cabinet organization and procedure. There are numerous broadsides, squibs, political verses, and caricature drawings, but they are of scant importance, and possess merely a remote value for illustrative purposes.²

These are the most important sources for a constitutional history of the cabinet in the first half of the eighteenth century. They are fragmentary and often unsatisfactory, but taking them altogether one may perhaps construct an account fairly complete.

¹ Cf. MS. State Papers Domestic, George I, bundle 28, Aug. 14, 1721, bundle 29, Dec. 1721, bundle 51, Aug. 12, 1724; bundle 52, May 29, 1726. On July 1, 1721, Carterot issued an order to the attorney-general to prosecute two publishers for "imprinting a Traiterous Libel Entitude the Weekly Journal or Saturdays Post, with freshest Advices Foreign and Domestick." MS. State Papers Domestic, Entry Books, 1720-1721, f. 266.

² Ci. "The True History Of Dr. Robin Sublimate, And his Associates; Or, Bob turn'd Physician," etc. (London, 1733), "Like will to Like, As The Scabby Squire [Will Pulteney, according to a manuscript note] Said to the Mangey Viscount [Bolingbroke] Set forth in the History of Will. Squelsh, and Harry Halter, formerly Servants at the Red-Lyon in Brentford, part I." (London, 1728); a rough drawing facing a ballad, "Robin and Will; or, The Millers of Arlington," in which the bad management of the new miller (Sir Robert Walpole) is shown to have brought the mill to a stop, while the weather-vane (ship of Stato) has fallen over, "Poems 1681–1801." No. 20; an engraving "In Place," showing the arrogant and powerful Walpole refusing to look at Jenkins' ear, "Gough Maps," XLV, 1. 187.



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FRANÇOIS DE GUISE AND THE TAKING OF CALAIS.

By PAUL VAN DYKE.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century Anguetil, in the preface of "L'Esprit de la Ligue," tells how, after having read all printed authorities essential to his subject, he went to Mr. Melot, keeper of the manuscripts of the Royal Library, who at once opened to him the cabinets of his treasures. After several visits, Anguetil became frightened at the vastness of the collection, and asked the learned librarian if he thought it necessary to go over all those manuscript He answered, "that the most important memoirs had been printed, that perhaps it might be possible to glean some useful and agreeable anecdotes, but that, for his part, he would not dare to assure me that the harvest would be worth the labour." "From that moment," Anguetil adds, "I stopped my work." It is a long way from that mood to the idolatry of the unprinted prevalent now, when, as Abbé Marchand remarks with a humorous sigh,1 "One doesn't see anything but unedited documents; every day someone publishes contracts, receipts, public announcements of routine business which, without the smallest loss, could just as well have been left buried in the dust of the archives." And the tired modern reader, at the sight of more than one appendix of documents, feels inclined to adopt the sentiments of Mr. Melot's contemporary, the copyist of the Portefeuilles de Fontanieu, in regard to a certain collection of manuscripts. "It is a task almost beyond human patience to read all these pieces." The way to lose the important is to drown it thus in the little."

I trust you will not think I fall into this error by laying before you some extracts from a manuscript memoir unused by historians—at least a rather extensive reading has found citations from it only in Mr. Paul Courteault's "Blaise de Monluc, Historien" (Paris, 1908).

When François de Guise came back from Italy, October 9, 1557,² France was in a dangerous situation, for which he was as much responsible as any man living. He had been the most active in urging the King to break the truce with Spain, which left France in possession of all the conquests she had made from the house of

^{1 &}quot;Le Maréchal de Vieilleville" (Paris, 1893).

^{2 &}quot;Calendar of State Papers, Venetian," Oct. 10, 1557.

Austria and gave her the peace imperatively demanded by her exhausted finances. He had led over the Alps 13,000 picked troops, partly drawn from Picardy and Champagne, thus left exposed to invasion. He had pushed down the peninsula for a risky attack on Naples, which promised far more glory to him and gain to the ambitious nephews of the Pope than to France.

The costly and audacious enterprise, whose one chance of success lay in the faithful sacrifices of untrustworthy allies, ended in failure. Guise was obliged to raise the siege of the little town of Civitella. Habile captain as he always was, he drew off his troops without disaster, but Alva held him stalemated near Rome, with nothing to do but nurse his men attacked by disease and watch his Italian allies go over to the enemy. From the threatened discredit of this breakdown of his military and diplomatic plans, he was called home (May 28, 1558),² in a polite note by the Constable of France. He was a long while making his preparations, and it was not until September that the Venetian ambassador, visiting him in Rome, found him booted and spurred, ready to ride to his galleys and sail for France.

When he arrived he was not met as an unsuccessful general back from an inglorious and mistaken military adventure, but as the most powerful man beside the throne. He was greeted by a Latin poet as "the greatest leader of the French; the only man who could raise once more the fallen fortunes of France from the great catastrophe which had cast her prostrate never to rise unless he helped her." ⁸

The thing which gave the unsuccessful general the rôle of national leader was a great misfortune, wiping out all thought of the ill success of his fundamentally bad plan of attacking Naples because of the terrible price France had to pay for a single blunder in the presence of the enemy; a blunder made by his greatest rival, the Constable Montmorency. The Spaniards and English invading France from the north with an army of about 50,000 men, had invested St. Quentin. The constable, who had with difficulty gathered 20,000 men, advanced to reenforce the besieged, and then retreated. In this movement he was caught at a disadvantage and his army was all but annihilated.

When, after this catastrophe, Guise was given supreme command of the military forces, with the title of lieutenant general of the King, he showed his usual energy and soon had 20,000 men mustered at Compiègne, with 15,000 more in reserve. The allied forces had been gradually withdrawn to winter quarters across the border, and it was supposed that the campaigning season was over. But, on the 7th of January, 1558,4 Guise announced to the King the completion of a

¹ de Crue, "Anne de Montmorency" (Paris, 1889), 194.

^{2 &}quot;Mémoires-Journaux du Duc de Guise: Michaud et Pou Joulat." 358.

L'Hospital, "Oeuvres Complets" (Paris, 1825), III, 282.
 "Cal. St. P., Van.", Jan. 9, 1558.

feat of arms that flattered French pride and pleased French feeling more than any victory that could have been imagined. After a week's siege, he had taken Calais, for 200 years the stronghold on French soil of the hereditary enemies of France, who had proudly cut into the arch of the gates that "the Frenchman would take Calais when iron and lead floated like cork." The joy of the French at the victory may be measured by the chagrin of the English. The Bishop of Ely, envoy to the peace conference, told the Spanish plenipotentiaries that "he would sooner go back to England in a coffin than agree that France should keep Calais, for the people would surely stone him." ¹

The conqueror's glory was heightened by the magnificent generosity which made him refuse his share of the plunder of the city, estimated at about a million in gold. His brother wrote to his wife: ²

I assure you there never was a lieutenant of the King so liberal of his goods or of his blood as he is. But the Cardinal of Lorraine intends to ask the King to give him the Conté d'Oy, which is worth perhaps seven or eight thousand livres annually, and attach the said county and the house of that city to his son, as a souvenir of the service which he has done by the conquest of that city.

It is small wonder that so spectacular a success, following such depression and danger, made Guise the man of the hour. The Parliament of Paris,³ in registering the deed of gift from the King of the old House of Merchants, commented on "the modest greatness of the said Seigneur Duc, who, content with the glory, spread now throughout the universe, of having taken a city and conquered a country whose capture, for 200 years, had not only never been undertaken by any man in deed but not even conceived of in thought, asks no other trophy than a house in that city which he has given to us."

Historians have not grown weary of pointing out the reasoned daring which led Guise to choose for attack the very time when everyone thought Calais safe, and so to take it. But a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, entitled "Mémoires de l'Etat des Affaires de France soubs la fin du Regne de Henri II," tells a circumstantial story which, sustained as it is by strong contemporary testimony, printed but hitherto overlooked, proves that Guise is not the man to praise for the strategy of attacking Calais in the winter. The manuscript is unsigned, but the writer shows a knowledge of details which adds force to his assertion that he writes "as near to the truth as possible, according to what I have been able to see and hear, being ordinarily close to the King and those who have the management of his affairs." He is so very laudatory of the Duke of Guise that he can not be suspected of any bias against him in relating facts which

¹ Plénipotentuaires Espagnols au roi, Oct. 26, 1558. Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granville, V, 319.

² Fonds français (Bibliothèque Nationale) 3231, f. 86. The MS. is undated but the following citation suggests the date.

^{3&}quot; Mémoires—Journaux du duc de Guise," 422.

give part of the glory to the King. He relates how the King, having been told before that Calais could be taken, ordered Guise to attack it. Guise objected that it was impossible to attack it in the winter. The King then sent Marshal Strozzi and Senarpont to reconnoiter the place. Strozzi returned and assured the King that the enterprise was certainly feasible, if it were carried out at the proper time, but the season did not seem to him fit for the same reasons which the Duke of Guise had alleged.

To this the King replied, that if it was feasible at all, he wished to show them that this was the best time to do it, because the city is in a place full of water and marshes, where it is most necessary for assailants to have freezing weather; such weather would come in January or never. He added that what rendered the enterprise easier, was the small number of men there because they had no suspicion of attack. If they saw an army beginning to move in that direction at the commencement of spring, they could put more men into the garrison, but they would never do it now at a season so unusual for military operations. He added also that, in the spring, the sea was higher and therefore it was easier to help the besieged, and the swamps were fuller. In addition, the place was so far from the forces which must be assembled that the forces of the enemy would always get there before ours were mobilized, and that, if they had the least army in the world, there was no means of taking it. Besides the English were much occupied with the war in Scotland, and their best men were there, which stopped them from helping the city or doing anything to prevent its capture. These reasons, being entirely his own, and enforcing his will which was fixed on that point, gave him as much desire to try that enterprise as if our Lord Himself had inspired the idea against the counsel and opinion of everybody. It was impossible to turn him from it. There followed several goings and comings. M. de la Brosse was sent to the King by the Sieur de Guise. Another time M. de la Bourdaisière, gentleman of the Chamber of the King and intimate with his plans, was sent to M. de Guise. Afterwards the Sieur de Sipierre was sent to the King. All these laid before him the great difficulties already mentioned * * *. The season so troublesome and bad that it was probable the soldiers must endure great hardships—the probability that if the weather troubled them and at the same time money was lacking for their pay they would take that pretext to abandon him and refuse to do anything—the fact that it was necessary to take a big train of artillery into a country where, after rain, horses can not move a cannon, wherefore there was danger of the unpaid soldiers abandoning them in bad weather to the enemy, etc., etc.

The King, remaining firm in his opinion and will that this enterprise of his should be carried out no matter what reason was alleged against it, made the best provision he could for all the things asked for by the Duke of Guise * * *.

In that capture of Calais, one ought first to recognize the influence of Our Lord who gives us testimony of the favour which He has granted to the King and the Kingdom after the affliction which He gave him; because, having guided him as if by the hand against the opinion of all men to try to carry out so difficult an enterprise and one so unhoped of everyone, He gave him the victory in a time outside of the season of war; and in truth to show us that it was from Him the blessing came.

The correctness of this account of the origin of the plan for attacking Calais in winter (a risky plan which won success, but almost brought disaster) is supported by contemporary printed sources. Brantôme has vague and incomplete memory of the truth. The

¹ See extracts from the original at the end of this paper. Cinq cents de Colbert, XXVI.

testimony of La Place that "the duke made such difficulty about going to Calais, considering the success of the journey impossible, as even to protest that what he did in the matter was only in obedience to the very express commands of the King," might be put aside because of the known anti-Guise bias of the Huguenot author. And therefore Lemonnier in the section "La France sous Henri II" in Lavisse's history of France, the latest authoritative review of the period, alludes doubtfully to the "assertions" of these authors. But I should like to bring forward in support of the correctness of the manuscript three entirely uncited witnesses.

The first is the poet Du Bellay. He published in a single sheet "A hymn to the King on the taking of Calais." In it occurs a verse thus translated:

But to whom, Sire, must the honor of so grand a victory and so great a happiness be attributed? After God, to you, who first designed the enterprise of so great a capture against the advice of those who had not well considered it

The second witness is Michel de l'Hospital; and it must be remembered that at this time no such doubt could arise about L'Hospital's testimony concerning the Duke of Guise as might be alleged in regard to La Place. The Lorraines were still L'Hospital's patrons, and some 15 Latin poems and epistles of a flattering tone express his admiration for them. Among these is an "Ode on the taking of the cities of Calais and Guines." The following lines of it are based plainly on the fact that the King was the author of the plan to attack in winter:²

To our leaders by the great gift of the gods the victory long desired came from Heaven. When the sea and icy winter and the ancient renown of the city and the late disaster of the lost battle, and a too long adverse fortune, might have diverted even the bravest from such an undertaking, one purpose ever remained fixed in thy mind, O Henry, and thou alone, they say, didst keep firm the souls of thy soldiers. Doubtless that men might learn that the minds of Kings, by a heavenly power, are impelled and led whither it seems best to the gods, and where mortal senses would not suffice to bring them, and may cease to wonder why many things happen as they do and to ask the reasons.

The third witness to the truth of the manuscript story is the Venetian ambassador in France. I regret that I had not time, when I made these extracts from the manuscript Mémoires de l'État des Affaires de France, to consult the full transcripts of the dispatches in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the printed calendars in the Rolls Series afford very remarkable confirmation in detail of the account—the more remarkable because the writer at the time could not always fathom what was going on. Let me bring out in summary the main points of a series of 12 dispatches: ³

¹ Fédéric Morel (Paris, 1558). An example of this is in the Portefeuilles de Fontanieu, 287, f. 93.

² See citation from the original at the end of this article.

² 1557, Oct. 10, 27, Nov. 4, 9, 14, 20, 21, Dec. 2, 6, 11, 15; 1558, Jan. 1.

November 4: "Yesterday Guise went to Compiègne with Strozzi. It is understood that he contemplates some expedition, but the project is kept secret."

November 20: "Guise still mustering troops in Compiègne. Four days ago Strozzi left Compiègne with a servant, and on returning, by order of Guise, came here to court, where he had a long conversation with the King. It is now said Guise will be here in two days, and, though the affair is secret, I hear on good authority that the expedition of Luxemburg is proposed, to which effect Strozzi went incognito to reconnoiter the fortress there. * * Strozzi reports the enterprise to be easy when the season promises more propitious weather, but he rather dissuades the King from undertaking it * * * nor does the Duke of Guise assent to it in any way and will come to court to advise against it, but the King remains firm."

November 21. "Mutiny of German troops at Compiègne; therefore Guise will not come to court. All the nobility of France are with Guise, and the provisions of the army do not seem to imply a campaign of a few days."

November 29: "The day before last M. de la Brochia [de la Brosse], lieutenant of the Duke of Guise, came to tell the King that the duke was ready to march on receiving any commands from him, but it was his opinion and that of the whole army that, the season being so far advanced, nothing of any importance could be done, * * * so he prayed the King to be content that for the present winter things should pass without making any further expedition. * * * I have also heard, on good authority, that his excellency [Guise] desires the delay greatly for his own personal advantage, it seeming to him that, at the commencement of his rule, to begin with an undertaking of such difficult success could not but vastly disparage his repute."

December 6. "Public report is that the troops will be divided in garrisons, but it is still surmised that it is intended to make some expedition, but some persons now go jeering that it might be that of Calais. * * * His Most Christian Majesty continues more than ever bent on the performance of some undertaking."

December 11: "Reports that, in opinion of those in a position to know, Calais is the objective"

December 15. 'Reports ordered movement of troops in detail. The whole undertaking has been counseled with Marshal Strozzi and the execution left almost completely to his management. It is now positive that they will attempt Calais * * * Strozzi reconnoitered it November 11, and, although from the difficulties he found there his opinion was that they let it be until a better season, the King nevertheless disapproved of any further delay.'

1 "Environ ce temps Monsieur le mareschal Strossy qui avoit esté à pied recognoistre la place de Calais et veu touttes choses à l'oeil comme on les luy avoit designées lequel confirma au roy que certainement l'enterprise estoit fesable quand elle seroit executée en temps apropos mais que la saison ne luy sembloit pas propos pour les mesmes raisons que mondict Sieur de Guise luy avoit alleguées, ausquelles ayant esté repliqué par ledict Sieur que si elle estoit fesable il leur vouloit monstrer qu elle estoit plus apropos que jamais d'autant qu ell'est en lieu plein d eau et de marescz ou il est plus requis d avoir un temps de gelée * * * qu'il falloit que ce temps vinst en Janvier ou jamais que ce qui rendoit l'enterprise plus aisée estoit le peu d'hommes qu il y avoit qu ils n'auroient nul doubte d'estre assaillye * * * en une saison si estrange ils n'y en mettroient jamais davantage comme ils feroient au commencement du printemps quand ils verroient une armée marcher de ce costé la, qu'au printemps la mer estoit plus grande et par la le secours plus aisé et les marestz plus pleins que ce lieu estoit si loing des forces qu'il falloit qu'il assemblast qui estoient Suisses et Allemands que celles des ennimys leur seroient tousjours plustost venues que les siennes ne seroient ensemble et qu ayant la moindre armée du monde il n'y avoit ordre d'y aller que

les Angloys estoient fort empeschez a la guerre d'Escosse ou estoient leurs meilleurs hommes que leur osteroit autant de moyen de la secourir n'y faire enterprise qui peust empescher la conquiste lesquelles raisons venues de luymesmes et confortant sa volonté qui estoit toutte en cela luy donnerent tant d'envie comme si nostre Seigneur l'eust inspiré de tenter et essayer cette enterprise contre l'opinion et conseil de tous les hommes qu'il n'y eust plus moyen de l'en destourner. Sur cela il y eust plusieurs allées et venües, une fois Monsieur de la Brosse fust envoyé vers le Roy par mondict Sieur de Guise, une autre foys Monsieur de la Bourdaisière gentilhomme de la chambre dudict Sieur qui est de ses affaires fust renvoyé vers Monsieur de Guise et despuis le Sieur de Sipierre vers le Roy par tous lesquels il luy remonstroit les grandes difficultes susdictes * * *. [There follows an account of the siege and capture of Calais in fifty-two pages]

Le Roy demeurant ferme en son opinion et volonté que cette sienne enterprise se fist quelque raison qui luy fust alleguée donna la meilleure provision qu'il peust a touttes les choses susdictes * * *.

Il faut en cette prinse de Calais premièrement recognoistre comme j'ay dict cy dessus en quelques endroicts les effects de nostre Seigneur qui nous donnoit tesmoignage de la faveur qu'il a presté au Roy et à son royaume après l'affliction qu il luy a donné car l'ayant guidé comme par la main contre l'opinion de tous les hommes à tenter et executer une si haulte enterprise et si inespirée à tout le monde il luy en a donné en un temps hors de saison la victoire et de faict pour nous monstrer que c'estoit de luy que ce bien nous venoit.

Voila Calais entre les mains du Roy voila les anglois qui en sont entierement chassez—voila le Roy le plus content et satisfaict que prince scauroit estre pour se veoir à bout d une enterprise qui luy seul a debattue et voulu estre facteur qu'il a opiniastrée et quasi par la main de Dieu conduitte, dont * * *.

¹ Sed nostris ducibus praeclaro munire divum

Intentata prius coelo victoria venit.

Quum mare, quum glacialis hiems, et quum vetus urbis

Gloria, quumque recens adversae infamia pugnae

Et nimium fortuna diu contraria, possent

Talibus, audaces quamvis, abducere coeptis,

Mens, Errice, tamen semper tibi constitit una,

Impellique, trahique, Deis quocumque videtur, Et quo mortales nequeunt pertingere sensus, Addiscant homines: mirari cur ita fiant Plurima, factorumque absistant quaerere causas.

Te solum referent animos firmasse tuorum: Scilicet ut regum coelesti numine mentes

¹ P. J. S. Dufey, "Oenvres Complets de Michel L'Hospital" (Paris, 1825), III, 242.

VII. FACTIONS IN THE ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL UNDER ELIZABETH.

By CONYERS READ,
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FACTIONS IN THE ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL UNDER ELIZABETH.

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Broadly speaking, the English Privy Council under Elizabeth had two kinds of functions to perform. It had to help the Queen formulate her policy upon all matters to which the royal prerogative extended, and it served as her principal instrument for putting that policy into action. In a word, it was both advisory and executive. The scope of its work has been enlarged upon too many times to need repetition. Its manner of working is less perfectly known. The Queen herself apparently never attended its meetings. When she wished its advice she laid the matters for consideration before it through one of its own members, generally through the principal secretary. The discussion was probably quite informal. It is difficult to say in what manner the sense of the Council upon particular questions was ascertained, and how this was conveyed to the Queen. Since the attendance at Council meetings did not average above seven, formal methods of procedure could be pretty easily dispensed with.

It is quite clear, however, that Elizabeth never felt herself under any obligations to consult her Council at large. She sought its advice when she saw fit, but she reserved many delicate questions for the ears of a select few from among its members. Such questions very frequently never reached the Privy Council as a whole at all.

The same thing was true of her attitude toward the Council in its executive capacity. Much of its business was, of course, more or less formal and all such it disposed of as a body. Furthermore, there were certain departments of the administration to which individual councillors, by virtue of their special offices, attended. The lord high treasurer, for instance, had general oversight of the finances, and the principal secretaries took charge of most of the correspondence. But a good deal of important administrative work fell outside these assignments. In coping with it the Queen used her councillors without much regard to their formal positions. Naturally those who proved to be most efficient had most to do. Like all the Tudors, Elizabeth had a fine eye for a capable servant and she singled out her ablest councillors to do all her most difficult work without much regard either for their predilections or their powers of endurance.

No doubt, from the beginning of her reign to the end, marked differences of opinion revealed themselves among the members of the Privy Council. It was desirable and indeed inevitable that it should have been so. To investigate these differences in detail would involve a review of the whole course of her policy at home and abroad. Such is not my purpose. I intend to confine myself to certain general observations upon the subject during the period between 1574 and 1588, when the three most conspicuous of Elizabeth's councillors, Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham, were working together in the Council—a period, moreover, during which the main features of her policy were pretty clearly defined.

In January, 1574, the Privy Council consisted of seventeen members, of whom, however, only thirteen were in anything like regular attendance at the Council meetings. Of these thirteen, seven were peers and six commoners. The peers were the Earls of Bedford, of Arundel, of Lincoln, of Sussex, of Leicester, and of Warwick, and Lord Burghley. Of these all except Bedford and Arundel held important offices at court. Lincoln and Arundel had sat in the Council of Queen Mary. Burghley had been secretary of state under Edward VI. The rest began their careers as privy councillors under Elizabeth.

The six commoners all held office at court. Sir Nicholas Bacon was lord keeper of the great seal; Sir James Crofts, comptroller of the household; Sir Francis Knollys, vice chamberlain and treasurer of the household; Sir Walter Mildmay, who sat only occasionally, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir Thomas Smith and Francis Walsingham, principal secretaries. Of these, Smith had been secretary of state under Edward VI. The rest were new men.

Such was the group of councillors that sat around Elizabeth's council table in January, 1574. They represented fairly well the character of the Privy Council during the next fifteen years. There were, however, several important changes in its personnel during this period which should be noted. Bacon and Smith both died before 1580, and Sir Thomas Bromley and Sir Thomas Wilson took their places. Sussex died in 1583, and Lord Howard of Effingham succeeded him as lord chamberlain the next year, to become lord high admiral upon Lincoln's death, in 1585. Lord Hunsdon, first cousin to the Queen and governor of Berwick, was made privy councillor in 1577; Sir Christopher Hatton in 1578. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Cobham, and Lord Buckhurst were added early in 1586. There were other changes also; but these were the most significant ones.

It has been pointed out already that all the councillors did not play an equally important part in the service of the Crown. There appears to have existed, in fact, within the Privy Council a kind of cabinet of men whom the Queen trusted above their fellows and who were, under her, chiefly responsible for the formulation and execution of her policy. Of these the principal figure was Lord Burghley, and the others Leicester, Sussex, Walsingham, Bacon, Hunsdon, and Hatton. Even in this smaller group Bacon and Hunsdon and Hatton were less important than the rest. Some of these men, like Burghley and Walsingham, were singled out because of their ability; others, like Leicester and Hatton, because they were dear to the Queen's heart. Officially, they were on the same plane with the other councillors; practically, they dominated the council and determined, so far as their imperious mistress permitted, the policy of the Crown.

If it be true, and contemporary evidence leaves little room for doubt about the matter, that these men did dominate the Council, it follows a fortiori that their attitude determined the existence of factions within that body. From divisions in their ranks factions must spring, and could certainly only gain significance among their colleagues at large if countenanced by their support. It will be pertinent, therefore, in this connection to examine their relations to one another and to the big questions, domestic and foreign, which they had to face and tried to solve.

The obvious point of departure lies in the inveterate antagonism of Burghley and Leicester. Both of these men had a powerful influence over the Queen. She called Burghley her "spirit" and Leicester her "sweet Robin." One might perhaps say that Burghley appealed to her mind and Leicester to her heart, and that they exemplified the proverbial opposition of these two organs. It is certain that each one continually tried to displace the other from his position of influ-The contest between them began at the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign and ended only with Leicester's death. It seems to have sprung in the first place from Leicester's ambition to marry the Queen, which Burghley was determined to thwart and probably was largely instrumental in thwarting. It was embittered by an attempt, which Leicester undoubtedly abetted, to turn Burghley out of power in 1569. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that on most questions, domestic and foreign, Leicester and Burghley took opposite sides. One must not, however, make the mistake of supposing that the difference between them was entirely a personal one. It may have originated in a private quarrel, but it owed its persistence to the fact that these two men, radically different in temperament as they were, came to represent opposing views as to the methods and aims of Elizabethan policy which divided the Privy Council at large. The personal antipathy merely added an element of bitterness to issues far more fundamental; issues which were at bottom not personal, not even political, but rather, like most sixteenth century issues, essentially religious.

Elizabeth herself was no doubt decently orthodox in the fundamentals of her creed, but she never could understand why men should make such a pother about what she considered minor points of religion. To her a candle or a prayer more or less, the wearing of a vestment, the bending of a knee were matters indifferent, questions not of faith but of expediency. She believed uniformity to be a political necessity, and she expected her subjects to submit to it for the same reasons of state which induced her to exact it. She made no inquiry into men's consciences and held that to be sufficient allowance for differences of religious opinion. Yet she very soon found that the sixteenth-century world at large felt quite differently about the matter; that what she reckoned incidental her contemporaries accounted essential, and that religion in this sense was not merely a force to be reckoned with, but that it was, in fact. the crucial problem both in her domestic and foreign affairs. home it imposed upon her the difficult business of defining a State church and dealing with Catholic and Protestant dissenters. Abroad it changed the whole aspect of European politics. The Protestant Reformation, and the counter reformation which followed hard upon it, cut straight athwart national lines and threatened to replace national antagonisms with religious ones. There was no longer any certainty that Elizabeth might play her father's game of balancing one possible enemy against another. She had to fear that they would pocket old differences and join together under the banner of the Holy League against her. No doubt this danger was more apparent than real, but it forced her to consider the foreign problem from a somewhat different angle. Protestant uprisings both in France and the Spanish Netherlands furnished her with the opportunity of weakening her two most dangerous neighbors by lending support to their rebellious subjects. The vital question for her to decide was how far she might with safety resort to this expedient and how far it would be wiser to follow the beaten paths of Tudor policy and trust that the national rivalry of France and Spain would prove stronger than the religious forces which tended to unite them.

Neither the domestic nor the foreign problems were easy ones to solve. A good many objections presented themselves to every possible solution, and the dangers attending a single misstep were grave. Elizabeth herself found it impossible to frame any consistent policy. Her councillors were very much divided in their views. Probably no two of them thought just alike about the matter. But, with a proper allowance for individual differences, it is possible to identify at least two factions among them, each of which was fairly consistent in its views and each of which regarded the religious

problem, in all its diverse aspects, from a different angle and wished to solve it in a different way.

These were the two factions of which Burghley and Leicester became the leaders. Their own views will serve to define fairly clearly the views of their partisans.

Burghley's attitude toward the religious question was essentially Erastian. In spite of his conformity to Roman Catholicism under Mary, he was, no doubt, a sincere Protestant, but, like the Queen herself, he was disposed to let national considerations shape religious ones. In helping Elizabeth to establish her church in England, he was chiefly guided by reasons of state. With most of his contemporaries he opposed a policy of toleration. He felt the necessity for a State church and regarded dissent from it as a dangerous kind of rebellion. He was intolerant of Catholic recusants, almost equally intolerant of Puritans. Probably he never accurately gauged in others the strength of a religious zeal which he never experienced himself. For that very reason he never lent a whole-hearted support to a foreign policy which depended for its success upon the religious zeal of Dutch Calvinists and French Huguenots. He inclined rather to discount the force of religion in continental affairs and to follow a course of policy abroad which was based upon the ancient antagonism of France and Spain. He was in fact essentially conservative and essentially national in his views; much less passionate, much more crafty, and fundamentally a good deal more closely attuned to the Queen's own temperament than his rival. Therefore he rather more than held his own, and moderated, if he could not prevent, the whole-hearted support of the Protestant cause which Leicester and his faction demanded.

Burghley's views, and to a considerable extent his personal antagonism to Leicester, were shared by the older members of the Privv Council. Sussex, the lord chamberlain, hated Leicester with all the fervor of a passionate nature. Like Burghley, Sussex was a Protestant. Like Burghley also, his Protestant zeal he had well tempered by a period of Catholic conformity under Mary. He was a skillful diplomatist, a gallant soldier, and an accomplished courtier, and was, moreover, related to the Queen through his mother. For all of these reasons he enjoyed a considerable amount of the royal favor. Throughout his life he was a constant advocate of Burghley's views. Lord Hunsdon, Elizabeth's first cousin, belonged to the same faction. After Sussex died, in 1583, Burghley seems to have tried to make use of Hunsdon as a counterpoise to Leicester at court, "though God wot," Walsingham wrote in bearing testimony to the fact, "he be but a weak one." Among the other councillors, the lord admiral, who had also conformed under Mary, Bacon, Burghley's brother-inlaw, and Sir James Crofts, who was later imprisoned for treasonable

dealings with Spain, were of the same party; so were Whitgift, Cobham, and Buckhurst, who were created councillors in 1586 for the express purpose of counterbalancing the influence of Leicester's friends. No doubt the fact that most of these men were older than their colleagues had something to do with their conservative tendencies. Several of them had received their political training and shaped their religious views before Elizabeth came to the throne.

Opposed to this faction was the group of ardent Protestants in the Council, most of them younger men, almost all of them without political experience when Elizabeth came to the throne. Leicester was their leader, not so much because of his abilities, which were mediocre at best, but because his commanding position beside the Queen gave them an advocate and won for their ideas a consideration which they could hardly otherwise have got. He was the fifth son of that Duke of Northumberland, who had governed England in the later years of Edward VI, and was implicated with his father in the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the English throne. In spite of that fact he not only survived the reign of Mary, but held office under her. Although he was educated a Protestant, his religious convictions probably went no deeper than was convenient. Nevertheless he identified himself from the first with the interests of the radical Protestants under Elizabeth and during the period under consideration was no doubt their most powerful advocate at court.

Easily the most conspicuous of Leicester's followers in the Council was Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary. The Spanish ambassador in his correspondence constantly coupled their names together. He spoke of Walsingham on one occasion as Leicester's spirit. The truth appears to be that Walsingham supplied the brains and framed the policy while Leicester furnished the court influence of the faction. There can be no doubt at all about the vigor of Walsingham's protestantism. He had been a refugee abroad during Mary's reign, and, like most of his fellows in exile, came back with Protestant ideas much more radical than those which the established church represented. Although he believed in a State church he would have carried the Reformation a good deal further in England than Elizabeth was willing to carry it. His foreign policy was shaped by the same motives. He pinned little faith to alliances with Catholic princes and wished Elizabeth to throw herself heart and soul into the religious struggle abroad. As he wrote to Leicester on one occasion, he preferred "first God's glory, and afterwards her Majesty's safety." In a word he placed religious considerations before considerations of State. To be more accurate, he identified the two. To his thinking, the interests of England and the interests of protestantism at large were one and the same.

It is easy to pick out of the Privy Council the other members of this Protestant faction. Among the peers were Leicester's brother. Warwick, and the Earl of Bedford. Warwick naturally followed his powerful brother. Bedford, who was Warwick's father-in-law. was an ardent Protestant and had been a refugee on the Continent during Mary's reign. Among the commoners, Walsingham was the most conspicuous, but was certainly no more ardent in his Protestant affiliations than was Sir Francis Knollys. Like Walsingham, Knollys had been a refugee abroad under Mary, and like him also came back more radically Protestant than ever, and was probably the most outspoken of all of the Council in his criticism of the established church. The fact that he had married Elizabeth's first cousin, perhaps, gave him a kind of warrant for his frankness. Leicester, Warwick, Bedford, Walsingham, and Knollys together formed the nucleus of the Protestant faction in the Council. In some sense one might speak of them as a family compact, because they were all related to each other by blood or by marriage. It is significant to observe, also, that with the exception of Hunsdon all the conspicuous additions which were made to the Privy Council between 1573 and 1586 belonged to the same party. There can be little doubt that this fact was due to Leicester's influence beside the Queen. Burghley himself ruefully admitted as much. Bromley was Leicester's candidate for the office of lord keeper and got the office in spite of Burghley's opposition. Wilson was an ardent Protestant. Howard's sympathies were plainly with the party of war. Even Sir Christopher Hatton, though no doubt he owed his office primarily to the personal affection of the Queen for him, remained Leicester's close friend and staunch sunporter so long as they were associated in the Council.

It is evident that during most of the period under consideration Leicester and his partisans commanded numerical preponderance in the Privy Council. If Elizabeth's policy had been determined by counting noses in that body, Leicester and Walsingham for eight or nine years would have controlled the destinies of England. This, however, was not the case, because the Queen only followed the advice of her Council when it suited her and was much more often at odds with the Protestant faction than in accord with them. Yet indirectly the sentiment of her Council at large must have had considerable weight with her. Furthermore, after the death of Secretary Smith in 1577, both the principal secretaries were of Leicester's persuasion. This gave him a very considerable advantage, because the secretaries, Walsingham particularly, were responsible for the correspondence which passed to and from Government agents at home and abroad. Theoretically they merely acted for the Queen; practically they could and did largely determine the character of the instructions which subordinate officials received and the character of the reports which

these officials made to the Queen. There can be little doubt, either, that they had a good deal to do with the appointment of these officials. It is therefore not surprising to find that most of the public servants of the Crown, particularly those employed abroad, were little more than agents of Walsingham and that their conduct in office was largely determined by him. In the actual administration of the Government the Protestant faction clearly dominated the situation.

If time served, it would be worth while to follow in detail the influence of these factions upon the great questions of the time. In domestic affairs it is not at all surprising to find it cropping out in connection with the religious settlement. The Protestant faction was evidently much less tolerant in its attitude toward the Catholics than the Conservatives were. Burghley's party, on the other hand, was much more severe in dealing with Protestant nonconformity. The Puritans regarded Walsingham as their best friend in England, and though he strongly urged them to temper their zeal he was clearly in sympathy with their religious ideas. How far he and Leicester were responsible for mitigating the severity of their persecution it is difficult to say, but it is worth noticing that they were not very vigorously dealt with until the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, when their two most powerful advocates had passed from the scene.

In that other interesting aspect of domestic affairs, the problem of dealing with Mary Stuart, the influence of factions is also apparent. If one were to judge entirely from the closing scene in Mary's life, one would be disposed to assert that Burghley and Walsingham were agreed that the short way with Mary was the best way. Very likely at bottom they were agreed. The difficulty, however, was that this solution of the matter remained for so many years an uncertain hope that English councillors must have almost ceased to expect it. consequence the more cautious of them, in view of the fact that Mary was clearly the heir presumptive, thought it well to make some preparation against possible contingencies. It is probable that Burghley and his friends labored to create among Mary's friends the idea that they were not altogether hostile to her. If we may judge from Mary's correspondence, they were not altogether unsuccessful. The Radicals. on the other hand, made no concealment of the fact that they were for setting up her head upon London Bridge with the greatest possible dispatch: And in the end they achieved their purpose, although Walsingham was shrewd enough at the last minute to slip the responsibility of her execution upon Burghley's shoulders.

In foreign affairs the influence of factions appeared for the first time in connection with the debates over Elizabeth's policy toward the Dutch rebels in the year 1578. It became more apparent the next year, when Burghley and the Conservatives split with the Protestants over the Anjou marriage negotiations, and it developed steadily from that time onward. Drake's return from his trip around the world in

September, 1580, with a shipload of Spanish treasure, presented a new bone of contention. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, demanded that the plunder should be returned to its rightful owners and Drake punished as he deserved. Burghley and his faction, fearing trouble, favored restitution. Walsingham and Leicester dissented and won the day. A little later they gained a further point in their policy of hostility to Spain by proving Mendoza's complicity in the Throgmorton plot and securing his expulsion from England. Hard upon this came the question of the Low Countries as it presented itself the following year.

When the Dutch appealed to Elizabeth for aid after the murder of the Prince of Orange, their position was plainly desperate. Elizabeth, it seemed, had to choose between going to their assistance or watching them fall back into the hands of Spain, with the virtual certainty that once they were conquered Philip II would turn his arms against her. Leicester and Walsingham urged her on. Burghley and the Conservatives persisted in their opposition to an aggressive policy. But the Radicals had their way in the end. The departure of Leicester at the head of an English army to the Low Countries in December was a substantial victory for their cause.

It is commonly assumed that after war had been decided on Burghley acquiesced and was as forward as any of his colleagues in supporting Leicester's schemes. The truth, however, appears to be that while he protested his zeal for the cause in the most positive terms he worked constantly against Leicester underhandedly. There can be no doubt that he encouraged secret negotiations for peace with Parma, and there is some reason to believe that the lack of money of which Leicester was constantly complaining was due to his contrivance. Yet he was an extremely crafty person and played hispart so well that Walsingham himself could not be sure on which side of the fence to place him. At all events, although Leicester's failure in the Low Countries was chiefly due to his own incapacity, it should probably be ascribed in part to the underhand opposition of his old conservative opponents in the Privy Council.

Yet Leicester's expedition, failure though it was in itself, marked the final triumph of the radical policy. It committed Elizabeth definitely to war with Spain. As for Burghley's peace projects, they blew away before the breezes which wafted the Armada up the Channel.

The final result of the struggle between the conservatives and the Protestants, the peace party and the war party in the Privy Council, was that the party of war prevailed. Yet it was perhaps well for England that they prevailed no sooner than they did. Burghley's conservatism made England strong for the crisis. Walsingham's fine faith carried her triumphantly through the crisis when it came.

VIII. ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS, 1671-1672.

By EDWIN W. PAHLOW, Lawrenceville School.

ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS, 1671-1672.

By EDWIN W. PAHLOW.

After three years of bitter warfare the relations between England and Holland were changed in an instant, in 1667 (as a result of the French invasion of the Spanish Netherlands), from enmity to solemnly pledged friendship. Such an abrupt volt face presupposes an extraordinarily compelling force, and such a one, indeed, is to be found in the dangers which threatened the two countries from French expansion. As, however, Holland's danger was more immediate than England's, it is not surprising that in the latter country the anti-Dutch sentiment, which had been suppressed in the first ardor of renewed friendship, should soon have reasserted itself, and this natural tendency was accelerated by the English King, whose motive in joining the Triple Alliance was not at all that which the nation had supposed. Charles had little cause to love the Dutch, who, indeed, were anything but popular in the court circles of the day.1 We are told that there was, "in their conduct toward foreigners, even toward princes and crowned heads, something so coarse and rustic that persons of birth, reared in a manner of life more refined and delicate, could not endure it." 2

Aside from Charles's reasons for disliking the Dutch, he had decided reasons, based upon the state of affairs at home, for wooing France. Though during his reign the elements upon which the English constitution rested were in a condition of unstable equilibrium, the tendency toward Parliament as the ultimate determining element was not lost upon the King,³ and accordingly, when he found himself unable to check this tendency with the forces which lay at hand, he resolved to make use of his influence in European affairs to restore the ancient power of the Crown. France was the State which could help him, and with her he was carrying on secret negotiations when the subject of an alliance with Holland was broached. The price which he demanded from France, however, was greater than Louis was willing to pay, and it was for the purpose of making the latter realize the value of an English alliance that Charles dispatched Temple

¹ Legrelle, "La Diplomatte Française," I, 207.

Wicquefort, "Mémoires sur la Guerre, 1672," 98.

Ranke, "History of England" III 450 479 484-490; Lodge, "History of England," 96.

upon his famous mission.1 The plan worked well. Louis had been stung to the quick by the audacity of a bourgeois community's erecting a barrier against the advance of his ancient aristocratic State and his heart was set on revenge.2 For this he needed England's cooperation, and thus it was that, while Holland was seeking to strengthen the Triple Alliance (advancing on behalf thereof what to Charles was the ludicrously inadequate argument that therein lay England's true interest),⁸ the two kings were negotiating an Anglo-French alliance which contemplated a joint attack upon Holland and the rehabilitation of English royalty.4 With the restored kingship was to come Roman Catholicism; indeed, according to the treaty—the secret treaty of Dover of 1670—the declaration of the King's Catholicism was to precede the declaration of war; but about the middle of the year 1671 Charles decided to reverse this order, and he now sought to win the nation's support for his venture.

With this in view, he entered into a dispute with the States-General regarding the salute which England claimed for her ships, because upon this subject, as Arlington said, "the punctilio of the nation is so universal that it can not be held a safe thing to dispute it."5 The occasion was afforded in August, 1671, by the return from The Hague of Lady Temple, whose husband's embassy had just been officially terminated. The captain of the Merlin, a royal yacht placed at Lady Temple's disposal, was ordered to hunt up the Dutch fleet, which rode off the coast of Zeeland, and to demand, with guns if necessary, that it salute by striking the flag and lowering the topsail. As Charles had expected, this demand was refused, and the indignation of England was stirred to the depths.

In view of the fact that hostilities were not to begin until the following spring, five months were allowed to elapse before Charles's newly appointed ambassador, Sir George Downing, appeared at The Hague to demand reparation. During this time Downing, who was noted in his day as the prince of quarrelers," went out of his way to court the Dutch ambassador, John Boreel, a man of very second-rate ability, with assurances that his mission would tend solely toward preserving the good understanding between the two States.8

¹ Mignet, "Negociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne," II, 43; Ranke, III, 471; Lavisse, "Histoire de France," VII, pt. 2, p. 295.

² Legrelle, I, 198-204; Lavisse, VII, pt. 2, p. 300; Michels, "Zur vorgeschichte von Ludwigs XIV Einfall in Holland," 10; Rousset, "Histoire de Louvois," I, 517 ff.; Clément, "Histoire de Colbert," I, 304.

Boreel's letters, Feb. 3, 14, 21, 26, Mar. 4, 17, 24, 28, 31, Apr. 3, 7, 17, 1871; Hardwicke Papers, vol. DIV,

Brit. Mus. 35, 852.

⁴ Forneron, "Louise de Keroualle," 34; Lodge, 98; Cartwright, "Madame," 281; Ranke, III, 497; Mignet, III, 23, 32, 100, 107, 123, 155, 187-189, 200, 204-205, 226; Legrelle, I, 221-222, 224.

⁵ Courtenay, "Memoirs of Temple," I, 208; Basnage, "Annales des Provinces-Unies." II, 492.

⁶ Boreel's letter, Aug. 28, 1671, Brit. Mus., 35, 852; Hist. Mss. Com., Rep. II, App., 21; Mignet, III, 653. 7 Mignet, III, 229.

⁸ Boreel's letters, Oct. 9, Nov. 14, 1671, Brit. Mus. 35, 852.

ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS, 1671-1672.

King spoke in like terms, and since his sentiment harmonized with the general sentiment of the nation, Boreel assured De Witt that if the States would only give England satisfaction with regard to the flag the relations between the two States would remain amicable.¹

These assurances, which De Witt took almost at their face value. were so much the more welcome to him in that the Dutch relations with France were becoming more and more strained. The common report that the great military preparations going on in France were aimed against Holland had led the States to send a letter to the French King, declaring that upon careful examination of their past conduct they could find nothing which could possibly provoke him to hostilities, and expressing a willingness to grant him all reasonable satisfaction with regard to any outstanding differences between them.2 Louis had heard of Holland's negotiations with the House of Hapsburg for an alliance against him, and on receiving the States's letter, he had replied that these negotiations with his brother sovereigns had caused him to gather together some troops, though not so many as he would have in the spring, when he would use them in the way he judged most proper for the good of his kingdom and of his glory.3 What hopes of averting disaster still remained were therefore centered in England, whose ambassador, Downing, entered upon his duties just about the time that Louis's answer reached the States-General.

Downing, in his last conference with the King, had been given the keynote to his mission. He was not to endeavor to obtain satisfaction from Holland, but rather to bring matters to such a pass that all England would gladly concur in the war which Charles, together with the French King, was determined to wage against her.4 On the day of his formal entry into the Dutch capital, January 8, 1672, Downing received instructions ordering him to present a memorial to the States-General at once, demanding peremptorily their acknowledgment of the King's right to the dominion of the seas, and their promise that all their ships and fleets should upon warning strike their flag and lower their topsail to any ship-of-war carrying the King's flag, "as has been ever practiced," and finally the punishment of the Sieur van Ghent "for the affront done by him to a small English man-of-war [that is, the yacht Merlin], by refusing to strike." If this memorial remained unanswered a fortnight, he was to present another, demanding an answer forthwith, and if another week elapsed without an answer, he was to leave imme-

¹ Boreel's letter, Nov. 24, 1671, ibid.

² "Mélanges Historiques," I, 374; Grovestins, "Guillaume III et Louis XIV," II, 281; Flassan, "Histoire de la Diplomatie Française," III, 402-404.

² Mignet, III, 638, 663-681.

⁴ Ibid., III, 655.

diately. He was not, however, to inform the States of this last instruction.1

Downing's first memorial, presented on January 12, 1672, struck the States dumb with amazement, so much so that its two weeks' grace expired without bringing an answer, and accordingly, on January 26, he presented his second, demanding a prompt reply.² Under ordinary circumstances the States would have made short work of it, but now, wrote Downing, "this matter goes down very hardly." The alarming reports from abroad put Holland in a quandary, for she was loath to grant England's demands, and yet she realized that therein lay her only hope of obtaining England's aid.

It would seem that shortly after Downing's arrival at The Hague he had received additional instructions, ordering him to disregard his earlier instructions and to await indefinitely the States' answer to his memorial. His apparent disinclination to do so brought from the King an autograph letter, couched in very outspoken terms, which reached Downing on the 1st of February.⁵ On the following day, according to his earlier instructions, his third memorial was due. He hesitated; the King's injunctions were clear, yet Downing seemed eager to escape from The Hague, where he knew he was not beloved, and where he seems even to have feared violence at the hands of the common people.⁶ After 48 hours of indecision he determined to disregard the King's letter, and on February 3 he presented his third memorial, informing the States-General that since he had received no answer to his communication of January 12 he was obliged to leave at once, by express orders of the King.⁷

This announcement, Downing wrote, "made a noise here like an unexpected thunderclap," and brought the States to a realization of the critical state of affairs. Though heretofore they could not agree upon an answer, Downing's startling proceeding, together with a disquieting letter just received from Boreel, brought unity to their councils, and, to prevent Charles from joining the French King against Holland, on the pretext that he was defending England's rights on the seas, they resolved hurriedly that, if Charles would support them against France, in accordance with the treaty of the Triple Alliance, they would order their fleets to strike in the way

¹ Downing to Wilhamson, Jan. 8, 1672, St. Pap., For., Holl., 187, P. R. O. Ellis to Williamson, Jan. 11, 1672, St. Pap., Dom., 1671-72, 42.

² Downing to Williamson, Jan. 12, 1672, St. Pap., For., Holl., 183, P. R. O. State correspondence between England and the Netherlands, 1669-1672, transcribed from the archives at The Hague, Jan. 12, 26, 1672, Brit. Mus. 17, 677.

⁸ Downing to Williamson, Jan. 29, 1672, St. Pap., For., Holl., 188, P. R. O.

⁴ De Groot, "Lettres," 64.

^{5 &}quot;Facsimiles of Royal Autographs" (London, 1899); Thomas Williamson to Joseph Williamson, Feb. 2, 1672, St. Pap., For., Holl., 188, P. R. O.

⁶ Hist. MSS. Com., "Rep. VII," App., 368; Mignet, III, 696.

⁷ Feb. 3, 1672, Brit. Mus. 17, 677.

Bowning to Williamson, Feb. 5, 1672. St. Pap., For., Holl., 188, P. R. O.

Hop and Vivien, "Notulen gehouden ter Staten-vergadering van Holland," 13.

demanded, provided only that this should be done to show all honor to so great a king and ally, and that no prejudice should arise therefrom to the free navigation of their subjects. This answer was taken to Downing, who, however, refused to accept it, his embassy he said having been concluded, and he being no longer a representative of the King, but merely George Downing.¹

When Charles heard of Downing's intention of leaving The Hague. he thought the game was up. There seemed to be but two courses open to the Dutch, either of which would ruin his plans. On the one hand, they might make concessions which he would not dare to refuse; on the other hand, they might seize the English shipping in their ports, and send out their fleet, which they could do in much less time than the English, and which would inevitably result in the greatest demoralization in England. It was therefore with mingled joy and amazement that he learned that neither of the dreaded alternatives had been adopted, but that the States had made such a partial concession as would enable him to continue the negotiation with every appearance of sincerity. Resolved now to make complete submission impossible on their part, he sent a reply to the States' resolution, filled with demands so unreasonable that they could never be admitted.2 An extraordinary embassy from The Hague followed,3 and while Charles and Louis were making final preparations for war, the negotiations were dragged out,4 until, on the night of March 27, after news had been received of the unsuccessful attack upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet,5 the English commissioners announced to the Dutch ambassadors that the King had resolved in his council that day to make war upon the States-General.6

¹ Wicquefort, "Histoire des Provinces-Unies," IV, 364

Mignet, III, 697; Arlungton's reply to States-General, Feb. 3, 1672, St. Pap., For., Holl., 188, P. R. O.
 Wicquefort, "Histoire des Provinces-Unies," IV, 368; Meerman to States-General, Mar. 18, 22, 1672, Brit. May. 17, 677.

⁴ Verbaal gehouden bij de Heereu Johan Meerman ende Johan Boreel, 1672, Rijks Archief; Meerman and Boreel to the King, Mar. 27, 1672, St. Pap., For., Holl., 188, P. R. O.; Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. VII, App. I, 20.

⁵ St. Pap. Dom., 1671-72, 145, 180, 204, 206 ff.; Sylvius, "Historien onses Tydes," I, 190 ff.

⁶ Meerman and Boreel to States-General, Mar. 27, 1672, Brit. Mus. 17, 677.

IX. AMERICAN-JAPANESE INTERCOURSE PRIOR TO THE ADVENT OF PERRY.

By INAZO NITOBÉ,
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AMERICAN-JAPANESE INTERCOURSE PRIOR TO THE ADVENT OF PERRY.

By INAZO NITOBÉ.

With the Declaration of Independence the trade of the United States with her quondam mother country declined without, any appreciable increase in commerce with other nations and her shipping was diverted from the accustomed lines on account of the English navigation laws. Discouraging commercial conditions like these, aggravated by the small returns from their agricultural pursuits, turned the attention of the New England people to adventures in the Far East very early in the history of this country. Already in 1784, within a year after the definitive treaty of peace was signed, a bark flying the flag of the Stars and Stripes made a bold cruise into oriental waters, where in those days the English Union Jack overawed all other national ensigns. As the bark approached the coast of China it was unexpectedly hailed by two French men-of-war, and, escorted by these, she entered the port of Canton. She carried but little merchandise, but the trade transacted was exceedingly lucrative. Especially were furs disposed of at a good price. The next year the voyage was repeated and in three years as many as 15 American vessels visited this port, largely with sealskins, otter, and other furs from the South Seas and the northwest coast of this continent. These vessels brought back a cargo of tea, silks, and other Chinese produce.

In those days Japan was apparently passed over or passed by as impossible of access. It is true that, in 1797, an American ship, the Eliza, of New York, Capt. Stewart, made a voyage to Nagasaki. This was perhaps the first time that the American flag was seen in our waters. The Eliza repeated her voyages for several succeeding years, but on no occasion, except the last, did she come on her own initiative. She was hired by the Dutch in Batavia, who, afraid of the English Navy in the Indian Seas in the days when Holland was under French rule, dared not make their regular visit to Japan. When Capt. Stewart made his last voyage in 1803 he attempted to open trade on his own responsibility, but was not successful.

In 1798 an American ship, the Franklyn, Capt. James Devereux, made its way to Japan, sailing under Dutch colors. The next year

there came, also under the charter of the East India Company, a Salem ship, Capt. John Derby. It is recorded that these men came and left their footprints on the sands, soon to be washed away. Individually they left no trace, but they counted as landmarks in the development of the American-Japanese intercourse, for not a "black ship," as a foreign vessel was then called, was sighted but was watched and studied and discussed, contributing a blow, however slight, to the final overthrow of exclusivism.

As the China trade developed the skippers discovered the new importance of the Hawaiian Islands, known on their charts ever since the time of Capt. Cook (1778). Situated in midocean, they afforded a most convenient stopping place for the supply of water, to make repairs, and to avoid occasional storms. It was not long before they found that sandalwood, which fetched an exorbitant price in China, grew in abundance in these islands. This wood gave a fresh impetus to oriental trade. However, commerce founded upon sheer exploitation has no guarantee of long lease of life. Furbearing animals decreased year by year under a system, or rather want of system, of ruthless chase. The sandalwood forests were felled and cut without scruple. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century the foundations of trade with China were in jeopardy, and with them American interests in the Pacific. The Pacific coast was not yet connected with the Atlantic, and the first settlement founded there-Astoria-suffered heavily during the War of 1812. The American merchant marine in the Pacific also underwent a severe loss, together with the Navy, at the hand of the Britishers. Nevertheless, during this "war of paradoxes," American commerce showed wonderful vitality of growth, especially in the New England States, and when peace was concluded the New England merchants sought a new field of investment. What their fathers lost in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and on the coast of Newfoundland they attempted to regain in the Pacific. Fishing had been practically wiped out during the Revolution; but in the first quarter of the nineteenth century whaling became a profitable means of investment. It was not a new industry, having been carried on prior to the Revolution; but its importance grow after the War of 1812. In eager pursuit of prey the American whalers soon rounded Cape Horn, and their "black ships" could be counted by scores—in a few years by hundreds—between the Hawaiian Islands and Japan.

As yet, however, they were exposed to dangers of manifold kinds, notably to the depredations of their English rivals and to the mercy of storms and waves. The danger accruing from the latter source could not well be avoided unless they had friendly havens, but such there was none, as Japan, far from affording shelter, carried the

logic of exclusion to its extreme conclusion, by treating as criminals whosoever drifted by misfortune to her shores. As to the former danger, the United States had dispatched some few gunboats to cruise in the whaling districts for the protection of her citizens. Commodore Porter was one of the officers who were sent out for this purpose, and he could recommend no better means of security to American whalers than bringing Japan into amicable relations with his country. To this effect, he addressed a letter to Secretary Monroe in 1815. This was the year that a squadron was sent to the Mediterranean under Decatur and a treaty was signed with Algiers. Why should not another squadron be sent westward to Japan? The proposal seemed about to be put into effect and the commodore was to be sent as the envoy with a frigate and two sloops of war. In the meantime the whaling industry made steady progress. In 1822 as many as 24 whaling vessels anchored at one time in the harbor of Honolulu.1 About this time, not only on the seas but also on land, the United States was expanding with great strides. and it is no wonder that J. Q. Adams should urge that it was the duty of Christian nations to open Japan, and that it was the duty of Japan to respond to the demands of the world, as no nation had a right to withhold its quota from the general progress of mankind. Still no official step was taken; indeed nothing definite was planned until under his successor, Andrew Jackson, it was suggested in 1832 that Mr. Edmund Roberts should be appointed as a special agent to negotiate treaties with oriental courts. But again nothing came of the plan. Meanwhile the interest in Japan was awakened in some influential quarters for unexpected reasons.

The Black Current, the Kuro-Shiwo, flows from the tropics along the eastern coast of Japan, and continues to flow northward beyond the limit of that Empire, then turns in a large curve and joins with a current that washes the western shores of America. Many a shipwrecked sailor and fisherman of Japan must, in the course of centuries, have drifted on these currents and been cast ashore on the American continent. Mr. C. Wolcott Brooks enumerates a large number of well-authenticated cases of this kind, in his monograph on "Japanese Wrecks, Early Maritime Intercourse of Ancient Western Nations," as well as in his pamphlet on the "Origin of the Chinese Race."

Now, about the middle of the third decade of the last century, a band of fishermen who were wrecked on our coast were carried away by the Kuro-Shiwo and were picked up near Astoria. As curious specimens of humanity, they were cared for, and, after being sent from place to place in this country, they were taken to Macao, China, where there were American houses, in the hope that they could be

more easily shipped from there back to their home. An American merchant residing here, C. W. King by name, saw in the return of these men, seven altogether, an opportunity to begin negotiations for the opening of trade with Japan.

Mr. King equipped at his own expense a merchantman, the Morrison, for this errand of mercy. To avoid all possible causes for suspicion, he took away all guns and armament, which sailing craft of all descriptions used to carry at that time. To emphasize the peaceful character of the undertaking, he took with him his wife. They were accompanied by three clergymen who have since made their names famous in the history of Christian missions-Peter Parker. Charles Gutzlaff, and S. Wells Williams. Dr. Williams had learned some Japanese from the shipwrecked sailors who were to be sent home by the Morrison. I may mention here that it was Dr. Williams who was the chief interpreter during the negotiations with Perry. Mr. King took with him a number of presents, with the view of impressing the Japanese with the greatness of his country and with the triumphs of Christian civilization—books, instruments, etc. While the preparations for departure were being made, Dutch traders brought the news to the Japanese authorities that a "Morrison" might visit their harbors at any time. Hereupon ports were repaired, cannon were put in prime order, sentinels were multiplied at all the main points of defense on the coast. Thus by the time the Morrison entered the Bay of Yeddo in 1837 with every manifestation of good will, she was so mercilessly fired upon that she had to weigh anchor and flee, to attempt landing a few days later in the southern port of Kagoshima, but here, too, she received no more hospitable reception. For all his best intentions, Mr. King reaped nothing but hostile feeling. As Dr. Williams writes: "Commercially speaking, the voyage cost about \$2,000 without any returns; and the immediate effects in a missionary or scientific way were nil."

For the students of Japanese history of this period, unusual interest and pathos are attached to this voyage of Mr. King. For, in the thirties or forties of the last century, while Japan was still under the strictest régime of seclusion, there was working in certain small circles a powerful leaven of Western knowledge, which was soon to leaven the whole Empire. Among the pioneers of European culture may here be mentioned two of the most prominent—Noboru Watanabe and Choyei Takano. They were tireless in getting information about the West and in their effort to convince the Government of the futility and folly of exclusion.

A few months after the unhappy episode of King's enterprise had transpired, the rumor reached the ears of Watanabe and Takano that a "Morrison" was coming to Japan, whereupon the latter published a booklet entitled the "Story of a Dream." This zealous

exponent of Western learning was naturally opposed to the policy of resorting to force should a "black ship" approach our dominion. In his pamphlet he ridiculed the idea of defending our territory against a foreign navy by relying upon old-fashioned rifles and wooden barracks and cotton curtains. He grows still more sarcastic when he exposes, as he thinks, the utter ignorance of the authorities about things Western. "The idea of taking the name of Morrison for that of a ship is simply absurd. Why, it is the name of a man. a great scholar, who is well versed in oriental lore, familiar with all the classics of China. Should a man of his eminence honor our land with a visit, we should receive him with due respect and hospitality." Takano was himself mistaken as to the bearer of the name Morrison. He was thinking of the Rev. Robert Morrison, who, however, had been dead since 1834. Such an error on the part of so well-meaning and progressive a student of occidental affairs is in itself touching; but the climax of pathos is reached when for his Story of a Dream he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and though he fled from the execution of the law for a little while, hiding himself or wandering about under different assumed names, so closely was he pursued that in order to escape an ignominious death he put an end to himself. His colleague, Watanabe, a great scholar as well as artist, whose works adorn the literature and art of our nation, did not fare much better.

To return to the *Morrison*, Mr. King, upon coming back from the fruitless expedition, made public his experience and his reflections on it in a book, The Claims of Malyasia, or the Voyage of the *Morrison*—the first book published in America on Japan. In a most earnest tone he appeals to "the champions of his country's benevolence" not to despair about opening the sealed portals of Japan. He argues that Great Britain and America divide the maritime influence of the world, and that "America is the hope of Asia beyond the Malay Peninsula—that her noblest effort will find a becoming theater there." He tells his countrymen that "Japan will more readily yield to and repay their efforts, and that China can be more easily reached through Japan." He calls upon all the best instincts of the American public—its Christian sympathies, its commercial interests, its republican glories—to exert themselves in this heaven-appointed task lying before it.

Mr. King's appeal was evidently little heeded. American interests in the Pacific were not appreciated enough to call forth response from the Government or the people. Meanwhile American trade with China was increasing and the whaling industry was constantly assuming greater magnitude.

In 1839, out of some 555 American ships engaged in the whale fishery, by far the largest part was found in the Pacific. Prof.

Coolidge says that in 1845, according to the local records, 497 whalers, manned by 14,905 sailors, visited the Hawaiian Islands, and of the total three-fourths flew the flag of the United States. Two years later the number of vessels rose to 729, and the capital invested in the enterprise was calculated at \$20,000,000. By 1848 the New Bedford men passed through Bering Straits into the Arctic Ocean, and of the whole American fleet no less than 278 were in North Pacific waters.

It was chiefly in the interest of whaling that the Hon. Zadoc Pratt, of Prattsville, Orange County, N. Y., Member of Congress and chairman of the Select Committee on Statistics, laid before the House a report in 1845 concerning the advisability of taking prompt action by sending an embassy to Japan and Korea. The next year Commodore Biddle was appointed to lead an expedition with a fleet consisting of the *Columbus* and the *Vincennes*. He was provided with a letter from President Polk to the Emperor of Japan. The object of this expedition was to ascertain whether the ports of Japan were accessible. The commodore arrived safe and well in the Bay of Yeddo, and opened communications, which continued for 10 tedious days, at the end of which, on receipt of the following anonymous note, he left:

The object of this communication is to explain the reasons why we refuse to trade with foreigners who come to this country across the ocean for that purpose

This has been the habit of our nation from time immemorial. In all cases of a similar kind that have occurred, we have positively refused to trade. Foreigners have come to us from various quarters, but have always been received in the same way. In taking this course with regard to you, we only pursue our accustomed policy. We can make no distinction between different foreign nations—we treat them all alike—and you, as Americans, must receive the same answer with the rest. It will be of no use to renew the attempt, as all applications of the kind, however numerous they may be, will be steadily rejected.

We are aware that our customs are in this respect different from those of some other countries, but every nation has a right to manage its affairs in its own way

The trade carried on with the Dutch at Nagasaki is not to be regarded as furnishing a precedent for trade with other foreign nations. The place is one of few inhabitants and very little business, and the whole affair is of no importance.

In conclusion, we have to say that the Emperor positively refuses the permission you desire. He earnestly advises you to depart immediately, and to consult your own safety by not appearing again upon our coast.

Commodore Biddle's mission was worse than a mere failure. It had the effect of lowering the dignity of his country in the mind of the oriental. The defiant and haughty tone running through the foregoing note was, I dare say, the result of insult which he had accepted without strong demonstration. It may be he only meant to be cautious, and that his caution was misconstrued. I refer to an unpleasant incident that occurred during his interview with Japanese officers. He describes it as follows "I went alongside the junk in the ship's boat, in my uniform; at the moment that I was stepping

on board, a Japanese on the deck of the junk gave me a blow or push which threw me back into the boat." He says that the conduct of the man was inexplicable; but, having obtained assurance from the officials that the man would be severely punished, nothing further was asked or demanded by the commodore. A stronger attitude on his part might have ended in his reaping the glory of opening Japan, or at least in relieving the sufferings of many of his countrymen; because, with the growth of whaling in Japanese waters, the shipwrecked sailors and deserters landing on our coast increased in number. Only two months before Commodore Biddle appeared, the Lawrence, under Capt. Baker, who had sailed from Poughkeepsie the previous summer, was wrecked on the coast of one of the Kurile Islands. Seven of the crew survived. At first they were treated kindly, but no sooner had their presence been reported to the authorities than they were placed in close confinement, under privation and ill treatment, which lasted for 17 months, so that all the while that Biddle was negotiating in the Bay of Yeddo, these poor creatures were in dire distress. They were finally liberated and sent to Batavia by a Dutch ship.

Two years later the crew of another whaler, the Ladoga, on account of bad treatment, deserted the ship in five boats, two of which were soon swamped. The surviving three parties, consisting of 15 men. 9 of whom were Sandwich Islanders, drifted upon an islet near the town of Matsumai (now Fukushima). Under a suspicion that they were spies, they were put in jail in Matsumai and afterwards in Nagasaki. Their repeated attempts to break away from the prison only seemed to confirm the Japanese in their suspicion, and the rigors of confinement were doubled. One Maury, a Hawaiian, hung himself in the prison; Ezra Goldthwait died of disease, or, as was charged, of medicine prescribed by a quack. Suffering under brutal treatment one day, "on being taken out of our stocks," so narrates one of the prisoners, "we told the Japanese guards that their cruelty to us would be told the Americans, who would come here and take vengeance on them." Our guards replied sneeringly that they knew better, and that the Americans did not care how poor sailors were treated; if they did, then they should have come and punished the Japanese at Yeddo when a Japanese had insulted an American chief. The last allusion was to the incident which we have already related concerning Commodore Biddle.

With nothing to break the monotony of their irksome captivity except growls and threats from the guards, the poor sailors of the *Ladoga* were on the verge of despair, when one evening the report of a distant gun, a sure signal of the approach of a foreign ship, reached their ears. A foreign ship it was. James Glynn, commander of the U. S. S. *Preble*, was dispatched by Commodore D. Geisinger upon the

advice of John W. Davis, United States commissioner to China, to whom the news of the captivity of the Ladoga's crew had been communicated by J. H. Levyssohn, superintendent of the Dutch trade in Deshima. The Preble entered the harbor of Nagasaki on April 17, 1849. After a week's conference it was arranged that the ship-wrecked mariners, who had been suffering so long from the effect of their misfortune, should be delivered up immediately. Accordingly, on the 26th, they were all carried to the townhouse, where, for the first time, they unexpectedly met another of their countrymen, McDonald, who had been lodged in another part of the town. They were all taken away by Commander Glynn.

The story of the above-mentioned Ronald McDonald is so unique as to be worthy of further notice. His life and character have been described by a number of writers.1 Born in Astoria, Ore., this son of a Chinook princess and a Scotch employee of the Hudson's Bay Company had probably heard in his childhood the country of Japan frequently mentioned, or had in all likelihood seen the Japanese who were drifted ashore at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1831. In 1845, when in his twenties, he shipped at Sag Harbor in a whale ship, the Plymouth. He made an arrangement with the captain that when they neared the coast of Japan he should be left alone in a small boat, so contrived that he could capsize it himself. It was his intention to cast himself ashore and obtain some knowledge of the land and the people of this terra incognita. He was accordingly set adrift, and coasted along the shore for a day or two, when he discerned some fishermen at a distance. He beckoned to them, and as they approached he jumped into their boat and landed with them about 25 miles from Soya in Hokkaido. During the 8 days that he remained under the roof of the fishermen he was most kindly treated; but the good people, fearing that they were disloyal to the law in harboring a foreigner, notified an officer of his presence, and, when he came, poor McDonald was taken to Matsumai and afterwards transferred to Nagasaki. In each of these places he was well attended to. Lodging was provided him in a temple, and though narrowly watched, he was not treated like a prisoner, but was allowed to occupy himself in teaching English.

The very year (1848) that the crew of the Ladoga were wrecked and McDonald, of the Plymouth, succeeded in landing (both of these ships were on whaling voyages), 3 American sailors belonging to another whaler, the Trident, were wrecked on one of the Kurile Islands. They, together with some 27 English seamen who had also been wrecked while out whaling, were returned home through the Dutch factory.

¹ R. E. Lewis, "Educational Conquest of the Far East" (1903), and Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, "McDonald of Oregon" (1906).

That the narrow cleft in the sealed door of Japan, into which Perry drove his wedge of diplomacy, was the rescue of American whalers, Mr. Fillmore implies in his address before the Buffalo Historical Society: "The proceedings which resulted in the opening of Japan sprang from a wrong perpetrated by that nation which, like many other wrongs, seems to have resulted in a great good."

There were causes other than the mere safety of whalers which led to the inception of the American expedition to Japan. On the one hand, the rise of industrial and commercial commonwealths on the Pacific, the discovery of gold in California, the increasing trade with China, the development of steam navigation—necessitating coal depots and ports for shelter—the opening of highways across the Isthmus of Central America, the missionary enterprises on the Asiatic continent, the rise of the Hawaiian Islands; on the other hand, the awakening knowledge of foreign nations among the ruling class in Japan, the news of the British victory in China, the growth of European settlements in the Pacific, the dissemination of Western science among a progressive class of scholars, the advice from the Dutch Government to discontinue the antiquated policy of exclusion—all these testified that the fullness of time for Japan to turn a new page in her history was at hand.

Intelligent interest was now aroused afresh in the question of opening Japan. In the year 1848, Robert J. Walker, then Secretary of the Treasury, called public attention to "Japan, highly advanced in civilization, containing fifty millions of people, separated but two weeks by steam from our western coast. * * * Its commerce," he continues, "can be secured to us by persevering and peaceful efforts."

During the next year, Aaron Haight Palmer, of New York, who had accumulated what was at that time a vast amount of information as to oriental nations, in his capacity as director of the American and Foreign Agency of New York (1830-1847), saw the great necessity of establishing commercial relations with the East, and sent memorials upon the subject to the President and the Secretary of State. He was backed by memorials from the principal merchants of New York and Baltimore. In his letter to Secretary Clayton, on the plan of opening Japan, he recommends four measures to be followed: (1) To demand full and ample indemnity for the shipwrecked American seamen who were unjustly treated; (2) to insist upon the proper care of any American who might from any misfortune repair to the coast of Japan; (3) to enforce the opening of ports for commerce and for the establishment of consulates; (4) to claim the privilege of establishing coaling stations, and also the right of whaling without molestation. Mr. Palmer says that, in the event of noncompliance with the above on the part of the Shogun, a strict blockade of Yeddo Bay should be established.

James Glynn, who had for two years been cruising about the North Pacific Ocean, and who, as we have seen, had opportunities to learn something of the Japanese people, writing in 1851 of the prospect of Chinese trade, speaks of the absolute necessity for a coal depot on the coast of Japan, and in his letter expresses a strong belief in the possibility of securing such a depot by proper negotiation, and eventually opening the whole Empire.

About this time a newspaper article concerning some Japanese waifs who had been picked up at sea by the bark Auckland, Capt. Jennings, and brought to San Francisco, attracted the attention of Commodore Aulick. He submitted a proposal to the Government that it should take advantage of this incident to open commercial relations with the Empire, or at least to manifest the friendly feelings of this country. This proposal was made on the 9th of May, 1851. Daniel Webster was then Secretary of State, and in him Aulick found a ready friend. The opinions of Commander Glynn and Mr. Palmer were asked, as being authorities on questions connected with Japan. Their letters on this occasion evince keen diplomatic sagacity.

Clothed with full power to negotiate and sign treaties and furnished with a letter from President Fillmore to the Emperor, Commodore Aulick was on the eye of departure when, for some reason, he was prevented. Thus the project which began at his suggestion was obstructed when it was about to be accomplished and another man, perhaps better fitted for the undertaking, entered into his labors.

But by relating the achievement of Perry I shall trespass beyond the limit I have set to the course of this narrative, which is to be that of American-Japanese intercourse prior to his advent.

X. COLONIAL SOCIETY IN AMERICA.

By BERNARD MOSES, Professor in the University of California.

COLONIAL SOCIETY IN AMERICA.

By BERNARD Moses.

From whatever nation western colonies proceed, they are all found to have similar features, and, in case of growth, pass through common stages of development. They are all socially stagnant for a time, while the societies from which they issued continue their development unimpeded. In fact, a colony separated from the mother country may be likened to a branch cut from a tree and planted in the soil. The branch in many cases will take root and grow; but in the beginning there will be a period of stagnation in the growth of the severed branch, while the tree will continue its growth without interruption. Ultimately, under favorable conditions, the branch developing new roots will acquire a vigor of growth exceeding that of the old tree. This period of temporarily arrested development determines certain features of colonial society and of the society of the independent nations into which the colonies may grow.

After decades of a separate existence, even after a colony has grown into a populous and cultivated nation, the language, the customs, and many of the external forms of life will recall the ancient days of the mother country; will recall characteristic features of the parent nation as it was at the time of the separation. The mother country will have continued its growth, and in the course of this growth forms of speech, peculiarities of institutions, and features of national customs will have become antiquated and be dropped, while in the colony where growth has been arrested these changes will not have been made. The history of the colonies planted in America by European nations furnishes illustrations of this general rule of colonial development.

The illustrations presented by the languages are, perhaps, the most familiar. The peculiarities of the French which continues to be spoken in Canada, or of the English of the United States, show survivals from those languages as they were spoken in Europe two or three centuries ago. In this manner there has been preserved in our American speech a certain archaic quality, which by a process of uninterrupted growth has passed out of the languages of the mother countries. These linguistic survivals are a minor indication of a psychological difference that exists between the descendants of the

colonists in America and their kinsmen in Europe, whose ancestors did not emigrate. The peculiarities of American speech were increased in the course of time by the adoption of elements which were unknown in Europe-elements made necessary by the new circumstances and by the new conceptions arising out of these circumstances. A language adopted and used is a powerful factor in determining one's psychological attitude. The Chinaman, for example, who learns thoroughly the English language and uses it for many years passes through an important mental transformation. The language has brought to his mind new conceptions and modified his intellectual horizon. In like manner, by using a language with important survivals and more important additions, the mind of the American has come to have a different content from the mind of the European. This mental peculiarity of the colonists and their descendants was an element in the foundation of American society. It is the basis of a social difference which separates America from Europe.

Another element in the basis of a society, or of a community, is the peculiar expectations entertained by the persons who have been drawn together and under which they live. These expectations constitute an important force in the growth of the character of the community. The colonists of the New World became mentally unlike their kindred who remained in Europe, partly because their minds were dominated by expectations peculiar to the emigrant and partly because in their new environment their minds embraced hopes and expectations which had no influence on the members of the Old World communities. Under the influence of different expectations, furthermore, the characters of the several colonies were differentiated. The very marked difference that existed between the community of Potosi in the seventeenth century and a community of New England colonists was in part due to the different expectations entertained in the two cases. The English who came to New England expected no other fate than to be obliged to gain their living from a hard and unfruitful soil. They accepted this fate with stoical resignation. Adventures into unknown regions did not allure them with promises of extravagant rewards. Neither within the limits of their colonial possession nor by expeditions abroad did they expect to acquire great wealth that would enable them to live in another country. Here in the land of their exile they took up the task of rearing their children and making whatever provision they might for the coming generations. The fact that they expected their lives and the lives of their descendants to be spent in America made them solicitous for the future of their communities. This difference was not altogether a matter of nationality, for when the youth of New England went to California in 1848 and

1849 they made communities that were strikingly like that of Potosi in its most flourishing years.

The Spaniards who migrated to the New World had somewhat more extravagant expectations, particularly in the early decades, after the exploits of Cortes and Pizarro. The marvelous spoils gained through these expeditions unsettled the minds of later explorers and colonists. The expectation of acquiring immense wealth, as it had been acquired in Peru, made the slow gains and comparative poverty of agricultural life seem entirely unsatisfactory. Even when the delusions of the early adventurers were exposed by more or less thorough explorations of the continent, the search for mines to exploit took the place of the search for an Indian prince to plunder. Under these extravagant expectations society was slow in assuming a normal form. Large numbers of the colonists expected, with quickly acquired wealth, to be able to return to Spain and live in independence. These hopes drew attention away from the ordinary occupations of a settled society and made the inhabitants careless of many things essential to social stability and prosperity.

Another element that was fundamental in English and Spanish colonial society was the sentiment of protest. This was favored and stimulated by absence from a previous environment and emancipation from ancient traditions. The appearance of this sentiment was later in the Spanish than in the English colonies. But after it appeared its growth was more rapid in the south than in the north. Some of the English colonies were in an attitude of revolt from the beginning, even before they left England, while in the Spanish colonies this sentiment appeared especially among the creoles, the mestizos, and Indians, but only after they had discovered that the policy of the Spanish Government was to confer power and privileges almost exclusively on men of Spanish birth. It was, moreover, significant for the later condition of the society that the earliest phases of the protest against Great Britain concerned the Church, or the ecclesiastical side of the State. This involved the most vital sentiment of the age. But no such religious antagonism existed between Spain and her dependencies. Those profound emotions of religious hostility which troubled the hearts and minds of the inhabitants of New England were never aroused in the Spanish colonists. In the case of the Puritans these emotions became a transforming power. Under their influence the New Englander became a man apart, spiritually as well as geographically separated from the majority of those of his own blood in England. He ceased to be attracted by the things his ancestors had admired. He repudiated whatever his race, in the course of its progress, had invented to adorn and embellish civilized life. He was unlovely, but he was strong. He went to his work and to his worship in the same spirit of grim determination,

No such complete breach with their immediate past appeared in the lives of the Spanish colonists. It is true that in the course of time they acquired certain characteristics different from those of their kin in Spain, but this difference was due to their environment and their attitude toward an alien race rather than to any new and profound spiritual emotions. The alienation of the colonists of New England was in large part a religious revolt, and their new religion became the cornerstone of their social structure. In the establishment and administration of the Spanish colonies, on the other hand, persistent and successful efforts were made to preserve unadulterated and unbroken the religious traditions of Spain. The worship that was set up in the English colonies was without controlling traditions. There was, moreover, no power to hold separate communities to a prescribed form. The principle of liberty was here applied to the most fundamental feature of their life, and this made its application logically necessary and inevitable in politics and in all the departments of the social organism and of social conduct. On the other hand, the recognition of external authority and the restraining force of tradition in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Spanish colonies gave the principle of governmental protection in them great prestige and provided a hindrance to the rise of any other determining force in their social affairs. In the Spanish colonies there was thus no religious liberty to give countenance and support to political liberty.

The preservation in the Spanish colonies of the ecclesiastical traditions of southern Europe sanctified the spirit of absolutism, which the Church represented. It made it difficult for the colonists to conceive of public power except as an emanation from a superior independent authority, and against this preconception the idea of a government by the people made only insignificant progress during two centuries and a half of the colonial period. But the preservation of these traditions was attended with certain advantages. Not disturbed by any shock of religious separation, the Spanish colonists were able to bring to the New World the artistic sense which the Church had assiduously cultivated. In spite of their isolation and the rudeness of their environment they retained an appreciation of artistic forms, while the English colonists of the north apparently lost their artistic sense in their devotion to the severe morality and the unpoetic worship of Puritanism.

This contrast is revealed in many of the externals of life in the two cases. The meetinghouse of the English colonists was undoubtedly adapted to their economic condition, but it was not an artistic object; indeed the presence of objects of decoration having an artistic quality would have been considered desecration. The Spaniards, on the other hand, came to America as thoroughly dominated by the artistic traditions of Europe as were their countrymen who

remained in Spain. A manifestation of this sense is seen in their architecture. The patios of the old Spanish-American houses were in many instances masterpieces of artistic construction. Many of the churches, even in those features that had their origin in America, show not only a survival of European tradition and a strong artistic sense, but they also reveal the existence of an original creative power. A manifestation of this artistic sense of the emigrating Spaniards may also be seen in the magnificent church edifices that arose in the Philippine Islands in defiance of all the vagaries of oriental architecture.

But the most important element in the foundation of English and Spanish colonial society was the spirit of democracy. This was an element in the society even where it did not entirely determine the external form of the institutions. In some places, particularly in the northern English colonies, it encountered no effective hindrance to its expression in the forms of the social organization. Here were the most favorable conditions for its manifestation. Here each head of a family held independently a certain amount of property; and there were only unimportant differences among the amounts held by different persons. There was neither lord nor vassal; and the Government of the mother country seldom intervened. The equality of material possessions made inevitable a large measure of social equality. The opportunity to become economically independent rendered all men ambitious to be independent. The practical maintenance of the European relation of superior and inferior was, therefore, for the time being made impossible by the absence of any large class of persons willing, and compelled by circumstances, to continue in the position of dependents. Government takes its practical form from the form of the society in which it is established, possibly disregarding the terms of the organic law. In these northern colonies society had assumed a democratic form—that is to say, there was equality of material possessions, there were few outward manifestations of superiority, and there was a general spirit of public cooperation. Under these circumstances the local governments, which were created generally without external compulsion, necessarily assumed a democratic character.

The democracy of colonial society did not arise from a desire for equality; for there appears to be no such desire in the human mind. What men desire is not equality, but superiority. This is the force that is manifest in all efforts of political ambition, in the struggles for economic achievement, and in all the devices and expenditures for social advancement. If men desired equality as a good in itself, they might easily find it in the ranks of the hopeless and unambitious, by simply abandoning effort. It is not a desire for equality that has produced democracy; nor does such a desire offer a force on which

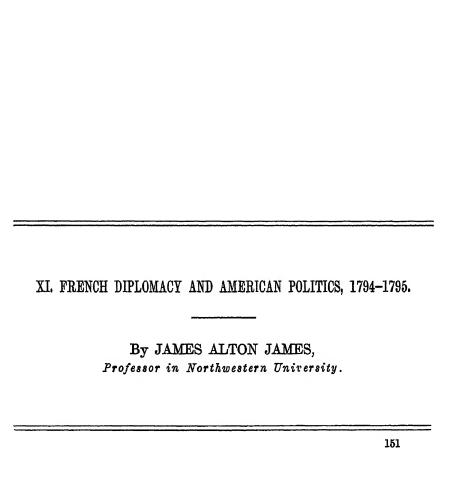
it is possible to rely for the preservation of democracy. The social history of Switzerland through several centuries furnishes an illustration. The spirit of democracy and the forms of democratic government have survived in the Forest Cantons, where the population has continued sparse, and where there is no great inequality of wealth. But in those cantons where some persons have become rich while others have remained poor, or where material conditions have permitted social differentiation, the aristocratic spirit has appeared and supplanted the spirit of democracy.

The democratic spirit has found obstacles in the way of its development wherever society has grown away from the simple life of independent agriculturalists. The spirit of the southern English colonies, with their slaves and the consequent separation of classes, was rather aristocratic than democratic. Moreover, in the Spanish colonies the forces preventing the rise and dominance of the democratic spirit were stronger than in the English colonics. They were the product of a peculiar Spanish inheritance and of the conscious effort of the Spanish authorities to make Spanish colonial society like the society of Spain. The creation of a titled aristocracy; the discrimination against the creole with respect to all the important offices of the Government and the Church; and the personal concessions made to powerful leaders who established colonies or resided in America, introducing a form of feudalism, were all hindrances to the development of the democratic spirit. The existence of extensive mining and industrial undertakings, where the employment of large numbers of dependent Indians brought laborers as a class into disrepute, emphasized the lines of class distinction, and made practical democracy for the time being impossible. But in the course of time the exclusive policy of the Spanish Government with respect to political offices and economic privileges created an opposition party, a party of the unprivileged, within which the essential equality of the members provided conditions favorable to the rise of the democratic spirit.

The rise of the class embracing the creoles, the mestizos, and the more civilized Indians was a case of a great reform springing from the so-called lower ranks of society. It illustrates the manner in which democracy may appear where the dominant forces continue undemocratic; it may perhaps offer a suggestion as to how democracy may be preserved by the rise, from time to time, of the lower ranks to overthrow those who have become a privileged and domineering element in the social body. The excluded and apparently despised creoles and mestizos became the most important element in Spanish-American society in the later decades of dependence. They were the source of whatever public opinion had been developed. They became the democratic part of the population, and stood over

against the aristocracy as represented by the titled nobility and the high officials in the Church and in the State. Their presence and their influence explain why, in emancipated Spanish America, republics were established, when, with rare exceptions, both the military and the civil leaders and all of the holders of privileges sought the foundation of American monarchies. In each of the several colonial divisions they formed the nucleus, and were the creators, of the republics.

With the establishment of the republics the democratic element had effected a change much more important than would have been the transfer of power from the King of Spain to monarchs in America. But there remained the traditions of feudalism, for these were too powerful to be set aside by a single revolution; and throughout the region occupied by the Spanish colonies they have persisted hitherto with sufficient force to prevent the full practical realization of the democratic ideal. All of the American nations have manifested a wish to express this ideal in their Governments; and, in seeking this end, Spanish America has its principal problem to annul the anti-democratic influences that have descended from the period of Spanish domination; while an important political problem of English America is to annul the anti-democratic influences that have arisen in the progress of the society of the United States during the period of the Republic. Opposed to the attainment of such a purpose in the one case are the traditions of Spanish absolutism and Spanish-American feudalism; and the hindrance in the other case is the tendency of progressive society toward inequality.



FRENCH DIPLOMACY AND AMERICAN POLITICS, 1794-1795.

By James Alton James.

No greater problems in diplomacy have ever presented themselves to American statesmen than those which demanded solution during that critical decade of our history from 1793 to 1803. This was conspicuously the period when international questions exerted a most profound influence on national politics, it was the time when Washington, almost in despair, in the well-known letter to Charles C. Pickney wrote regarding the relations with France:

It is a fact too notorious to be denied that the greatest embarrassments under which the administration of this Government labors proceed from the counteraction of people among themselves who are more disposed to promote the views of another nation than to establish a national character of their own; and that unless the virtuous and independent men of this country will come forward it is not difficult to predict the consequences ²

It is not strange, when the French Revolution developed into a general European war, that France should turn toward the United States with the hope of forming an alliance either open or secret. Her confidence was the greater, for both Governments were republican in form; the problems between Great Britain and America were still serious, and the belief was general among French leaders that our independence had been gained largely through French assistance. With the offensive actions of Genet in carrying out instructions which he himself is said to have prepared, we have been made familiar, but the mission of his successors, their continuance of his policy, and the dangers incident thereto, have not received the attention which their importance warrants. Like him they strove to gain, by influence over national legislators and by threatened appeals to the people, that consideration for the French cause which they thought impracticable through the ordinary course of diplomacy. They acted under the belief that it was less a contest in diplomacy than a policy, as they asserted, of wise delays and useful temporizations.

^{1&}quot;In America, the artful intrigues of French diplomatists and the blunders of the British Government, united to convert the whole American people into violent partisans of one or the other. To such a degree did this insanity prevail that the whole country seemed to be changed into one vast arena, on which the two parties, forgetting their national character, were wasting their time, their thoughts, their energy, on this foreign quarrel."—J. Trumbull, "Reminiscences of His Own Times," 168.

By the summer of 1793 the struggle between the Girondins and the Mountain was over and the period of the Terror was inaugurated. On October 16, the Committee of Public Safety decreed that Genet, who was a member of the defeated party, should be superseded by a commission of four men, for it was dangerous to confide to a single man, they declared, the interests of a nation so distant. In this commission Fauchet was designated minister plenipotentiary; La Forest, consul general; Petry, consul for Pennsylvania, and Le Blanc, secretary of the legation. No measure of interest to the Republic might be undertaken without the assent of a majority of the commission, but the minister plenipotentiary was to have the right of initiative in all purely political questions. Fauchet, then 30 years of age, was a lawyer who had been an ardent supporter of the Revolution. He had served his government in a number of minor offices, but was untried in the field of diplomacy.²

When the commission embarked for America toward the end of December, the armies of France, reorganized by Carnot, had turned back the allied forces, and internal enemies were sacrificed without pause and without mercy. On January 29, the commissioners arrived at Baltimore, but numerous delays on account of the almost impassable roads prevented Fauchet from reaching Philadelphia before February 20.3 His letters of credence were presented at once to the Secretary of State.

In their first meeting, Randolph displayed that "assiduity and warmth" characteristic of his later relations with Fauchet. Fauchet's presentation to President Washington took place two days later and was likewise satisfactory. He described the meeting as "touching," the President being moved to tears in the recital of the proceedings of the French Government.

According to their instructions, the commissioners were directed to gain the confidence of the President and the other members of the Government; to disavow the conduct of Genet, secure his arrest, and

^{1&}quot;Report of the Am. Hist. Assn ," 1903, II, 290, 291.

³ In 1791, he was chief of the bureau of administration of wor. The following year he became secretary to the mayor of Pans, and later secretary of the executive power. After his return to France, he became an adherent of Napoleon and was made a baron.

³ He was accompanied by one of his colleagues. The others arrived at Philadelphia, February 22.

^{*}Randolph claimed that Washington had said: "The French Government must be cultivated with assiduty and warmth." Randolph, "Vinducation," 72.

⁵ Judged, however, by the description of the reception given by Randolph, the formalities probably excluded any striking emotional display. This account, found in Domestic Letters, VI, 70-73, is as follows: "The minister then presented to the President his sealed credentials, adding such complimentary expressions as the occasion suggested. The President having received them, teired to his seat and desired the minister and secretary [Randolph] to sit, two chairs being prepared for that purpose. He then opened the sealed credentials and delivered them to the Secretary, who rose and read them standing. After this the President said that he received M. Fauchet as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, subjoining some friendly expressions toward the French Nation '* * * The President, Minister, and Secretary being seated, after some ordinary discourse and a convenient pause, the two lost retired, taking leave."

⁶ Etats-Unis, 39, fol. 255.

send him, together with his agents, back to France.¹ They were to stop all privateering and recall all letters of marque. England's conduct was to be closely watched and a new treaty of commerce between France and the United States was to be proposed. The commission was to use all its power to induce the Federal Government to allow a refuge to French cruisers with their prizes and the privilege of sale. Officers of the American Government were to be informed that negotiations with Spain for the opening of the navigation of the Mississippi would be incompatible with the ties which bound the United States to France.

But all other affairs were subordinated to securing food supplies for France;² English cruisers and privateers had well-nigh driven the French carrying trade from the ocean. Besides, by a convention of March 25, 1793, between Catharine of Russia and Great Britain, it was agreed that the ports of both countries should be closed against France; that the exportation of food to that country should be prohibited; and that they would unite all their efforts in preventing every civilized State from giving "any protection whatever, directly or indirectly, in consequence of their neutrality to the commerce or prosperity of the French on the sea." As a result of this and other decrees on the part of the British Government and a partial failure of crops, the people of France were suffering for lack of provisions.⁴

"America," wrote Gouverneur Morris, "is the only source from whence supplies of provisions can be drawn to feed this city, on which so much depends. The coming winter will be, I believe, dreadful, and the spring, should the war continue, must open with partial scarcities, if not general want. To the sufferings unavoidable from many other causes no small addition will be made by the laws limiting prices, enforced by the iron hand of necessity." 5

As measures of protection and of retaliation, therefore, the French Government began issuing a series of decrees similar to those issued by Great Britain, neutral ships were seized, neutral goods

¹ To the appeal for assistance in Genet's arrest, Randolph replied that "while he observed with pleasure that the object of this order is to give entire satisfaction to the Government of the United States, he can not forbear to declare for himself that it was the recall and not the pumishment of Mr. Genet which he was desirous to affect" (Domestic Letters, VI, 85). Washington refused compliance with the request on the ground that he did not have the power to enforce it. The consuls who were associated with Genet were discharged by Fauchet, but none of them were pumished (États-Unis, 41, fol. 171).

^{2&}quot;Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 306 ff.; 5,000,000 francs were intrusted to the commission by the French Government with which they were to purchase supplies.

^{3&}quot;American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 243.

⁴June 8, 1793, Great Entain directed commanders of crusers to detain all vessels loaded with grain or flour bound to French ports and send them to England, where the cargo would be purchased and freight paid by the British Government. Nov. 6 of that year the British ministry directed the seizure of all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of any such colony. Through the operation of this order, some 300 American ships were seized and brought into West Indian ports by British cruisers ("American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 429).

⁵ Nov. 12, 1793, "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 398-399.

were confiscated, and the embargo at the port of Bordeaux was continued.

Appeals by Fauchet to his Government that because of the embargo at Bordeaux he was unable to get American boats to carry provisions to France had little effect.³ The American Government, then, must protect the interests of her citizens against the ravages of these two antagonists.⁴

A special message from the President to Congress accompanied by papers narrating these abuses belief to a general embargo act which was to extend from March 26 to April 26. This gave Fauchet the occasion which he sought to test the loyalty of his friends in Congress. Alone, and in spite of the decrees by his Government, he must still assist in securing the necessary means of subsistence for the French people. He was prepared to take extreme measures. "How we have deceived the Americans," he wrote: "We have made them promises which we knew would not be kept; we have meddled with that which did not concern us at all; we have acted without any authorization. If bread were necessary for our brothers, we would give our life if that could buy them provisions." 6

During the discussion on the embargo he kept closely in touch with his friends in Congress. When the act seemed assured, he was visited by "many Members of Congress" that they might learn when the French provision fleet in the Chesapeake would be ready to sail. They desired to postpone the declaration of the embargo until after that date. No such assistance was necessary, for three weeks after the passage of the act 130 merchant vessels set sail for France.

¹ Decree of May 9, 1793. See "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 749. May 23, on the representation of Morris, American vessels were exempted from the operation of the decree. "Foreign Relations," I, 364-365. May 28 the original order was established. July 1 American vessels were excepted. July 27 the last decision was again repealed. An embargo was placed on all neutral vessels Sept. 28, 1793.—États-Unis, 40, fol. 320. "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 372

² On the breaking out of hostilities, 80 American vessels had been detained at Bordeaux for more than a year without adequate explanation. This number was soon increased to 103.—Ibid., I, 740-749

^{*} États-Unis, 40, fols. 181, 363. "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 390 et seq.

⁴ American commerce suffered in a less degree from the spohations of the Spanish and Dutch vessels

⁵ "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 424-431.

Fauchet to the Commissioner of Supplies, Dec. 6, 1794. États-Unis, 42, fol. 385, "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 505 ff.

⁷ Despatch, Mar. 21, 1794, États-Unis, 40, fol. 288.

⁸ This was rejected for fear that it would also be necessary to give the President the right to raise or continue the embargo at his pleasure.—États-Unis, 40, fol. 288. "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1908, 306 ff.

⁹ Hammond, the English minister, complained of this mark of preference ("American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 463). Fauchet made no complaint of Randolph's attitude on this occasion. Randolph wrote Washington, Mar. 31: "Is there not something too strong in excepting a vessel notoriously loaded with flour for France? I can not see the propnety of making a special rule for her." (Ibld., 59.) In reply to Hammond's complaint, he wrote: "Undoubtedly, sir, you have been misinformed that the vessels of France have been permitted to depart from our ports, notwithstanding the embargo. * * * II, sir, you should happen to possess the information, I ask it as a favor of you to designate who granted the permission and under what circumstances the French vessels left the road." (Ibid., 463). The British order of Nov. 6, 1793, was particularly obnoxious and doubtless was the leading cause for the embargo. (See Ibid., I, 430.)

No effort seems to have been made by Fauchet to prevent the extension of the embargo in April, for he had then no vessels loaded for France. In May, however, he began to collect another fleet, and a further extension would interfere with his plan. The appeal to his most influential friends of the House of Representatives, in which he abstained "from advising them upon theirs [interests], has succeeded in convincing them of the great evil they are doing us in wishing to do a very slight one to the English." He reported the coming of several Congressmen to his house in order to know if it was true that he saw in the general prolongation of the embargo a gloomy measure for France. The House of Representatives reversed its position. "May 24," as stated by Fauchet, "73 out of 95 or 100 Members were hostile to the renewing of the embargo, and several Members said openly that it was only upon the representation of the minister of the Republic that they retracted the opinion which they had uttered some days before for its prolongation." 1

It had been agreed that the debt owed by the United States to France should be repaid in regular annual installments.² One object in sending the commission, however, was to secure the payment of this debt "by anticipation." The financial embarrassments of the commission, together with the desire to aid French refugees who had escaped to the United States from Santo Domingo and other islands, prompted Fauchet to ask for \$1,000,000, payable in six months.⁴ A spirited debate ensued in the House of Representatives over the proposition.³ It was carried by a decisive vote in the House, but was lost in the Senate.⁶

Recognizing wherein Genet had failed, Fauchet for a time profited by his example. It was his desire, as he said, to maintain an equi-

¹ The repeal was advocated by the mercantile classes. The vote stood—yeas 13, nays 73. For discussion, see "Annals of Third Congress, First Session," 632, 678, 731-735 The arguments in opposition to the prolongation of the period of the embargo were well presented by Dayton, of New Jersey, who had formerly favored such a measure. An embargo, he asserted, would operate hereafter most uniavorably for ourselves, particularly our farmers, and for our allies, the French; it could not be denied that France was much more dependent upon this country for supplies of provisions in her present arduous struggle than any other nation or than all others, and he inferred from thence that there could not be a disposition in that House to extend a prohibition which should add to the sufferings of those who are fighting in the cause of liberty against the most powerful combination that was ever formed to crush it "The purpose for which it had first been laid on," said Gillan, who favored the embargo, "had not been obtained." The House had been applied to by various meetings of their constituents from one end of the continent to the other to continue the embargo, and all approving of the former conduct of the legislature in laying it on; and that they had not been applied to by any persons, except some under this roof, to discontinue it. June 4, Congress gave the President the power of laying the embargo and raising it during the intermission of Congress ("Annals of the Third Congress, First Session," Appendix, 1450). John Jay was well on his way to England, and as the British Government had already manifested a more conciliatory spirit there was not the same desire to insist on an embargo.

² See "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 369.

² Tbid., 398. The United States was, on January 1, 1794, \$383,162 ahead of the regular payments, "Annals Third Congress, First Session," IV, 129.

⁴ The number of these refugees was estimated by Fauchet at 5,000 (États-Unis, 40, fol. 397). They were to be sent to France.—"American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 427.

^{5 &}quot;Annals of Third Congress, First Session," IV, 169-173, 411.

⁶ Vote in the House, 53 year to 23 nays; vote in the Senate, 12 nays to 7 year —"Annals of Third Congress, First Session," IV, 130.

librium between the parties. Leading men approved his conduct. Washington was impressed with his sincerity and temperate spirit and extended to him marks of social favor. But during the progress of the debates in Congress, Fauchet had been convinced of the truth of Monroe's statement that the Republican party here were the only friends of that cause in his own country.2 He proceeded, therefore. to take a course of action corresponding to what he thought the best interests of his country required. In his first private political dispatch he manifested this change of policy.3 The majority of the American people, he declared, favored the French Révolution. Twothirds of the House of Representatives were French Republicans and the President's Cabinet and a majority of the Senate were controlled by England. Hamilton, a man of great talents, although "overwhelming him with apparent friendship," was, Fauchet thought, the real leader of the opposition; Gen. Knox, "without firmness and without character," was subject to the bidding of Hamilton and of Noailles: John Adams, favoring the form of the English constitution, saw in the French Republic a "movement of circumstance" destined shortly to be destroyed. Monroe, just named minister to France, "was a man whose talents, principles, and purest patriotism will be dear to the true friends of liberty." Madison also was a true patriot and an honest and upright man. Randolph became the devoted friend with whom Fauchet consulted over his official communications. In these conferences, too, he learned what was taking place in the councils of the American Government and exercised an indirect influence therein. "The President of the United States," Randolph declared, "is a mortal enemy of England and the friend of France. I can affirm it upon my honor, but, not mixing with the world, he may be circumvented by the dark maneuvers of Mr. Hamilton."

During the whisky rebellion, detailed accounts were sent by Fauchet to his Government. While the excise tax was noted as the chief cause, other motives for the insurrection, as instanced by him, were: A general discontent on the part of the region west of the Alleghanies aroused through the lack of energy on the part of the National Government in putting them into possession of their rights. They were not protected from the Indians, and delay in securing the

^{1 &}quot;Writings of George Washington," (Ford ed.), XII, 416 417.

^{2 &}quot;Writings of James Monroe" (Hamilton ed.), I, 284-285. Monroe wrote Jefferson, March 3, 1794: "Fauchet was received with the most profound attention by the parties heretofore opposed to his country and his cause. 'Tis probable they might hope the fate of his predecessor wo'd warn him to shun not only his errors, but likewise the friends of France, upon the idea they wo'd be the friends of Mr. Genet "

³ Dispatch, May 5, 1794. États-Unis, 41, fol. 17, "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 330 ff. These private dispatches were begun for the reason that Fauchet had lost confidence in two of the commissioners, La Forest and Petry, whom he suspected of imparting secrets to Hamilton and Knox.

This break in the commission had been anticipated by Gouverneur Morris. He had written Washington that it was his belief that La Forest and Petry would "undoubtedly draw together and essay the conduct of the commission" "I can perceive," he said," that the two consuls expect to govern the commission by two means—one, their greater knowledge of our country, laws, and inhabitants; the other, a persuasion to be inculcated on the minister and secretary that they enjoy the confidence of our Government"—"American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 398.

free navigation of the Mississippi had spread the spirit of revolt among them. Fauchet professed the belief that the English were contributing to this disaffection. Not alone had they aided in the Indian uprisings 1 and paid the leaders of the insurgents, but had proposed "to the Western country to put them into immediate possession of the Mississippi if they would detach themselves from the federation." This was to be but a step toward the ultimate goal—the capture of Louisiana. It is impossible to say just how much of his own plans Fauchet projected into the suppositions about the English policy. He made no claim to contributing in any way to the force of the insurrection although his sympathies were evidently in its favor.

President Washington's attack on the democratic societies as the cause of this uprising came as a surprise to Fauchet.⁵ At first Fauchet approved of their fêtes, but the disapproval of "leading Americans" led him to refuse to be present at these celebrations. Indeed, he frankly admitted that the societies might become dangerous to a Government opposed to French principles. His tolerance for them seems to have grown out of the belief that they might be of assistance to the French cause. Their importance in American politics and the character of the leaders were depreciated by him. "There are some men," he wrote, "lost in debts and reputation. formerly French, who were naturalized in the United States, or, rather, are neither Americans or French, and these are the chief bawlers, the patriots par excellence, the heads of the popular French societies of Philadelphia, who ask an account of the minister and his conduct. And at the end of all this there is a demand for a little cash—that is, indemnification by some lucrative place." 6

In the meantime the sending of Jay to England had aroused suspicions in the mind of Fauchet. He strove to secure the appointment of some one who, by his sympathies with France, would frustrate the object of the mission. Fearing that a treaty with England would mean closer commercial relations, he was anxious to learn the contents of Jay's instructions.

¹ États-Unis, 42, fol. 6.

² Tbid., 41, fol. 345.

For an account of the policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley, see Am Hist. Rev., X, 249-279 États-Unis, 42, fol. 32. "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 432 ff.

⁵ It is probable that these societies did not influence the uprising other than through their constant assailing of all measures of the administration.

⁶ Etats-Unis, 40, fol. 288.

⁷ Randolph had striven in every way to defeat the appointment of Hamilton. Fauchet was probably a party to this. See "Writings of Rufus Kmg," I, 517-527; États-Unis, vol. 41, fol. 415; and the "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 420 ff.

The challenge to Randolph to state the purpose of Jay's mission was made after an assertion in a communication by the commission to the French Government that they would hear nothing further of this mission, as it was absolutely insignificant. "We have all reason," it continues, "for believing that the Committee of Public Safety will not take umbrage at the mission of Mr. Jay. The Secretary of State has communicated to Citizen Fauchet confidentially several paragraphs of his instructions, and, if we had doubts, the actual state of public spirit will suffice to reassure us" (Etats-Unis, 41, fol. 99, May 27, 1794). It is probable that Fauchet purposely deceived La Forest and Petry (see "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 353 ff).

On the advice of the President, Randolph communicated several paragraphs of the instructions, and assured Fauchet that it was Jay's mission "only to demand a solemn reparation for the spoliations which have injured our commerce." But Fauchet was evidently not satisfied, for he brought to the attention of his Government such measures as he thought suitable to counteract the influence of Jay. Following the advice of Madison and Monroe, he urged that a commercial treaty should be made with the United States. Randolph assured Fauchet that he was ready to discuss the articles of a new treaty with the French nation; that the time was favorable, in that most of the Senators who were opposed to French interests would be retired before the next session of Congress, and that a majority in the House of Representatives was assured. To win the support of the people, articles of a possible treaty were to be discussed with favor in the public press.

Before the Jay treaty reached this country Fauchet had been led to believe that it interfered with the existing relations between France and the United States. But France must retain an influence over the United States, and this Fauchet thought might be accomplished as follows: (1) France was to cease hostilities against American shipping; (2) she was to press Spain for the free navigation of the Mississippi as a step to securing the control of Louisiana. Fauchet criticized Randolph for his silence on the articles of the treaty. He declared he had been assured that there was no question of treaty, but merely claims, and that no agreement should be concluded between the United States and Great Britain without a warning to France. The reply that the terms of the treaty had not been revealed, and it was not known whether it contained any other things

¹ Ètats-Unis, 41, fol. 157, June 4, 1794.

² Ibid., 43, fol. 411. "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 634 ff Le Blanc was sent to Paris to advise instant measures for destroying the aim of Jay's mission

[&]quot;Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, II, 372 seq. The suggestion that the press be used to influence public opinion for France was not included in the "Vindication." Fauchet added "This Mr. Randolph is without doubt a very excellent man, very partisan to our revolution, but I believe of a weak character. It is very easy to penetrate his secrets when one excites him. So I give him mine only when I desire it shall be known. He is of great aid to me to prevent the perfect machinations of Hamilton, whom you know by his association with émigrés who are his intimates." Beaumetz and Talleyrand were the leading émigrés. Others were Noailles, Talon, Duportail, Pilet, and La Colombe. Several of them had, through Gouverneur Morris, invested in lands in the United States, especially in the West. See Winsor, "Westward Movement," 402-403.

³ Randolph told Fauchet, Feb. 1, that his own opinion was in suspense (États-Unis, 43, fol. 135). A week later Madison said to Fauchet that he could not for a moment believe that instructions that would hurt the bond between France and the United States would have been ratified, and from his intimate acquaintance with the President it appeared to him still more improbable that he could have given secret instructions from which France had anything to fear (Ibid , fol 183, "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 572 ff.).

⁴ Fauchet said that this was suggested to him by a man who had grown old in the leading affairs of state.— États-Unis, 43, fol. 141.

⁵ American Historical Review, X, 249-279.

^{*} États-Unis, 43, fol 200; "Report of the Am. Hist Assn.," 1903, 578 ff.

than articles useful to the commerce of this country without injuring the interests of its friends, was not satisfactory.¹

Fauchet hoped that the treaty would not arrive before the close of the session, for in the next Congress, "some Members who favor England will be replaced by those favoring France." He had tried, he said, "to make the friends of liberty blush at linking themselves with an infamous Government at the instant when it is carrying on a death struggle with the liberators of America."²

Two days after the treaty reached Philadelphia ³ and while its contents were known only to Washington and Randolph, a furious controversy broke out in the newspapers throughout the country over its supposed terms. ⁴ The opposition was inflamed over the fact that any treaty had been made between the United States and Great Britain. Fauchet thought the prestige of Washington ⁵ would assure its ultimate ratification but if the new minister from France should arrive shortly, his influence in the Senate would doubtless secure the rejection of clauses derogatory to the friendship with France or, at least, would produce delay and slowness. If a new minister from France should arrive with assurances of favor, it would put some of the protestations and promises to the proof. ⁶

Any attempt to oppose the treaty on his part would, he believed, be futile, for he did not know the wishes of his Government and the report of his recall had, no doubt, neutralized his influence with his friends. Although discouraged because of lack of instructions, he was by no means idle. Again he approached Randolph, hoping to secure the terms of the treaty, but in spite of his array of obligations due France on the part of the United States, and notwithstanding his "great stroke" that if the treaty gave no cause for complaints,

¹ États-Unis, 43, fol 200. Fauchet already surmised that Jay had been given contingent instructions and "very extended powers." Ibid., fol. 135, Feb. 2, 1795. Fauchet's reiteration that Randolph had positively assured hun that there was no question of treaty was evidently not denied at the time. It could have been implied only. Randolph declared (July 8, 1795): "I never could, with truth, have informed the French minister that the mission, as set forth in the President's message to the Senate, contemplated only an adjustment of our complaints, if led by this phrase it be intended to exclude commercial relations. I could have no reason for saying so, since the French Government could have nothing to do with our commercial arrangements; if they did not derogate from her rights, it could have answered no purpose when so short a time would develop the contrary. I never did inform the French minister as is above stated. The only official conversation which I recollect with Mr. Fauchet upon this subject was when I communicated to him, with the President's permission, that Mr. Jay was instructed not to weaken our engagements to France. Neither then nor at any other time, in official or unofficial conversation, did I ever say to him that nothing of a commercial nature was contemplated—"American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 177.

² États-Unis, 43, fol. 200, Feb. 16, 1795.

³ Mar. 10.

⁴ It is not known where the information came from. See Cobbett, "Porcupine's Works," II, 229, Carpenter, "Memoirs of Jefferson," I, 239; "Writings of James Madison," II, 41, 42.

^{5 &}quot;Nothing will be able to attack with any effect," he wrote, "the influence of Washington nor make any impression upon the Government which his name protects as well as the prosperity which has followed its formation"

⁶ Etats-Unis, 43, fol 322, and "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.", 1903, 601 ft.

at least France can complain of the secrecy, his efforts were again foiled.1

While the treaty was before the Senate he lost no occasion to attack it² and appealed, in vain, for the word from his Government which should destroy it forever.³ He insinuated that the engagements with France had been neglected and that the treaty of alliance and guarantee of reciprocity had been nullified.⁴

Finally, he thought the moment opportune to make public his appeals in behalf of the partisans of France "who possessed a great part of the nation." Such a statement would, he believed, produce the same crisis as that which existed last year between the parties. He was, besides, convinced of the uselessness of making further complaints on infractions of rights to a Government which could not secure "decisive justice" and whose characteristic was its feebleness and desire to temporize.

For this he was reproved in no measured terms by the Secretary of State. "A foreign minister," Randolph wrote, "has a right to remonstrate with the Executive to whom he is accredited upon any of those measures affecting his country, but it will ever be denied as a right of a foreign minister that he should endeavor, by an address to the people, oral or written, to forestall a depending measure, or to defeat one which has been decided. This remark is made now because it can not be erroneously wrested into a defense or outwork of the treaty with Great Britain; and because it is an assertion of the sovereignty of the United States consistent with what is past and we trust not likely to be contradicted hereafter." But in France the Mountain had given way to the Thermidorians and this note of remonstrance was delivered to Adet, the new French minister, who had already arrived in Philadelphia.

Meantime, the Senate had been convened. Fauchet was certain that the presence of Adet, instructed on all points, would have a "powerful influence" on that body. The actual composition of the

¹ États-Unis, 43, fol. 330, and "Report of the Am, Hist. Assn.", 1903, 603 ff.

² He hoped that his correspondence with Randolph would be laid before the Senate and serve to strengthen the cause of the opponents to the treaty.—États-Unis, 43, fol. 448, vol. 44, fol. 23; "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 608, 609.

^{*} Etats-Unis, 43, fol. 370.

⁴Told., fol. 433, "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 649 ff., and "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 617

⁵ États-Unis, 43, fol. 448. "Samuel Adams participated in a fête over our victories in Holland. But a little effort would be necessary to increase these secret ferments, and neutralize by generous murmurs the approaching ratification. * * * I observe that, for a year, our enemies work by all sorts of machinations; by their influence on the tribunals, by their emissaries in commerce, by their writers in papers and pamphlets."

⁶ États-Unis, 43, fol 564. The men favorably inclined toward France, as indicated by Fauchet at a later date, were Jefferson, Moultrie, Clinton, and Livingston. See Fauchet, "A Sketch of the Present State of our Political Relations" (1797), 23.

^{7 &}quot;American State Papers, Foreign Relations," I, 620.

⁸ Fauchet repeatedly asked for instructions. For over a year he received no instructions whatever.—Étate-Unis, 43, fols. 141, 411.

Senate would offer many chances against the ratification providing he acted promptly and with system and cleverness. Twelve Senators might be counted on if there were anything in the treaty very favorable to England or unfavorable to France, and eleven were enough to prevent ratification.¹

It is not the purpose at this time to discuss the final ratification of the treaty nor to state the facts relating to the exposure of the Secretary of State. From the viewpoint of diplomacy, the mission of Fauchet was a failure, but his course of action, together with that of Adet, may well be cited among the influences contributing to the triumph of the Republican Party.

i Étate-Unis, 44, fol. 17, and "Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.," 1903, 707 ff. "In the last session parties were equally divided and the questions which could interest us decided only by the vote of the President." One of the acts passed provided for the prohibition of the exportation of munitions of war. Fauchet claimed that he did not have time to oppose it on account of the speed with which it was passed and the adjournment of Congress. He proposed to negotiate its repeal in the present session by the medium of influential members of the legislature and the Secretary of State "Cutzen Fauchet early in the session made Mr. Randolph feel that the repeal of the law prohibiting the exportation of munitions of war would be advantageous to the interests of the Republic; it was explained in the same sense regarding this law to members of the legislature which one could believe most attached to us" The House tried to modify the terms and finally repealed the act. The Senate refused to accede.—États-Unis, 43, fol. 185.

XII. THE INSURGENTS OF 1811.

By D. R. ANDERSON,
Professor in Richmond College.

THE INSURGENTS OF 1811.

By D. R. Anderson.

"Never, since the battle of Lexington," said Jefferson, "have I seen this country in such a state of exasperation as at present. And even that did not produce such unanimity." But he thought "one war enough for the life of one man," and, clinging tenaciously to peace, endeavored to show to Europe "that there are peaceable means of repressing injustice."3 His successor, put in office for the vital purpose of paving the national debt and regarded as the last American president who would devote himself to that consecrated cause,4 by his peaceful programme won pleasant opinions from moderate Federalists, as he had the preceding year won many of their votes.⁵ The other members of the Virginia dynasty, and some who for the moment claimed a purer Republicanism, were still more peacefully inclined—even thought, without reason, that the orthodox succession in comparison with themselves was belligerent. And. with Nathaniel Macon to control North Carolina and restrain the House, Jefferson's prayer for eight years of peace during which the national debt might be discharged should under reasonable circumstances have been answered.7

The national legislature, no more than the President, had desired war in 1807 s and for four years it looked around for convenient substitutes. The Tenth and Eleventh Congresses, in their bewildered way, avoiding war, adopted embargo; surrendering embargo, accepted nonintercourse; abandoning nonintercourse, fell upon the humiliating Macon bill No. 2. On March 3, mourned by none, the Eleventh Congress expired. But the "folly of Macon bills and all

^{1 &}quot;Writings" (ed. Ford), IX, 110, 115, etc.

² Tbid., 201.

^{*} Tbid., 87.

⁴ Tbid., 264; Randall, "Jefferson" III, 287, 315.

⁵ Letters to Madison, 1808-1809, Madison MSS. See "Madison Calendar," 218, 222, 445, 659.

[•] Monroe, John Taylor, John Randolph, etc. See especially correspondence of Monroe and John Taylor, Monroe MSS.

⁷ Randall, "Jefferson," III, 287.

⁸ Gallatin's opinion. See Adams, "Gallatin," 364. Jefferson, however, took good care not to call a meeting until Oct. 26, although urged to call it earlier. See letter of W. C. Nicholas, July 7, 1807 (Jefferson MSS.); Adams, "Gallatin," 358.

the other windings and misdoings of the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses" were not forgotten.

Meanwhile, within the ranks of the followers of Jefferson an insurgency was rising-an insurgency based on the feebleness of our national conduct. Prominent statesmen and politicians like Jefferson and Macon may have been lukewarm in 1807,2 and others like Tazewell might cool down,3 but cooling down was not in the nature of Editor Thomas Ritchie or his cousin, Spencer Roane,4 who from 1807 to 1812 never ceased to call for energetic measures. Wilson Cary Nicholas desired war in 1807,5 lost all faith in embargo and commercial restrictions in 1808,6 and refused to return to Congress in 1810 because he could not relish the peaceful policy of the administration.7 Besides Nicholas, David R. Williams, 8 John W. Eppes, 9-John G. Jackson, 10 and others, before the expiration of Jefferson's administration, formed a well-recognized war party among the Republicans. The famous Smith faction, from 1809 until its destruction, so embarrassing to Madison and so bitterly hostile to Gallatin, found opportunities for criticism in the pacific inclinations of government-inclinations due, they claimed, with not a little truth, 11 to the reluctance of Jefferson and his successor to embarrass the Department of the Treasury.¹² In 1809, endeavoring, with the help of Federalists. to force an immediate employment of our whole Navy,18 they were ready the next year to demand atonement for the Chesapeake outrage, the relinquishment of Orders in Council, the release of impressed seamen, 14 and to despise Gallatin's Macon bill No. 1.15 And William Duane in the Aurora, 16 applauded by other discontented sheets, 17 supported them in heated editorial, while Thomas Ritchie heard nothing too severe about Gallatin.18 Gallatin was the czar, the dictator to Congress, the intermeddler with foreign concerns, the great obstacle in the way of energetic action.19

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<sup>1</sup> Enquirer, May 10, 1811.
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² Adams, "Gallatin," 357-367; correspondence of Macon, Gallatin, and Nicholson.

Grigsby, "Tazewell."

^{&#}x27;Roane and Ritchie were chairman and secretary, respectively, of a war-like meeting in Richmond Aurora, July 6, 1807. Ritchie had taken up arms in 1807.

To Jefferson, July 7, 1807.

To Jefferson, Oct. 20, 1808.

⁷ To Jefferson, Feb. 4. 1810; he also had rheumatism.

^{*} See "Annals," Jan. 19, Feb. 17 and 25, 1809.

Adams, "United States," IV, 451; "Annals," Feb. 25.

¹⁰ Tbid., Jan. 19, 1809.

^{11 &}quot;Writings of Jefferson," IX, 264, Randall, "Jefferson," III, 287, 315

¹² See speeches of Giles, Jan. 23, 1810, Dec. 17, 1811.

¹² Votes in Senate, Jan. 3, 1809; in House, Jan. 10, 13, 16 See Gallatin's comment, Adams, "Gallatin," 387

¹⁴ Leib's Resolutions, Mar. 8, 1810.

¹⁵ See Smith's speech, Mar. 19, 1810.

¹⁸ See almost any issues, 1811-12

¹⁷ E. g., Baltimore Whig, Lexington Reporter.

¹⁸ Enquirer, May 21.

¹⁹ Told., and the Aurora.

But it was not faction, personal, vitriolic, that was to count for most; at the testing time faction was to desert its own cause. It was a new spirit, arising not the least from personal pique nor on the other hand cooled by reverence for old ideas, that on February 22, 1810, moved the lips of young Senator Henry Clay, western, independent, nationalistic, in declaring that "when the regular troops of this House * * are inactive at their posts, it becomes the duty of the raw militia to step forth in defense of the honor and independence of the country." When resistance by "your whole circle of commercial restrictions is abandoned without effect, I am," he said, "for resistance by the sword." Worried not the least by financial necessities, our frontiersman placed his reliance on the "boundless territories in the West," and called upon his sluggish colleagues to put aside "the low groveling parsimony of the counting room."

It was the "raw militia" rather than the regular troops of the Republican army who were to resent national insult and to plunge the country into war. Of late the strength of this raw militia had been increasing and its consciousness of unity becoming significant. One of this company, and one of the most important of them, in February, 1810, declared: "The people of the United States are divided, by a geographical line, into two great and distinct sections. The people who live along the Atlantic on the east side of the Alleghany Mountains, and who compose the three great classes of merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists, and those who occupy the west side of those mountains, who are exclusively agriculturists." In western New York 15,000,000 of acres, "a dreary and uninhabited wilderness" in 1790, by 1810 were covered with settlements. In northern and western Pennsylvania the same progress had been seen: Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee had arisen within the same period, and more than 100,000,000 of acres had been actually purchased and occupied within the last 20 years in the western country.4 On the other hand, New England and the old South refused to show evidence of large increase; but in the Middle and Southern States the creation of new counties in the West marked "the progress of backwoods settlements."5 A third of the increase of the country's population was migrating beyond the mountains. One thing was becoming apparent—if the party of Jefferson would retain its power it must retain its alliance with the western region. Old John Taylor, too conservative to yield western demands, nevertheless had a glimpse

[!] In the Senate, Feb. 22, 1810. "Annals," 11 Cong., 2d sess., 579-582.

² Peter B. Porter, of western New York, in a speech on internal improvements.

^{*} See "Annals," 11 Cong., 1 sess., 1388-1396, Feb. 8.

⁴ Porter's speech; the census of 1790 gives to Tennessee 35,691, Kentucky 73,677, Ohio ----; that of 1810 gives to Tennessee 261,727, Kentucky 406,511, Ohio 230,760.

Schouler, "United States," II, 231. In Virginia between 1790 and 1810 ten counties had been established, in North Carolina eight, etc.

of the real situation when, advising Monroe in 1808 to accept Jefferson's offer of the Orleans government, he wrote of the West: "In a very few years these States will expect to supply a President, and must be gratified." 1 From 1792 to 1816 the electoral vote of the frontier States, omitting frontier portions of old Commonwealths. multiplied itself by six while that of the original 13 States increased by only one-third. Now, Monroe was not to be governor of Orleans nor candidate for the Presidency in 1812; but his friend Madison. with whom his fortunes became united, was, and the decisive western votes were not the less valuable for Madison in 1812 or for himself in 1816.2 How could they be secured?

It was conspicuously announced that their allegiance could be preserved only by an attention to their interests. The westerners seemed not deeply concerned about orders in council, though they were aroused over impressment of our seamen and insults to our national honor. But their own peculiar problems interested them most: and these problems were the opening of communications and the extension of territories for settlement. The Indian cast of the Mississippi was in their way, and the Indian must go; since the treaty of Greenville in 1795 they had by various treatics been able to push him farther west.4 Their ultimate hope was his removal beyond the Mississippi. But they had to count with more than the Indian; for the British, retaining their posts from 1783 to 1796 in order to control the Indian fur trade and Indian alliances. continued that same policy subsequent to 1796. Year by year from Malden and Amherstburg they dispensed to the savages provisions, and at times ammunition and arms,6 for the explicit purpose of retaining this trade and this alliance;7 and on occasions of very strained relations between the United States and Great Britain the redskins were cultivated with increased assiduity.8

Though not unaware that their attentions might encourage Indian depredations on the whites, nevertheless their official Canadian policy was distinctly to discourage these hostilities, and the inter-

¹ Branch Historical Papers, June, 1908, 293, Monroe MSS, Library of Congress. Wilson Cary Nicholas in 1806 said the same thing, Jefferson MSS.

² Monroe was popular with the western people on account of his French and Spanish negotiations; he was anxious to retain this popularity as is shown by the manuscript correspondence

^{*} See for instance, Porter's speech, Feb. 8, 1810, The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee (taxette, the l.exington Reporter, etc.

See maps in Channing, "Jeffersonian system," 258, Adams, "United States" VI, 66, showing gains by various treaties, 1795-1810.

McLaughlin, "The Western posts and the British debts," Report of the Am. Hist. Assn., 1894.
 See "Report of the Canadian archivist," 1893, passim. Monroe to Foster, June 10, 1812, "American State Papers, Foreign," III, 464. In 1805 the Canadian Government expended 60,000 pounds for the benefit of the Indians. MacMullen, "Canada," 244.

^{7 &}quot;Report of the Can. Arch ," 1893, 3, 10, 13, 16, etc.

^{*} E. g., 1807 and 1811.

[&]quot;Report of the Can. Arch.," 1893, 5, 12, 26, 27, 45, 48, 59, 64, Foster to Monroe, Dec. 28, 1811, June 7 and 8, 1812, "Am. St. Pap., For.," III, 462-463.

est of the fur companies was on the side of peace.¹ However, agents and traders, less responsible, in all probability, were less careful than official heads, and so close were the relations between Canadians and Indians and so fresh were the memories of former wars that frontiersmen not unnaturally attributed all Indian depredations to English policy.

Further, the Canadians desired to facilitate the development of their fur trade by the removal of restrictions imposed by our authorities and by an extension of this trade into Louisiana;2 we on our side wished an abrogation of the privileges granted Canadians by the treaty of 17948 and were determined not to open Louisiana.4 and this question was so embarrassing in 1807 as seriously to hamper our negotiations in England.⁵ But not least in importance, the British lent their support to the plans of Tecumseh and the Prophet,6 whose dreams of a great Indian confederacy and whose resistance to sales of land by individual tribes would be, as Tecumseh declared, a dam in the progress of the great waters of white advance.7 As long as the British held Canada, so long, believed the westerner—and the same idea had been advanced in 1794—would Indian depredations continue; so long would obstacles remain retarding our western progress. Besides, had not the great disposer of events from the beginning decreed that the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi should be controlled by the same power and that the territory from the Gulf to the "regions of eternal frost" should belong to Americans.10 And were not the same British who instigated the Indian also intriguing to secure dominion over our rightful property, the Floridas ? 11 When your Southerner, usually imperialistic, heard his western brother talk of expansion, he was ready to give applause unless his Republicanism was too pure, like that of John Randolph, who despised that "tid-bit Canada." In the same speech of February 22, 1810, to which reference has been made, in answer to the objection that nothing was to be gained by war, Clay replied: "The conquest of Canada is in your power. * * * Is it nothing to extinguish the torch that lights up savage warfare? Is it nothing

¹ Ibid , 10; McLaughlin's paper for the period up to 1794.

^{2&}quot;Am. St Pap., For.," III, 152 A memorial of Canadian merchants.

³ See Article III of the Treaty of 1794 Haslett, "Treaties and Conventions"

⁴ Tbid., 126, 185, etc.

⁵ Ibid., 143, 147, etc.

⁸ Report Can. Arch , 1893, 3; Edward Eggleston, "Tecumseh," 126, 161, etc

⁷ Hatch, "A chapter of the History of the War of 1812 in the Northwest." The Prophet acknowledged he had been asked to engage in war in 1809.

^{*} See speech of Findley, "Annals," 12 Cong., 1 sess., 501: "It is true that during the same Indian war it was the opinion of our most sage politicians that we never could be secure against Indian war till we had the possession of Canada, and by that means have it in our power to cut off communication between foreign nations and the Indians on our frontiers and in our own territory."

⁹ R. M. Johnson, "Annals," 12 Cong., 1 sess., 458, etc.

¹⁰ Harper, of western New Hampshire, ibid., 657.

[&]quot; Speech of Clay, Dec. 28, 1810, "Annals," 12 Cong., 638, 1203, 1204, 1205. The British protested against the occupation of West Florida and again against the action of Gov. Matthews as to East Florida. The correspondence is given in the "Annals," 12 Cong., 1 sess., 435-440.

to acquire the entire fur trade connected with that country, and to destroy the temptation and opportunity of violating your revenue and other laws ?", 1

Many, I think, agreed with "an old soldier 'who wrote that if Eng. land were to restore all impressed seamen and make compensation for all her depredations we should listen to no terms that did not include

Upper Canada.²

Before the Eleventh Congress had adjourned threats had been heard within the halls itself that there would be a day of reckoning. for sluggish members. The Aurora, the Enquirer, and southern and western papers in general kept before the voters the incompetency of the preceding Congress and urged the election of stronger Representatives.3 The result was a landslide. Nearly one-half of the members of the Eleventh Congress were not reelected.4 In Kentucky Mathew Lyon, the former pugilistic Vermonter, now a submission man, was left at home and in his place Anthony New returned by 2,000 majority; Clay, Johnson, Desha, and McKee, all well-known warhawks, were chosen without opposition.7 Felix Grundy, a former Kentuckian, who had seen three brothers killed by Indians and his mother reduced from opulence to penury in a single night,8 was elected from western Tennessee for the express purpose of promoting the extinguishment of Indian titles; and John Sevier, although not a "speaking Member," as the west Tennesseans declared Grundy would be, had had, it will be admitted, his full share of frontiersman's experience. The returns from Virginia were disappointing, as eight men counting Randolph's quids of the Tidewater and the Valley Federalists could be relied on as unprogressive. 10 But South Carolina elected a delegation of insurgents seldom surpassed in ability and vigor; and that old-time Federalist bailiwick having wrested the economic supremacy of the South from the Old Dominion,11 was now threatening her political authority.

^{1 &}quot;Annals," 11 Cong., 2d sess., 580.

² The Aurora, Dec 30, 1811. That was Clay's idea; also Jefferson's after war had begun. See below. Besides the references given, the following throw light on Canada and the Indian question: ('aleb Atwater, "A History of the State of Ohio"; Drake, "Black Hawk"; Report of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, 12 Cong, 1 sess; "Am. St. Pap., Indian Affairs," 1,797; Farmer, "History of Dotrolt and Michigan"; McAfee, "History of the late war in the western country"; "Am. St. Pap., For." III, Monroe to Foster, June 10, 1812; "Michigan pioneer collections"; Montgomery, "Life of Maj. Gen. William II. Harrison"; Publications of Buffalo Historical Society; Gilleland, "History of the late war between the United States and Great Britain;" newspapers; private correspondence; State histories; publications of historical societies.

For instance, Enquirer, July 20, 1810; Democratic Clarion, May 25, 1810, Sept. 7. etc.; Aurora, June 16, July 21, Aug. 8, etc , 1810.

⁴ Niles' Register, Jan. 11, 1812; "Annals," 12 Cong., 1 sess

See speeches given in "Annals" 11 Cong., 2d sess., 1510, 1517, 1649. Also MS. of an article in Monroe MSS. (Sept. 26, 1812.)

Desha had had two brothers killed by Indians.

⁷ Aurora, Aug. 30, 1810; Sept. 4, 1810.

See his speech in United States Senate, Mar. 1, 1830, "Congressional Debates." Also "National Portrait Gallery," III.

Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette, Jan. 25, 1811.

¹⁶ Enquirer, May 10, 1811. See also vote on war, June 18, 1812.

¹¹ Exports of South Carolina, 1810, \$5,290,614; Virginia, \$4,822,611.

Pennsylvania returned a Republican delegation, except from the west, none too ardent for war, but loyal to their southern alliance. New York, though badly divided, was significant because of the reelection from her westernmost district of Peter B. Porter, whose residence within a gunshot of the Canadian line and whose extensive western trade as well as militant character made him a suitable spokesman for the frontiersman's desires. Kentucky, western Tennessee, upper South Carolina, and western New York for the first time were to dominate the Nation.

It is not my purpose to give a history of the Twelfth Congress. The victory of insurgency had been won before Congress assembled on November 4, 1811. The young warhawks and Indian fighters with only a skirmish were able to seize the speakership for Representative Clay on his first day of service.2 Likewise the leadership of the Senate—so far as that apoplectic body had a leader—fell to the West. The President's message suggested to Congress "the duty of putting the United States into an armor and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations," but threw the responsibility of declaring war entirely upon congressional shoulders.3 Clay then placed his biggest warhawks, Porter, Calhoun, Grundy, on the Committee on Foreign Relations,4 and until they should report the House proceeded to discuss other questions. However, on November 29 this committee made a report 5 giving their opinion in favor of war and recommending war-like measures. In the debate ensuing the geographical line was very apparent. "When a man rises in this House," said Stow of New York, "you may almost tell how ardent he will be by knowing how far distant he lives from the sea." 6 The whole problem of Canada was exposed to viewher monopoly of the fur trade,7 her wealth,8 the discontent of her population and our mission to extend to her the blessings of a free government, her instigation of the Indians, the necessity, if we desired tranquility, of breaking up that rogues' harbor, the ease with which she could be conquered, 10 our opportunity to indemnify ourselves for English aggressions by seizing her colonies,11 and our manifest destiny to extend to the North Pole 12—these ideas were all elaborately and repeatedly expounded.

¹ Calhoun was an upcountry man, his people had been prominent Indian fighters. He had desired war m 1808 -Jenkins, "Calhoun," 64.

Clay was elected over Bibb, the peace candidate, by a vote of 75 to 38. Macon also received 3 votes.
 Richardson, "Messages and Papers," 494.

^{4 &}quot;Annals," 343.

For report see "Annals," 373.

⁶ Tbid., 12 Cong., 1 sess., 677

⁷ Thid, 424, 457, 400.

⁸ Porter, Dec. 6.

⁹ See speeches of Grundy, Johnson, Wright, etc.

¹⁰ Porter, 1059, said the militia of New York and Vermont could have taken Canada in half the time Congress had been talking about it; speech of Widgerly, 603, 1397, etc.

¹¹ Porter, Dec 6.

¹² Harper, 657.

In endeavoring to prove their deep interest in the commercial questions involved, our warhawks made a poor showing, and when not, as did Grundy,¹ confessing their ignorance of such matters, they glided away into graceful declamations on national honor—over which commodity they claimed, as they seemed to have, a natural monopoly.² The West, and the South following the West, were not going to declare war because of the aggrieved rights of New Englanders and New Yorkers. Although united in their desire for war, the insurgents were not entirely harmonious; the character of taxation necessary for the support of war produced the usual pull and tug of local interests,³ and the use to which militia could be put and the desirability of a navy aroused stirring debates between those who reverenced the contest of 1798 and those orators to whom old Republicanism was something from which to escape.⁴

While the Twelfth Congress was proceeding with its work, two events occurred having a close connection with the frontiersman's problem and with the coming war. One was the conflict between Harrison and the Wabash Indians on November 7, a conflict in which many frontiersmen, some of them prominent men, lost their lives. and following which came all along the border Indian attacks.5 The other was the revelation of British intrigues under John Henry in 1809—an incident placed by the warhawks side by side with Canadian interference with the Indians.6 Meanwhile letters from home, newspaper editorials, and resolutions of State legislatures during the winter of 1811 and 1812 7 kept up the ardor of Congressmen. On March 15 Henry Clay laid before the administration a program - an embargo of 30 days, then a declaration of war, and provision for the acceptance of 10,000 volunteers on short enlistments, and gave them to understand that although a declaration of war lay within the constitutional powers of Congress, yet the administration was expected to take the responsibility of recommending it.8 Madison, though willing to make another attempt at peaceful settlement, by a special mission, was forced by the warhawks to give it up,º and accepting Clay's program, on April 1 recommended an embargo of 60 days, which by the peace men was extended to 90.10 Any further lurking

^{1 &}quot; Annala " 425

²Clay said if the "whole country east of the Alleghany was to submit to the ambition of some daring chief, the liberty of the Union would be still unconquered. It would find successful support from the West " 599. Mercantile honor was held in low esteem by the warhawks.

^{*} See debates, beginning 1091.

⁴ See debates in House, beginning 728, 803 (especially 878).

See newspapers, e. g., Democratic Clarion for Dec., 1811, and following.

[&]quot;Annals," 1185, 1186, 1191.

⁷ Niles gives them all.

Monroe MSS.

^{*}Hunt, "Madison," 317. Adams, "Gallatin," 458: Abraham Sheperd, of Sheperdstown, Va., in a letter to Timothy Pickering, said that Senator Worthington of Ohio says that "Mr. Madison told him that his friends had waited upon him and said, if he did send Mr. Bayard to England they would forsake him and be opposed to him, and he was compelled to comply * * * with their wishes." Clay and Grundy, he thought, went to see Madison.

hopes the administration had for peace were shattered by news of Minister Foster's instructions.1 And on June 1 was sent in the war message. Faction was able to delay the declaration until the 18th. All but one of the votes in the House from Vermont, Kentucky,2 Ohio, and Tennessee went for war, and these States, uniting with Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the South, cast 65 out of the 79 votes in the House and 15 out of 19 in the Senate that brought hostilities. Meanwhile were held the Republican caucuses for the nomination of President and Vice President, delayed until war was a certainty. Westerners dominated both meetings. Madison and Gerry were nominated.8 The madmen of the West did not fail to do their duty in 1812 and 1816, and the Virginia dynasty continued in power. The West was jubilant at the declaration of war. "If." wrote Clay, "you will carry your recollection back to the age of the crusades and some of the most distinguished leaders of those expeditions, you will have a picture of the enthusiasm existing in this country for the expedition to Canada and for Harrison as commander."4

A recent writer has said of the military campaigns in the West during the War of 1812: "The war in the West was indeed another struggle for the possession of the lands between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi." ⁵ At Ghent in 1814 the most interesting diplomatic contest was over the possession of the Northwest and the navigation of the Mississippi; ⁶ and I am constrained to believe that the dominant interest of those most influential in the preliminaries of the war was that same problem of western expansion, and that without this interest it is doubtful whether war would have occurred. The frontiersman's attitude in the war at least throws much light on the question why, despite French aggressions and insults—not inferior to those received from England—we preferred war with the latter country, and why after orders in council were repealed military movements were not discontinued. In one way England had insulted us in which France had not; she had tampered with our Indians; she was in the way of

¹ Adams, VI, 220, dated Apr. 10. For Madison's estimate of the importance of this letter of Castlereagh see Works (Cong. ed.), III, 554.

² Not counting Henry Clay, speaker.

² Niles, II, 192, 276.

⁴ To Monroe, Aug. 25, 1812. Monroe MSS.

⁵ Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, X, 319.

⁶ The well-known sine qua non of the British commissioners of a Northwest buffer State and the controversy as to the fisheries and the navigation of the Mississippi. "Am. St. Pap, For." III, 705, et seq. Adams, Memoirs, III.

⁷ English possession of Canada and her relations with the Indians were among the reasons assigned by Republicans at the time (see Enquirer, May 29, 1812; Niles' Register, June 27, 1812). Jefferson said, Aug. 4, 1812, on hearing of the repeal of the orders in council that it would only enable the minority further to embarrass our progress to the redress of old wrongs and security for the future (Jefferson MSS., Aug. 4, 1812). On June 20, 1812, he used the following very significant language: he hoped for the "addition of Canada to our Confederacy. The infamous intrigues of Great Britain to destroy our Government (of which Henry's is but one example) and with the Indians to tomahawk our woman and children, prove that the cession of Canada, their fulcrum for those Machiavellian levers, must be a sine qua non at a treaty of peace" (See Gilleland, "History of the Late War Between the United States and Great Britain.") Clay said without upper Canada he wished no peace.

our westward expansion. From her we could secure indemnity for the past and pledges for the future. She had territories whose population was in large measure native-born citizens of the United States or their descendents, and ready as we thought to return to our allegiance; territories whose possession was necessary to round out our natural boundary, especially as in these were countless thousands of acres of unoccupied land, and as with them went undisturbed possession of the fur trade.¹

¹ See speech of Wright, "Annals," 12 Cong., 1 sess., 943, etc.



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THE TARIFF AND PUBLIC LANDS FROM 1828 TO 1833.

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The decade following the War of 1812 had witnessed the rise of a new section west of the Alleghanies, conscious of its political strength and insistent upon such legislation as would contribute to its continued economic development. One of the questions which was brought into prominence by the growth of this section was the administration of the public domain. The desire of the West for easy access to the public lands, embodied in measures providing for reduction in price, preemption, donation to settlers, and cession to the States. ran counter to the interests of the older sections, for the success of those measures would mean a decrease in eastern land values and political strength. The two older sections, however, had differing views on the land question. The North Atlantic States were opposed to the western solution on account of their manufacturing interests. For the promotion of manufactures there were needed a good supply of cheap labor and a protective tariff. The sale of western lands at low prices attracted a steady stream of emigration from the manufacturing States, and lessened the class of population from which the manufacturers could draw their supply of labor. Still the manufacturers were unwilling that the proceeds which resulted from keeping up the price of public lands should go into the treasury, for that would lessen the need of a high tariff after the payment of the national To satisfy both these conditions they urged the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the several States according to population. Except for loss in land values and population the South Atlantic section occupied a neutral position in regard to the western plans for the disposition of the public domain. Her main interest at this time was the tariff. She wanted no deficit which would result in a higher tariff, and no surplus to be used for internal improvements.

The struggles of sections were centering about these three economic issues—tariff, public lands, and internal improvements. The interest of the different sections in these issues in the order of their importance was as follows: The Northwest, low-priced public lands, internal improvements, a high tariff; the Southwest, low-priced public lands,

a low tariff, internal improvements; the seaboard South, a low tariff, no internal improvements at Federal expense, high-priced public lands: the North Atlantic States, a high tariff, high-priced public lands, internal improvements. Under these conditions the North Atlantic States, the South, and the West needed the assistance of another section to get what each wanted most- a high tariff, a low tariff, and freedom of the public domain, respectively. The most likely combination was for each allying section to give up a secondary interest in order to obtain its primary interest. The manufacturing North Atlantic States, after 1828, were disposed to grant internal improvements in order to get the aid of the Northwest for the passage of a protective tariff against the embittered South; but the Northwest and the North Atlantic States were at odds on the public lands, the chief interest of the former. In general, with certain restrictions, the logical alliance was that of the South and West, each giving up a lesser interest and obtaining its chief interest; the South Atlantic States would help the West to obtain what it wanted on the public lands, while the Northwest would assist the South in its efforts to pass a lower tariff. The corollary of such a combination was that the North Atlantic States, who had won on both tariff and public lands in 1828, would now lose on both.

The passage of the "tariff of abominations" in 1828 had inflamed the South to such a degree that Calhoun, the following summer. worked out his so-called Exposition,1 declaring the right of a State to nullify a Federal law. The failure of Benton's graduation bill in the same year had aroused the West and caused Edwards, the governor of Illinois, in his message to the Legislature of Illinois, December 2, 1828, to put forth his belief that the Western States had a right to the public lands within their limits.2 Both these men were trying to find a remedy for the grievances of their sections by an appeal to the Constitution. The North Atlantic States and those in sympathy with them were aroused by this aggression of the West and South.3 Henry Clay, who had built up his political strength upon a combination of internal improvements and the tariff, was much disturbed. "Mr Clay," wrote John Quincy Adams, December 31, 1828, "spoke to me with great concern of the prospects of the country-the threats of disunion from the South, and the grasping after all the public lands which are disclosing themselves in the Western States."4

Nothing was more natural than that the South and the West should draw together to make a political alliance at this time. There is much evidence in private letters to show that Calhoun and Edwards

^{1,}D. F. Houston, "A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina," 76.

^{*} Illinois House Journal, 1828-1829, 10-39.

^{*} Niles' Register, Jan. 10, 1829; "Am. St Pap., Public Lands," V, 793-797.

^{*} J. Q. Adams, "Memoirs," VIII, 87-88.

had long been friends.1 Furthermore, their views were similar on the question of States' rights as against a strong centralized government, though Edwards did not go so far as Calhoun. Thirdly, by combining, each could further the chief interest of his section. The correspondence between Edwards and Duff Green, Calhoun's lieutenant, in fact shows that the South and West were tending to draw together on these measures. In one letter Green says: "Your position in relation to the public lands brings you into company with the South and West, and in direct conflict with the East;" 2 and in another, "Mr. Calhoun is daily gaining in strength and will rally the South upon the subject of the tariff and the western lands." In making approaches to Edwards, Calhoun was without doubt planning to give in to the West on the public lands, and in return get assistance for the South in its fight for a lower tariff and also for his condidacy for the presidency. But these plans were frustrated by the rivalry of Calhoun and Van Buren for the presidency. To weaken Calhoun's support Van Buren succeeded in getting his friends, the political leaders in Illinois, to deny Edwards's claim and eliminate Edwards as a political factor.4

The possibility of an alliance between the South and West, however, still remained, and the opportunity for strengthening the ties was provided by the aggression of the manufacturing North Atlantic States in Congress. December 17, 1829, Hunt, of Vermont, introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution providing for the distribution of the net annual proceeds of the public lands among the several States for education and internal improvements according to their proportionate representation in the House of Representatives. This endangered the economic interests of the South and West, for it would mean a high tariff and keeping up the price of lands, and influenced both to act together in opposition. The vote on the distribution part of the resolution, January 18, 1830, shows that they did so. December 29, 1829, Foote, of Connecticut, moved in the Senate that the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to inquire into the expediency of limiting for a certain period the sale of the public lands to those already in the market, and if wise of

¹ N. W. Edwards, "History of Illinois," 488-492, 494, 496. The Edwards Papers (ed., E. B. Washburne), "Chicago Historical Society Collections," III, 211.

² Tbid., 381.

³ Tbid., 489.

⁴ Ibid., 399-400, 427-429, 447, 451, 455, 475-476, 504.

^{5 &}quot;Cong. Debates," 21 Cong., 1 sess., 477.

s "House Journal,"21 Cong., 1 sess, 181—182. Of the 113 in favor, 83 came from the North Atlantic States, 15 from the South Atlantic States, 15 from the Old West (Ohio and Kentucky), and 1 from the Southwest. The 70 against were divided as follows: 10 from the North Atlantic States, 32 from the South Atlantic States, 13 from the Northwest, and 15 from the Southwest. The alliance of the South and West would probably have been displayed even more decisively if the vote had been regarded as a test vote. As it was, some who were opposed voted for it from courtesy to its friends. National Intelligencer, quoted in Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 23, 1830.

abolishing the office of surveyor general.1 Foote claimed that his object was merely to obtain information,2 but evidence points to his motion being an attempt to protect his section. In the first place, Foote was in the habit of acting vigorously against Western land plans. He had voted against Benton's graduation bill in 1828,8 and had supported an amendment at that time which resembled closely his present motion.4 In May, 1830, he voted again against Benton's bill,5 and tried to delay it by reference to the Committee on Public Lands. with instructions to get certain information on the whole question from the General Land Office.6 This was a specious move, because the commissioner was sick,7 and the information asked for was already before the Senate.8 A leading newspaper of Foote's own party and section admitted that Benton's schemes had been "met by Foot's resolution which will * * * secure to the Union the lands for some time to come." 9 Possibly the manufacturers of the North Atlantic States, who saw the relation of cheap western land to their labor supply, 10 were the instigators of Foote's resolution. This view is supported by the close touch of Abbot Lawrence, a prominent Massachusetts manufacturer, and Daniel Webster, as shown by the letter of Lawrence to Webster in 1828, in which he told Webster to vote for the tariff in its amended form, as it would "keep the South and West in debt to New England the next hundred years"; 11 and by the accusations of Jackson newspapers that Foote was acting for Webster.12

The result of Foote's resolution was an open declaration by Hayne, of South Carolina, and Benton, of Missouri, of friendship between the South and West, which was understood by contemporaries to mean that the South would give the public lands to the West provided the West would go with the South in obtaining some modification of the tariff. Webster was alarmed at the prospect of an alliance, for he saw it would endanger the protective tariff. In self-defense he

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1 "Cong. Debates," 21 Cong., 1 sess., 3.
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² Tbid., 4.

^{*&}quot;Cong. Debates," 20 Cong., 1 sess., 678.

^{4 &}quot;Senate Journal," 20 Cong., 1 sess., 308.

[&]quot;Cong. Debates," 21 Cong., 1 sess., 427.

[&]quot;Cong. Debates," 21 Cong., 1 sess., 423.

⁷ Ibid., 424. New York Evening Post, May 12, 1830.

^{*} Ibid., 424-425.

New York Daily Advertiser, Jan. 26, 1830.

^{10 &}quot;Annals of Cong.," 20 Cong., 1 sess., appendix, 2831-2833; H. A. Hill, "Memoir of Abbot Lawrence," 20, Davis MSS., III, no. 168, p. 6.

¹¹ Ogg Collection of Webster MSS.

¹² Hartford Times, Mar. 1, 1830; Louisville Public Advertiser, May 27, 1830.

¹⁸ "Cong. Debates," 21 Cong., I sess., 24, 27, 34; New York Evening Post, Feb. 10, 1830, quoting the Philadelphia Gazette; Charleston Mercury, Jan. 29, 1830; Washington Telegraph, Jan. 23, 1830; Louisville Public Advertiser, Feb. 22, 1830.

¹⁴ New York Commercial Advertiser, Jan. 27, 1830; New England Palladium, Jan. 26, 1830; J. Q. Adams to A. H. Everett, Apr. 15, 1830, Am. Hist. Rev., XI, 335; Address of Essex County Republican convention to electors of Essex County, Mar. 18, 1830, Broadside, Essex Institute, Salem.

¹⁵ New England Palladium, Jan. 21, 1830, Maysville Eagle, Feb. 16, 1830; New York Commercial Advertiser, Jan. 27, 1830; Washington Telegraph, Feb. 20, 1830.

offered the friendship of the East to the West ¹ and moved the indefinite "postponement" of the resolution.² But his failure to dissolve the Southern and Western alliance is shown by the vote on the passage of Benton's graduation bill in the Senate May 7, 1830, when all the Western Senators except one from Ohio and all the Southern except two voted for it, and all the Northern Senators except one voted against it.³

The South and West continued to act together in 1832, when the tariff was up for settlement. This is shown in the reference of the public land question to the Committee on Manufactures, which was about to readjust the tariff.4 They gave as their reasons for this reference that the public lands were a source of revenue to the extent of \$3,000,000 a year and therefore must be considered in the rearrangement of the financial system by the financial committee of the Senate-the Committee on Manufactures; that each section should be favored in the financial readjustment; that the West would not be benefited by the projected reduction of the tariff, so its share should be the reduction of the price of lands. The South and West were assisted in passing this measure by several administration Senators who wished to put Clay, a member of the committee, in a delicate position, in which he must report unfavorably to the Western States and so weaken his chances as a presidential candidate in the fall.5

Clay met this move by a report on the public lands separate from one on the tariff. He argued against reduction of price or cession and recommended the distribution of the proceeds of the public land sales, after deducting 10 per cent, to be set aside for the new States. He hoped by this bonus to please the West. This report certainly suited the tariff element, because it kept up the price of public lands and disposed of the whole income from the lands, leaving the total revenue to be levied on imported goods. It also suited the North Atlantic States and the old West as a whole, since it insured the national ownership of the public domain, protected their property values, and gave them a large share of the proceeds. But the new West was not influenced by the bonus and succeeded with the South in referring this "land-tariff" bill," as Benton called it, on May 9, by the casting vote of Calhoun, to the Committee on Public Lands, which

^{1 &}quot;Cong. Debates," 21 Cong., 1 sess., 39-40, 64-66, 97; Washington Telegraph, Jan. 23 and Feb. 20, 1830; Charleston Mercury, Jan. 29, 1830; Philadelphia Gazette in New York Evening Post, Feb. 10, 1830.

² "Cong. Debates," 21 Cong., 1 sess., 41.

⁸ Ibid., 427.

^{4 &}quot;Cong. Debates," 22 Cong., 1 sess., 614, 625-638, 639; Clay to Brooke, Mar. 28, 1832, Colton, "Clay," IV, 330-331.

^a Clay to Brooke, Mar. 28, 1832, ibid.; National Intelligencer, July 4, 1832, New York Courier and Enquirer, Mar. 26, 1832; New York Daily Advertiser, Mar. 22 and Apr. 30, 1832.

[&]quot;Am. St. Pap., Public Lands," VI, 441-451; "Cong. Debates," 22 Cong., 1 sess., 904.

⁷ Tbid., 1151.

^{*} Ibid., 907.

recommended 1 instead that an amendment to reduce the price of fresh lands to \$1 per acre and the price of lands five years or more in the market to 50 cents per acre be added to the tariff bill reported by the Committee on Manufactures. The Committee on Public Lands also proposed that Clay's distribution bill be amended so as to strike out the whole except the 10 per cent allowance to the new States, and to increase that to 15 per cent. These recommendations and the report were the fruit of the southern and western understanding as evidenced by the fact that King, of Alabama, its chairman, was a Calhoun man,2 and that the hand of Benton was seen in the report.3 In spite of the opposition of the South and West, Clay succeeded in passing his distribution bill in the Senate, July 3, by a vote of 26 to 18.4 Its passage was clearly due to the unanimity of the Clay party in its favor, assisted by its appeal to the sectional interest of certain eastern Jackson Senators, such as Dallas and Wilkins of Pennsylvania, Dickerson of New Jersey, and Dudley of New York. The administration. aided by the sectional opposition of the South and West, were able to carry postponement in the House 5 (July 3). Benton's attempt to pass a graduation amendment to the distribution bill failed by a vote of 21 to 27.6 If the three southerners who voted against it had voted for it and Calhoun had given the deciding vote, it would have passed. The West, not getting anything positive from the South, abandoned the South and voted for the tariff of 1832 (July 9),7 thus bringing to an end the alliance between the South and West. That this was so is shown more clearly in the second session of the Twenty-second Congress by the vote of Calhoun on the substitution of the bill reported by the Committee on Public Lands, January 24, 1833, reducing the price of public lands. While Hayne had favored the reduction amendment in the first session, Calhoun now voted against it.8

The connection between the tariff and public lands continued after the expiration of the alliance of the South and West, but in a different relation. Whereas up to this point the passage of a low tariff for the South had been dependent on the passage of western public-land measures, now the low tariff, as provided by Clay's compromise, was linked with the distribution bill, thus causing the South to act with Clay's party instead of with the West. That Clay and his party regarded the distribution bill as part of the same financial system as the tariff is seen in the statement of Clay, March 1, 1842, that one of

^{1 &}quot;Cong. Debate," 22 Cong., 1 sess., 118-127

² National Intelligencer, Oct. 31, 1831.

[&]quot;Genate Journal," 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1111.
"Senate Journal," 22 Cong., 1 sess., 394.
"House Journal," 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1076.

[&]quot;Cong. Debates," 22 Cong., 1 sess., 1164.

⁷ Ibid., 1219. Benton of Missouri, Robinson of Illinois, and Tipton of Indians abandoned Calhoun on this vote.

^{8 &}quot;Cong. Debates," 22 Cong., 2 sess., 229.

the principles of the compromise act was that after June 30, 1842. "such duties should be laid for the purpose of raising such revenue as might be necessary for an economic administration of the Government; consequently excluding all resort to internal taxation or to the proceeds of the public lands."1 Clay here interpreted section 3 of the compromise act to mean that his public-land distribution bill had been intended to provide for the temporary distribution of the proceeds of the public lands and that the compromise bill had established their permanent distribution after June 30, 1842. And not only Clay believed this. Clayton, a member of the select committee of the Senate to which the compromise bill was referred, said that Clav's distribution bill and his compromise act were regarded "as part and parcel of one great revenue and financial system."2 Additional evidence is found in an address of John Quincy Adams to his constituents, September 17, 1842, when he stated that the distribution bill "emanated from the same source and was sanctioned by the same Congress at the same time with the compromise act; and although on another roll of parchment, as a system of administration, formed a part of it." 3 That Calhoun and his party understood this also is shown by an analysis of the vote on the distribution bill in 1833,4 and by contemporary evidence. The United States Telegraph, Calhoun's organ, did not oppose the distribution bill as it had always done in the past, and it strongly denounced Jackson for pocketing the bill. Shortly after the close of the session the Charleston Mercury came out in favor of Clay's bill and expressed the belief that the passage of the tariff bill and the land bill would lead to a union of the South under Calhoun and Clay's party.7 The Washington Globe termed this adoption of Clay's land bill by the Calhoun party as a "most extraordinary and anomalous inconsistency;" 8 and went on to say that Calhoun had voted against it, because otherwise his change would have been too sudden and violent. Thus the South had reversed its attitude toward the public lands because it was getting the lower tariff from Clay and not from the new West.

I have endeavored to show that the tariff and the public-land questions were closely connected from 1828 until Clay's compromise bill temporarily settled the tariff. An examination of the years just preceding tariff readjustment in 1842 shows close relations of the two questions under still different conditions.

^{1 &}quot;Cong. Globe," 27 Cong., 2 sess, app., 195.

² Speech of Clayton at Wilmington, Del., June 15, 1844; Colton, "Clay," II, 253, note.

³ Pamphlet, 51, Boston Public Library.

[&]quot;Cong. Debates," 22 Cong., 2 sess., 1920-1921, 809.

⁵ Mar. 5, 1833. Jackson's pocketing of the distribution bill was approved by Jackson newspapers and condemned by those of Clay and Calhoun. Richmond Enquirer, Mar. 9, 1833; New York Daily Advertiser, Mar. 11, 1833; Baltimore Republican, Mar. 5, 1833.

⁶ Quoted in Washington Globe. Mar. 16, 1833.

⁷ Quoted in Baltimore Republican, Mar. 15, 1833.

⁸ Mar. 16, 1883.

XIV. THE "BARGAIN OF 1844" AS THE ORIGIN OF THE WILMOT PROVISO.

By CLARK E. PERSINGER,
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THE "BARGAIN OF 1844" AS THE ORIGIN OF THE WILMOT PROVISO.

By CLARK E. PERSINGER.

Why did the Northern Democracy so suddenly present that "apple of discord" —the Wilmot proviso—to the Southern Democracy in August of 1846?

Von Holst answers this question with the rather vague assertion that the "vox populi of the North" compelled the politicians to take some action against the proposed increase of slave soil through the proposed Mexican cession.² Wilson in his "Slave Power" attributes the proviso to "several Democratic members" of Congress, who, "cajoled into a vote for [Texan] annexation," and now unable to retrieve the past, seek in this way "to save the future." Schouler makes no assertion as to its origin. Garrison in his volume of the American Nation series contents himself with the statement: "The circumstances of its origin suggest, if no more, that its introduction was simply a maneuver for political advantage in a family quarrel among the Democrats."

The explanations of both Wilson and Garrison hint at what seems to me the true reason for the proposal of the Wilmot proviso; but they merely hint at it, and do not satisfy the legitimate curiosity of the secondary student of this remarkable movement in the history of the antislavery struggle. It is the purpose of this paper to elaborate somewhat these two explanations, by showing that the Wilmot proviso owes its origin to the making and breaking of the "bargain of 1844" between the Northwestern and the Southern wings of the Democratic Party.

When President Tyler revived the question of Texan annexation in the spring of 1844 the Democratic Party was to all appearances homogeneous and united. In reality, however, it was composed of diverse elements, loosely bound together, needing only the Texan issue to reveal their existence and identity. These groups were three in number—the Southern, the Northern, and the Northwestern. The Southern gave its chief adherence to Calhoun; the Northern to

¹ Calhoun to Coryell, Nov. 7, 1846. Jameson, "Corresp. of Calhoun," 710.

s Von Holst "Const. Hist. of the United States," (Lalor's transl.), II, 306.

^{*} Von Holst, II, 15-16.

[&]quot;Westward Extension." Amer. Nation series, XVII, 255.

Van Buren; the Northwestern as yet wavered between Cass, Douglas, and Allen, and one of its most brilliant and frequent spokesmen was the "impulsive and hasty" Senator Hannegan, of Indiana.¹ The Southern group was already aggressively and recognizedly proslavery and proslave soil; the Northern group was already almost fanatically antislavery and free soil, and on the verge of that union with the Liberty Party which in 1848 produced the Free Soil Party. The Northwestern group was also antislavery and free soil, but only moderately so. It was willing to see the increase of slave soil so long as free soil kept pace with or gained a little upon it. It was to these three groups of Democracy that the Tyler treaty for the annexation of Texas in the spring of 1844 brought immediate puzzlement and not-distant falling out.

The Southern group, in its anxiety for Texas, was more than ready to ratify the Tyler treaty, especially as its own leader had negotiated that treaty, and had announced during the negotiation that the chief purpose of the proposed annexation was the preservation of slavery and the extension of slave soil. The Northern and Northwestern groups were united in their opposition to the Tyler treaty, but differed in their reasons for opposition to it, the Northern group opposing it because Texas was slave soil, the Northwestern group because it was offered without compensating addition of free soil to the northward.

To meet the demands of the Northern Democrats Van Buren, none too sincerely or openly, declared against immediate and unconditional annexation. To satisfy the Southern Democrats Calhoun meditated bolting the regular Baltimore convention and standing for election as a Southern candidate on a straight Southern platform. Then the Northwestern Democrats suggested that if the Southern Democracy was willing to combine Oregon with Texas in the party platform, campaign, and subsequent congressional action, such a balancing of free and slave soil expansion would satisfy the Northwestern and some of the Northern Democrats, and bring about party harmony and victory instead of party division and defeat. So originated the "bargain of 1844"—the "Oregon and Texas" plank of the Democratic platform of 1844—not as a mere appeal to the Northern States in general, but as a definite means of party harmony and unity without the sacrifice of vital principle or interest by either the Southern or the Northwestern group of the party. The fact that such a bargain had been made was not published broadcast; in fact, it was kept most secret, but party leaders in the Northwest and Calhoun's lieutenants, if not Calhoun himself, knew of its arrangement and content.

¹ Characterization by Cass, in conversation with Polk. Quaife, "Diary of Polk," I, 268.

The "bargain" having thus been made and ratified by the convention, the Southern Democrats at once-almost before the campaign opened-pressed for the completion of their half of the bargain, and demanded the immediate ratification of the Tyler treaty of annexation.1 But the Northwestern Democrats as yet refused to vote for Hannegan, of Indiana, later explained his action by calling upon the Senators from Missouri and Tennessee as witnesses to the fact that "up to the Baltimore convention" he had been "a decided friend to the immediate annexation of Texas." "What I saw which induced me to apprehend a breach of faith at that convention," he said. "it is unnecessary at present to detail. But my friend knows that he repeatedly urged me to vote for the treaty, notwithstanding my apprehensions, and that I refused to do so, for I did apprehend that if Texas were brought in-if we annexed Texas without some definite action on Oregon—the Baltimore resolutions would be construed to mean all Texas and the half of Oregon with certain gentlemen"2-and, looking at Colquitt, of Georgia, he repeated it, "with certain gentlemen." The Senator from Missouri testified that what Hannegan had said was "perfectly true," and the Senator from Tennessee confirmed the Hannegan explanation.

In the exciting campaign that followed, Southern Democrats concerned themselves chiefly with Texas, but did not forget to show an occasional "Texas and Oregon" banner, nor occasionally to unite the two issues in their public utterances. Northern Democrats for awhile considered the advisability of bolting the Democratic congressional ticket in the hope of defeating the annexation of Texas, but finally gave it up as a hopeless task, and quietly voted the regular party ticket. Northwestern Democrats emphasized the advantages of Texan annexation, pledged the party faith to the "whole of Oregon," and united the two issues at every opportunity: "Texas and Oregon; Oregon and Texas, always went together"; "everywhere they were twins; everywhere they were united."

When the campaign of 1844 ended in Democratic victory, the Southern group once more pressed for the carrying out of the Texas portion of the "bargain." Texas, they said, was "an issue which had been made by the Baltimore convention * * * it had been submitted to the intelligent freemen of the United States * * * who had decided in favor of it," and now "the friends of that measure from the South called upon their representatives from the North * * * to come forward and respond." "They did," said McDowell, of Ohio, in reviewing the record of that session,

Letter from Glenville, Alabama, July, 1844. Niles' Register, LXVI, 314.

² Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 15, 388.

² Hannegan, of Indiana, Mar. 5, 1846, as reported in Niles' Register, LXX, 22.

⁴ Same, as reported in Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 15, 460.

"come forward and respond." In doing so, it is true, some of them "conjured" the Southern Democrats "most earnestly" to "yield to the spirit of compromise, and give us a small portion of that territory," claiming it had been "held out to the North, that two of the five States to beformed out of Texas would be free"; 2 and all demanded the carrying out of the remainder of the "bargain" by the passage of Oregon "notice" and territorial bills. But as to Texas the Southern Democracy would "yield to no division" beyond the illusive "extension" of the Missouri compromise line through it; and as for Oregon, so long as the Northwestern Democrats "held Texas in their hands," enough Southern Democrats voted for Oregon measures to nurse them along until Texas was out of danger, and then refused further to discuss such important questions so near the close of the session.4 A few of the Northwestern Democrats, realizing this repudiation of their portion of the "bargain," refused to vote for Texas; but the majority, evidently hoping more from the future than they were obtaining in the present, helped to bring Texas in.

When Congress assembled again in the winter of 1845, Northwestern Democrats were prepared to insist on the prompt and decisive carrying out of the Oregon portion of the "bargain." Following the suggestion of the President, whose election had resulted from the "bargain" campaign, they introduced a series of measures looking to the final occupation of Oregon, the most important, of course, being that to instruct the President to give immediate notice to Great Britain of our intention to abrogate the joint-occupancy agreement of 1818-1828. To their apparent surprise, Calhoun led the Southern Democrats in opposition to the "notice" resolutions, insisting upon the certainty of war with Great Britain should our Government thus assert our exclusive claim to the "whole of Oregon." Hannegan, of Indiana, at once arose in the Senate and denounced the "singular course" of the Southern Democrats. "Texas and Oregon," he announced, "were born the same instant, nursed and cradled in the same cradle—the Baltimore convention—and they were at the same instant adopted by the Democracy throughout the land. There was not a moment's hesitation until Texas was admitted; but the moment she was admitted the peculiar friends of Texas turned and were doing all they could to strangle Oregon." 6 Calhoun promptly replied to the charge of Southern Democratic treachery. "If I acted boldly and promptly on that occasion," he explained, "it was because boldness and promptness were necessary to success. * * * If I am for deliberate measures on this occasion it is not because I am not a

¹ Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 140.

³ Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, ibid., 16, app., 315.

Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, ibid., 378.

⁴ Hannegan, of Indiana, fbid., 15, 460.

⁵ Tbid., 15, 388.

Tbid., 15, 110.

* If you institute a comparison between friend to Oregon. * * Oregon and Texas I would say that the former is as valuable to us as the latter and I would as manfully defend it. If the Senator and myself disagree, we disagree only as to the means of securing Oregon and not as to its importance." 1 Calhoun's reply sounds candid and convincing, but what must we think of its candor when we learn that while asserting and reasserting his disagreement with the Northwestern Democrats "only as to the means of securing Oregon," Calhoun was secretly confiding to Polk his opinion that "the two Governments" ought to settle the Oregon question "on the basis of 49° "?2 Hannegan answered Calhoun's defense of the Southern Democratic position with the assertion that he "did not intend to charge any improper motives; * * * but it appeared strange to him that when a question of territorial acquisition arises in the northwest there should be found such a backwardness on the part of southern gentlemen to give it their aid;" * that if Calhoun were "a true mother" he would surely "not be willing to cut the child in two and give away one half."

Two or three days later, when "Mr. Rhett, Mr. Yancey, and others of the Southern phalanx" in the House took the same ground as Calhoun in the Senate, Douglas of Illinois "at first intimated, and subsequently rather broadly charged upon the Southern members of the party, an attempt to 'play a game' treacherous to the West. He asserted distinctly that the Oregon and Texas annexation projects had their birth in the Baltimore convention. * * * There they were 'cradled together' with a distinct understanding that if the West sustained the South in securing Texas, the South would sustain the West in their claims to Oregon." 5 Houston of Texas and Rhett of South Carolina entered formal denials of having had "any hand in the game;" but in milder form Douglas persisted in his charge and was supported in it by McDowell of Ohio and Smith of Indiana.

Still, a few days later Wentworth of Illinois renewed the charge. "The South and West went together for Texas," he told the Southern Democrats, and now they should "go together for Oregon. The West certainly so expected. If they did not go together, there was a class of politicians who would make a great deal of capital out of it;" they were already predicting that "the South, having used the West to get Texas, would now abandon it [the West] and go against Oregon." Yancey of Alabama demanding if he meant "to intimate that there was any bargain between the South and West" to that

Tbid., 110.

² Quaife, "Diary of Polk," I, 313.

³ Cong. Globe, 15, 111.

⁴ As reported by Niles' Register, LXIX, 279 (Jan. 3, 1846).

[•] Tbid., 289-290 (Jan. 10, 1846).

Cong. Globe, 15, 125, 140, 148, 159.

effect. Wentworth denied that he had "said there was any such bargain," for to say so "would only implicate himself as a party to it after having voted for Texas." 1

So, through six of the nine months of this session of Congress, ran on charge, denial, and even countercharge; most frequently in short, sharp interchange of sentiments, occasionally in the form of lengthy colloquy. In one way and another the charge of "bargain" and "breach of faith" was reiterated by Douglas, Wentworth, and Ficklin of Illinois; Hannegan, C. B. Smith, and Cathcart of Indiana: Brinkerhoff and McDowell of Ohio. Southwestern Democrats joined in. Johnson of Tennessee asserted the binding character of the union of the two issues by the Baltimore convention;2 Sevier of Arkansas and Atchison of Missouri admitted that Hannegan of Indiana "certainly had some grounds for his opinion" as to the "integrity" of the Southern Democrats on the Texas-Oregon bargain.3 Even the Southern Democrat, Haywood of North Carolina, "cited the impossibility of getting Texas through until the two questions had been made twin sisters by the Baltimore convention," and announced himself "thankful" that North Carolina was adhering to that union of issues and repudiating "factions * * * demagogues dictating to the Senate." 4 And finally, presidential and senatorial acceptance of the Calhoun policy and its consequences as to the "whole of Oregon" left the "Northwestern Senators * * * excited and in a bad temper," "lashed into a passion" against all who had any part in the compromise transaction.5

But in less than two months after their humiliation by the Oregon treaty, opportunity for revenge seemed to be offered the Northwestern Democrats. The President asked for two millions to negotiate a peace with Mexico. The purpose of the appropriation and negotiation was well understood to be the acquisition of territory to the south of the traditional line of 36° 30′. "All was going as merrily as marriage bells toward its consummation," in the words of the National Intelligencer, when suddenly "the friends of the administration from the free States led off the opposition to their Southern brethren." Northwestern Democrats, remembering, said the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore American, "the 'bad faith' of the South, as they called it, upon the Oregon question, * * * were resolved that no more slave territory should come into the Union with their consent." This determination found expression in the Wilmot proviso, introduced, it is true, by Wilmot of Pennsyl-

¹Cong. Globe, 206, 207.

² Tbid., 288–289.

¹ Tbid., 388.

⁴ Tbid., 459.

Statements of Polk, Quaife, "Diary of Polk," I, 474, 487.

vania, a Northern Democrat, but which, as everyone knows, originated with the Northwestern Democrat, Brinkerhoff of Ohio. The original draft of this proviso, in Brinkerhoff's handwriting, is still, I am informed in a recent letter from Prof. R. T. Stevenson, of Ohio Wesleyan University, in the possession of Brinkerhoff's son, Mr. George Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, Ohio.

In conclusion and summary: From the original establishment of free-soil and slave-soil sections during the late or post-Revolutionary period down to as late as 1844, the traditional principle upon which the country acted in regard to the slavery question was the equal, or approximately equal, division of all new territory between free soil and slave soil. When the proposal of Texan annexation threatened preponderant southward extension, Northern Democrats were frightened into opposition to its annexation, but Northwestern Democrats were willing to bargain with Southern Democrats for a combination of Texas and Oregon issues that should result in the continuation of the old, traditional policy of approximately equal expansion of free soil and slave soil. This bargain was definitely drawn up by a small group of Northwestern and Southern Democratic politicians and submitted to and ratified by the Democratic convention at Baltimore in May, 1844. Democratic success in the campaign of 1844 was followed by the immediate carrying out of that portion of the "bargain" relating to the annexation of Texas, for which all but a few of the Northwestern Democratic Members of Congress voted, these few asserting a Southern Democratic intention of repudiating the "bargain of 1844" when the time should come to provide for the carrying out of that portion of the "bargain" relating to the reoccupation of Oregon. When the next session of Congress took up the Oregon question, the suspicions of these Northwestern men appeared to prove well founded. The Southern Democrats, under the leadership of Calhoun, opposed the claim to the "whole of Oregon," opposed giving notice to Great Britain of our intention to abrogate the joint-occupancy treaty of 1828, and opposed attempts to establish a free-soil territorial government over the portion of Oregon which we did succeed in obtaining. Accused of a "breach of faith" in carrying out the "bargain of 1844," the Southern Democrats denied altogether the existence of any such "bargain," or denied that they individually had had "any hand in it," or else denied that it had applied to the "whole of Oregon." Betrayed and incensed by this "Punic faith," as they called it, of the Southern Democrats, the Northwestern Democrats in August of 1846 proposed the Wilmot proviso as the only means possible for the restoration of the traditional free-soil and slave-soil balance for protecting themselves against possible future Southern Democratic "breach of faith," and for "saving the Democratic Party of the Northern States" after its betrayal and humiliation through the miscarriage of the "bargain of 1844."

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XV. MONROE	AND	THE	EARLY	MEXICAN	REVOLUTIONARY	AGENTS.
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MONROE AND THE EARLY MEXICAN REVOLUTIONARY AGENTS.

By ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

In the preliminary diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico we may distinguish three separate stages. The first is marked by the activities of three self-constituted agents of the Mexican revolutionists, who, however, claimed for their efforts a more substantial basis of authority. The period of their assumed diplomatic activity extends from the latter part of 1811 to the beginning of 1814. The next two years comprise the second stage, when authorized agents strive with an even smaller measure of success to win some recognition from the American Government. After an interval of five years the third stage begins with a report on foreign relations presented to Iturbide and his associates of the Mexican Regency, in December, 1821, and extends to the reception of Obergon by the American Government in 1824 and to a like reception of Poinsett by the Mexican Republic in the following year. The present paper will concern itself with the first of these periods.

James Monroe served as Secretary of State during the first two periods and as President during the greater part of the third. It was thus his good fortune to determine largely the personnel and procedure of our early State policy toward Mexico. He initiated this policy during the period under consideration by entering into dubious dealings with a group of men who then approached him in the guise of Mexican revolutionary agents. Later these men appeared upon our southwestern border as Mexican filibusters, and as such held relations with each other and with our local officials that were familiar rather than friendly. Monroe, however, aided by his characteristic good fortune, if not by good judgment, escaped any serious entanglement with them while they attempted their diplomatic rôle. Thus the administration was free to proceed against their filibustering projects, or to defer recognizing their successors until the most propitious moment; but action in both cases was affected by Monroe's previous attitude toward their earlier semi-diplomatic mission.

¹ Dictamen * * * por la Comision de Relaciones Exteriores, Dec. 2, 1821, manuscript copy made for J. R. Poinsett, Mexico, 1829: Mexican dispatches, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

The first member of this group to be considered is José Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara.1 A native of Revilla in the colony of Nuevo Santander (Tamaulipas), Gutierrez represented the Mexican creoles. Along with others of this class he entered into the revolt begun by Hidalgo, became a lieutenant colonel in the insurrectionary forces of northern Mexico, and also claimed that Hidalgo and his associates had charged him with a diplomatic mission to the United States. At least two others had previously been given a similar task and both had forfeited their lives in attempting to perform it.2 More fortunate than they, Gutierrez succeeded in reaching the United States, but without the credentials or funds to insure proper respect for his mission. Gutierrez later explained that this lack of such essentials was due to the capture of Hidalgo, Allende, and other revolutionary chiefs by the royalists at Acatita de Baján, March 21. 1811. At their interview with him, five days before, they had instructed him to gather recruits in Nuevo Santander and then to meet them at the Presidio of the Rio Grande (near the present Eagle Pass) to receive final instructions and credentials.

Whatever weight might have been attached to credentials issued by these fugitive leaders their own capture within five days prevented them from giving such papers to their agent. Nevertheless, the latter determined to embark upon his undertaking, and with a companion of like revolutionary faith, José Menchaca, fled from the valley of the Rio Grande to the so-called "Neutral Ground," lying between Texas and Louisiana.3 In this convenient haven for political and social refugees they did not find their fancied security. While resting at the little settlement of Bayou Pierre they were attacked by the pursuing Spaniards, and Gutierrez barely escaped to Natchitoches, with the clothes on his back and \$200 in cash. In this plight the American officials received him kindly and assisted him materially in furthering his plans. His companion, Menchaca, proceeded to organize the refugees that now filled the neutral ground and to undertake the invasion of Texas for the purpose of establishing some sort of provisional Government there, while Gutierrez started on his journey to Washington to seek recognition for this embryo Government. He was likewise to ask for such material aid as would enable it to maintain itself until the whole Mexican population could adopt a more permanent system.

¹ The principal source for the movements of Gutierrez as given in the following pages is his memorial to the Mexican Congress, dated at New Orleans, Aug. 1, 1815. A manuscript copy of this is in the Lamar Papers, Texas State Library. This document seems to be the basis for the later defense which Gutierrez published in Monterey in 1827. Cf. C. M. Bustamente, "Cuadro Historico," I, 329; Lucas Alamán, "Historica de Mélico," III, 481, n. 53.

² Alamán, II, 83, 167.

³ De Onis to Estrada, Philadelphia, Jan. 21, 1812, "Letters to and from ministers, etc.," East Florida MSS., Library of Congress, the Aurora, Jan. 10, 1812.

From the frontier post of Natchitoches, September 28, 1811, he addressed an appeal 1 for aid to the "Honorable Thomas Monroe." By this trifling mistake in name he seems unwittingly to make the Secretary of State the heir to Jefferson's policy in regard to Spain and her colonies. Indeed, there is something Jeffersonian in the covert uncertainty that from this point marks Monroe's attitude toward these revolutionists and the representatives of Ferdinand VII. But without waiting for an answer to his appeal Gutierrez hastened to present it "at the feet of Monroe." The assistance in setting out on his journey given by the Indian agent, John Sibley, the assurances of sympathy and offers of support received en route, especially in Tennessee and Kentucky, encouraged his hopes in regard to the final attitude of the administration. In Washington his letters of introduction secured for him a cordial reception at the State and War Departments 2 and adequate provision for his entertainment and traveling expenses. John Graham, the chief clerk of the State Department, became the intermediary through whom these courtesies were extended, and from the letters which Gutierrez and other agents addressed to him we gain most of our information regarding this interesting diplomatic episode. Graham's previous experience in Spain and in Louisiana admirably fitted him for the part that he now played.

The burden of Gutierrez's plea was for "men, money, and arms" to assist the Mexican patriots in their struggle for independence. He based his appeal upon "general principles of humanity" and the sympathy which the American people ought to feel for a people engaged in a contest so similar to their own of an earlier day. In return for material assistance and speedy recognition as an independent nation, he offered mutually advantageous commercial treaties that would serve to cement the friendship of all American peoples. Gutierrez and his fellow agents frequently employ this species of "dollar diplomacy," and accompany it by suggesting that they will make similar propositions to Great Britain or France in case the United States rejects their advances.

At first Gutierrez saw little prospect for success. Monroe was interested, sympathetic, and ready to advise, but not to compromise his Government with Spain or the latter's ally, Great Britain. The Mexican does say, but we may well doubt his statement, that Monroe ultimately agreed to supply the Mexican forces with 10,000 muskets and to accept in payment bills of exchange on their revolutionary government. If Monroe gave such a promise, it must be regarded as a means of encouraging the revolutionists to form a provisional government at the earliest possible moment. The Secretary was

¹ Consular Letters, Mexico, 1811-1825. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives

Eustis to Sibley, Dec. 8, 1811. MSS., Indian Office, Letter Book C, 105, Department of the Interior.

intensely interested in the successful accomplishment of this step. The Spanish representative, De Onis, reported Monroe as proposing to Gutierrez that the Mexican provinces, together with the remaining Spanish and Portuguese colonies, should adopt constitutions similar to that of the United States and then confederate with the latter, thus forming the most formidable power on the globe.¹ Some three years before, James Wilkinson, upon Jefferson's suggestion, had made such a proposition to Gov. Folch, of West Florida, and to other Spanish officials, but they had refused to consider it.² De Onis represents that at this time Gutierrez likewise rejected Monroe's proposition to form a Pan American confederation under the domination of the United States, and left the Secretary's presence in silent anger; but we may doubt if the Mexican was in a position to assume so haughty an attitude.

Gutierrez tells us that the American claim to the Rio Grande proved a serious obstacle to his negotiation. The statement in his narrative, which probably is an afterthought, is that Monroe and the Secretary of War tried to conceal their design to seize Texas by a proposition to march American troops to the Rio Grande, there to unite with the insurrectionary forces. When Gutierrez explained that he would accept this proposition, provided the troops were subject to his control, the others dropped the subject. We may discount this and the preceding statement about confederation as an early indication that the Mexicans who hoped for our assistance were jealous of our territorial ambitions. On the other hand, the evidence is equally conclusive that Monroe and his colleagues, including President Madison, were interested in the contest then raging in Spanish America, that they wished the Mexicans to hasten the formation of a provisional government which they would recognize at the earliest possible moment, and that to hasten this end they paid the expenses of Gutierrez back to his native country and encouraged him in other ways.

Before Gutierrez left Washington the second of our revolutionary trio introduced himself to Monroe. José Alvarez de Toledo was a native Cuban, who after service in the Spanish navy was chosen to represent Santo Domingo in the Cortes at Cadiz. His radical utterances in behalf of the rights of the colonists made him a sort of leader among the Spanish-Americans of that body and at the same time rendered him obnoxious to the peninsular authorities. With the aid of the American consul, Meade, he fled to the United States, and arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1811, about the same time

¹ Alaman, III, app., 45.

² Folch to Someruelos, May 23, 1809, MSS. Spanish Transcripts, Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.; and Vidal to Garibay, Apr. 29, 1809, MSS., Marina, 1809–1814, Archivo General y Publico de la Nación, Mexico.

that Gutierrez reached Natchitoches.¹ One of his first acts after landing was to write a long defense of his conduct, addressed to the municipal council of Santo Domingo.² In printed form this and subsequent proclamations gained for Toledo a marked reputation throughout Spanish America—a reputation that his subsequent defection did much to destroy. In the middle of November, Toledo wrote to Monroe stating that he had important information to give the American officials, but he did not dare intrust this to the mails nor did he have the means for his journey from Philadelphia to Washington.³ Monroe requested A. J. Dallas, the district attorney for Pennsylvania, to investigate the writer's claims, and after some doubt and delay, Dallas advanced the sum necessary to bring about the desired interview.⁴ On December 24 Toledo set out for Washington and two weeks later was back in Philadelphia.

We have no means of knowing exactly what occurred between Toledo and Monroe during this brief visit. From the letters of Dallas we know that Toledo reported a British design to seize Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Porto Rico-a design in which the Spanish Cortes was inclined to acquiesce. On the other hand, certain elements in the population of these islands were planning to form an independent confederation and to seek the aid of the United States. Possibly this reported British intrigue in the West Indies may have increased the anti-British sentiment of Madison's administration, but among his counselors Monroe certainly needed little encouragement of this sort.5 The most essential fact connected with Toledo's presence in Washington was the opportunity it afforded him to meet Gutierrez. Toledo's publications had already given the other a high opinion of his ability. Their acquaintance was continued in Philadelphia, whither Gutierrez soon followed him, and in planning their future movements the Cuban creole dominated the Mexican, despite later protestations to the contrary. As was subsequently shown, their joint action was hardly in keeping with the assumed neutrality of the American Government.

Monroe seems to have resolved, with Madison's approval, to assist these two men in extending their revolutionary propaganda throughout the West Indies and Mexico. The Secretary probably believed that this action was necessary to prevent British commercial supremacy in those regions; nor, with his previous diplomatic experiences in Spain, would he deeply grieve if that nation should inci-

¹ The information regarding Toledo is derived from Papers Relative to Revolted Spanish Provinces and Letters in Relation to Burr's Conspiracy, MSS. Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State; 35, Miscellaneous Letters and 16, Domestic Letters, MSS. Bureau of Indexes and Archives; Monroe Papers, IV, 549 a, MSS., Library of Congress.

³ The Aurora, Dec. 17, 1811.

^{*} Toledo to Monroe, Nov. 16, 1811. Pap. Rel to Rev. Span. Provs.

^{4 16,} Dom. Lets., 38, 39; A. J. Dallas to Monroe, Nov. 25, Dec. 4 and 23, 1811, 35, Miso. Lets.

American Historical Review, XIII, 301-310.

dentally lose her colonies. His regret at a possible charge of unfriendliness toward that power would be tempered, moreover, by the thought that he was assisting millions to achieve the blessings of self-government. To the man thus benevolently working for the commercial advantage of his own countrymen and the political and social enfranchisement of the entire New World, the future course of these two chosen agents must have seemed little short of a public calamity, especially after his personal efforts in their behalf.

Toledo seems to be the first to lose touch with Monroe. The Secretary had furnished him with money for his expenses to Cuba and a letter of introduction to William Shaler, then supposed to be in Havana; but to the surprise of Dallas and the discomfiture of the latter's superiors, he continued to linger in Philadelphia. He and Gutierrez both complained that the ice in the Delaware and the activity of Spanish spies prevented their departure and threatened to exhaust the money given them for their expenses. Gutierrez. however, wrote that he would go to work rather than use any of the seventy-five dollars necessary for his passage to New Orleans. After he left in February, 1812, Toledo justified his continuance in Philadelphia by letters from Cuba and Santo Domingo, showing that the time was not propitious for a revolt there. In order to avoid the difficulties that beset him from De Onis's agents, he once suggested that Monroe should send him to his destination on an American war vessel bound ostensibly for New Orleans, but that savored too much of open complicity to suit the Secretary.1 During this period he received at least one remittance from Cuba.

Toledo probably delayed his departure for that island because of the prospect of successful leadership in Mexico. During the early years of the Spanish-American revolt many of its leaders cherished the purpose of making it a Pan-American movement and were willing to enlist in the general struggle wherever their assistance seemed to be most needed. This is clearly shown in Toledo's letters from Arispe, a Mexican member of the Spanish Cortes; to and from Caballero, a Santo Domingan; and to Gutierrez on the Louisiana-Texas frontier. These letters also show that during the early months of 1812 these men regarded Toledo as their chosen leader and Texas and the neighboring interior provinces of Mexico as the most likely field for their combined operations after the reverses at Caracas and in Cuba. Toledo claimed that his friends in the Spanish Cortes gave him full authority to represent them in that region. They were all ready to unite in freeing Mexico, believing that its grateful people would then

¹ Toledo's letters are in 36, Miscellaneous Letters under dates of Jan. 4 and 7, 1812. See also Dallas to Monroe, Mar, 1, 1812, and Gatterrez to Graham, Jan. 17, 1812, ibid., and same to same, Jan. 28, 1812, in Paps. Rel. to Rev. Span. 1/20vs.

assist in conferring a like boon upon their neighbors.1 The ideal of these enthusiasts was more or less visionary, for it ran counter to the natural resentment of the Mexican creoles toward anything like outside domination. This feeling appeared in the attitude that Gutierrez and the Mexicans later assumed toward Toledo, but at this time all seemed to acquiesce in his assumed leadership of the proposed uprising in northern Mexico. He was to remain temporarily in Philadelphia as its representative near the American Government. Gutierrez later claims that when Toledo proposed this arrangement he refused to consider it, largely on Monroe's advice to employ none but natives to represent Mexico,2 but Toledo's letters tell a different story. As a diplomatic representative of a government not yet organized Toledo was not particularly successful, for he seems to have had no correspondence with Monroe or Graham after March, 1812. Later in the year these officials were warned to be on their guard against him as a Spanish spy who designed to betray the cause of the patriots.8 His action three years later gave color to the charge, but at this time he appears sincerely devoted to the cause and to have the confidence and support of his fellows.

For some months in 1812 and 1813 Philadelphia promised to rival New Orleans as the seat of a Mexican revolutionary junta. Late in 1812 Juan Mariano Picornell, a refugee from Caracas, joined Toledo. From the very beginning of their residence in this country both enjoyed the friendship and sympathy of Ira Allen, brother of the redoubtable Vermont leader. Allen, who was then a sort of exile in the Quaker City, had long been interested in Spanish-American commerce and consequently in Spanish-American independence. These refugees lodged at his boarding place, which speedily became the center of intrigue. The trio attempted to exert pressure on the administration and Congress and also to direct and support Gutierrez on the Texas border and keep him from compromising them with the American Government. After Toledo and Picornell departed for the front, Allen continued to give all three sage, if ungrammatical, advice, with such offers of assistance as he could afford. His means, however, lagged far behind his desires, nor did his influence with Monroe and the administration supply this lack. The course of the war in Canada disappointed their hopes of definite assistance from the United States.4

^{1 &}quot;'A.' to our Friend Toledo," Mar. 1, 1812; Toledo to his "Friend A ," Apr. 1, 1812; T. M. R. A(ruspe) to Toledo, July 1, 1812; J. Caballero to Toledo, Sept. 20, 1812. Toledo to Gutierrez, Oct., 1812.—Lets. in Rel. to Burr's Consp.; Commission to Toledo, July 14, 1811, Papeles dirigidos por el Traidor desde N. Orleans á los Cabedillos que componen la Junta de Rebeides de N. España Carpeta 5, No. 1, Legajo 5554, Esta do Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid.

³ See note 1, p. 200.

³ Anonymous to Monroe, Nov. 10, 1812. Paps. Rel. to Rev. Span. Provs.

⁴ Allen to Toledo, Apr. 12, 1812; Mar. 21, May 11, 12, 28, June 10, 1813; Allen to Monroe, Nov. 19, 1812; Allen to Pickanel (Picornell), June 10, 1813; Allen to Bernardo (Gutierrez), Sept. 11, 1813; Allen to Toledo, Bernardo, and Pickanel (Picornell), Sept. 28, 1813. MSS. Lets. in Rel. to Burr's Consp. Also Samuel Leavens to Monroe, Oct. 12, 1812, 38, Miso. Lets. For the comments of Onis see Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Notas Diplomaticas, II, f. 209, Archivo General, Mexico.

Meanwhile Gutierrez had proceeded by sea to New Orleans, where he arrived in the latter part of March, 1812. His letters of introduction from Graham secured for him a cordial welcome from Gov. Claiborne, who provided for the remainder of his journey to Natchitoches. The governor also introduced him to William Shaler, who had an appointment as commercial agent to Mexico.1 As we have already noted, Toledo had expected to find Shaler in Havana and bore a letter of introduction to him from Monroe. But Shaler had recently reached New Orleans on his way to the Texas frontier. In view of his previous career on the coast of California,2 Spanish officials viewed his present employment by the American Government as a double insult to their nation. Gutierrez welcomed his companionship, for, as he wrote Graham, it enabled him "with more propriety to give through yourself information of the state of affairs in my country to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War. whom I salute with due respect."

Picornell's presence in New Orleans is mentioned in Casa Yrujo to Cevallos, July 15, 1807. (Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y la Florida, 87-1-10; Archivo General de las Indias, Seville.) Documents relating to his reconciliation with the Spanish Government are in Legajo 1815, Papeles . . . de Cuba, A. G. I., Seville.

Gutierrez and Shaler journeyed together to the frontier, where their apparent attachment was marked by both American and Spanish officials, who naturally inferred that the Government at Washington was behind the former's project. Had they known of the two letters that Gutierrez wrote Graham from Natchitoches they would have been strengthened in this inference. The Mexican stated that his friends in the internal Provinces were ready to rise up against their hated oppressors as soon as they knew of the favorable attitude of the United States, but he assured Graham that he would act "with the prudence that so important an affair demands." He earnestly desired the arrival of "that wished-for moment" (i. e., of American intervention), but he wished his correspondent to inform "the ministers of State and War" how firm his purpose was to follow "the precepts which they have placed upon me." His countrymen anxiously awaited his arrival, but he wrote significantly "they expect me with assistance." He himself anticipated nothing less than "a strict union between both Americas," but he placed himself entirely under the direction of Shaler and Claiborne, to whom he communicated freely all the arrangements that were being prepared by his fellow Mexicans. The sequestration of his goods and the arrest of members of his family caused him to urge his friend to bring his cause more vigorously before the Secretaries, whose wise reflections.

¹ Gutterres to Graham, Mar. 23, 1812, 36, Misc. Lets. ² H. H. Bancroft, History of California, chaps. 1, 11, passim.

he wrote, "I hope will be exerted in favor of my desires, for these are the greatest and most interesting to the well-being of both Americas that have ever been proposed in these most powerful (although oppressed) countries." He frankly asks Graham to assist him to procure a printer whom Toledo knows, and to pay his traveling expenses to the frontier. He tells of some two or three thousand muskets that are for sale in New Orleans, with which Menchaca (the nephew of his former companion) would be able to equip a "respectable army." He mentions articles that might form the basis for a valuable reciprocal commerce. He does all this with a freedom that reveals well-grounded confidence.

Since his escape from Texas in the preceding September, Gutierrez had received marked consideration from American officials of high and low degree. If the more prominent members of the administration preferred to have Graham, Claiborne, Shaler, and Sibley act as their agents, they did not wholly conceal their complicity by such a dubious course. On the other hand, the open sympathy and scarcely less open material assistance of these subordinates excited the bitter denunciation of all Spanish representatives, and in equal measure aroused the extravagant expectations of Gutierrez and his companions. In his last stirring appeal, directed to the Secretary of War through Graham. Gutierrez emphasized the hostility of Spain toward the United States and said that the general commandant Salcedo, boasted that the royalist authorities would not lay down their arms until they had punished the "American rascals" who had insulted them at Pensacola and Baton Rouge. His own fellow countrymen, however, were ready to take up arms along with their northern neighbors against their common foe. In this the Mexican creole emphasized the belief of himself and associates that the United States was their natural ally and that people and Government alike were ready to recognize and aid their efforts to achieve self-government.

There was much in the history of our own revolutionary struggle, in the nearness of our territory to Mexico, and in the zealous attachment of our people to the mystical words "liberty" and "independence," to justify the hope that the United States would act in their behalf as France did in our own war with Great Britain. The example of the United States did much to inspire the Mexican leaders in their struggle for autonomy, but our Government long delayed formal recognition and generally preserved a negative attitude in regard to material assistance. Self-interest, as well as our own critical situation during the second war with Great Britain, largely accounted for this policy; but among minor factors we may well believe that the course of the two self-constituted agents, Toledo and Gutierrez, had much to do in arousing the distrust of

¹ Dated Apr. 28 and May 16, 1812. Paps. Rel. to Rev. Span. Provs.

American officials. Toledo failed to depart on his mission to Cuba. His later movements were of a disquieting or compromising character until his final reconciliation with his enemies, but he seems to have had no direct relations with our State Department. The course of his associate and later rival exhibited less of intrigue, but aroused

popular disapproval even more strongly.

About the latter part of May, 1812, Gutierrez severed relations with his mentors, Claiborne and Shaler, and likewise with his associate Toledo, for he drifted into the ready but uncertain course of filibustering. He allied himself with a young American army officer and together they organized what is known as "The Gutierrez-Magee Raid," one of the most striking filibustering expeditions in our history.2 This flagrant violation of our neutrality laws (and such violations it must be confessed have been only too common on our frontiers) alienated the sympathies of our officials. It was also rumored that John Adair and other former "Burrites" were to be associated with the enterprise.3 Thus a comprehensive if vague plan to strike a blow in favor of Spanish-American independence degenerated into a filibustering raid that compromised the distant Philadelphia junta, as well as its immediate leaders. The later bloody reprisals at San Antonio and at the Medina, the dispute for supremacy between himself and Toledo, and the thoroughly inadequate measures to preserve our neutrality laws formed the natural harvest of Gutierrez's reckless sowing. He thoroughly discredited himself and his cause in the eves of all discerning men.

Some months after Toledo ceased to correspond with Graham, but before the authorities in Washington learned of the filibustering project into Texas, the situation on that frontier led Monroe to employ on a special mission the man who completes our trio of early Mexican revolutionary agents. If, without pushing the comparison too far we may call Gutierrez the Silas Deane and Toledo the Arthur Lee of the early Mexican revolution, Dr. John Hamilton Robinson is assuredly its Lafayette, lacking recognition, however, because the Mexicans never gained a Saratoga. Omitting the romantic details of his career, both before and after this period, it must suffice to state that in June, 1812, his friend, Col. Z. M. Pike, recommended him to Monroe for a special mission to Nimecio de Salcedo, the general commandant of the internal provinces of New Spain.⁴ This was the same official that five years before had

¹ See the statement of Rosains in Alaman, IV, app., 14.

² H. Yoakum, "History of Texas," I, chap. xili; Alamán, III, 479-492; W. F. McCaleb, "The First Period of the Gutlerrez-Magee Expedition," in Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, IV, 218-224. This account is based largely upon the manuscript volume of the Archivo General, Mexico, entitled "Historica, Operaciones de Guerra, Salcedo, vol. I, pt. I."

Claiborne to Madison, Aug. 10, 1812. 38, Misc. Lets.

⁴ Pike to Monroe, June 19, 1812. MSS., Letters to Monroe, 1812-1814, Ford Collection, New York Public Library.

apprehended Robinson and Pike while exploring in the valley of the Rio Grande and had afterwards sent them under close guard out of his jurisdiction. A second journey into this region and to the very official that had expelled him would seem to require some explanation. The Spanish officials of that period were by no means the only ones to think so.

Robinson was instructed to arrange with Salcedo some method for breaking up the lawless bands that infested the Neutral Ground.2 This disputed region, lying between the Sabine and the Arroyo Hondo had been rendered a veritable "No man's land" by the agreement between Wilkinson and Herrera in November, 1806.3 Although designed to be temporary only, circumstances had led both nations to a tacit observance of the agreement, which thus afforded a convenient asylum for refugees of all classes. Its population became a menace to good order, even before the Mexican uprising spread to That event greatly complicated the situation, and early in 1812 Pike himself had directed the troops under his command at Natchitoches in an effort to expel these lawless marauders.4 This was hardly more successful than other similar movements by the American and Spanish troops, nor did the judicial authorities of Orleans territory render effective cooperation. Moreover the Spaniards were jealous of any attempt on the part of the Americans to control the region; yet they affected to believe that the latter encouraged lawlessness in it, as a convenient pretext for later invading their country and extending their control to the Rio Grande. Thus the question involved great difficulties for both Governments and called for immediate solution. The method employed by Monroe, however, was little likely to accomplish anything. Of all the Spanish officials General Nimecio Salcedo, to whom he sent Robinson, was by position and temperament the most jealous of any shadow of American encroachment.

In discussing the control of this region Robinson would probably touch upon the subject of boundary disputes between the United States and Spain. He was to assure Salcedo that all such questions were to be made "the subject of amicable negotiation hereafter." He was furnished with the necessary documents to justify the course

¹ I. J. Cox, "The Early Exploration of Louisiana," chaps xi-xiii

² Monroe to Dr. Robinson, July 1, 1812. MSS. Louisians and Southern Boundary, Bureau of Rolls and

^{*} W. F. McCaleb, "The Aaron Burr Conspiracy," 149-152.

⁴ Sibley to Stoddard, Apr. 2, 1810. MSS. Missouri Historical Society; Bonavia to Commandante General, MSS. Provincias Internas, vol. 201, Archivo General; Carr to Manuel Salcedo, Apr 16, 1810, MSS. Bexar Archives, University of Texas; Carr to Claiborno, July, Aug., 1811, MSS. Claiborne Correspondence, VI, passim, Bureau of Rolls and Library; "House Document No. 50," 19 Cong, 1 sess.; Onis to Monroe. Feb. 22, Mar. 2, 1811, Spanish Notes, III, Bureau of Indexes and Archives; Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Salcedo, passim; Montero to Salcedo, Apr. 1, 29, 1812, Bexar Archives,

of the United States in taking possession of West Florida.1 Apparently Monroe knew nothing of the Spaniard whose probable resentment he thus lightly hoped to appease. Nor did he appear more tactful in stating that in certain contingencies during our war with Great Britain, we might find it advisable to occupy East Florida. Such an act would require more than a simple assurance to Salcedo that it was "not undertaken in a spirit of hostility to Spanish possessions in North America or to Spain, but suggested by conditions applicable to that territory alone." From other sources we have Pike's statement that the American Government was naturally anxious to keep "our Spanish-American brethren" (meaning the colonial authorities) from aiding Great Britain in its war against the United States, and to suggest a possible alliance against the European powers.2

The above causes seem important enough to justify Robinson's mission, but they do not tell the whole story. The open or covert hostility of the Spanish Regency mattered little to the United States. During the ensuing war British vessels at will used the Florida ports for repairs and offensive operations, and at that very time the authorities of the internal provinces were uttorly unable to prevent a filibustering expedition from organizing within the noutral ground and sweeping over Texas. These things would have occurred had Robinson been reasonably well received, for the Spanish Government could not control its border territory. De Onis and other Spanish authorities complained that Robinson's mission ignored the regular diplomatic channels of communication.3 In this Monroe was fairly consistent, for he recognized neither the representatives of the regency nor those of Joseph Bonaparte. It is true that he received the complaints of De Onis and later began to heed them a little, but this was not formal recognition. With a Jackson on the Florida border the United States fared better there than it deserved. with no influence from this mission affecting the final result. while affairs were allowed to take their own course anyway on the Lousiana-Texas frontier. Thus Robinson's journey was apparently useless; but from the standpoint of American commercial policy there was much to justify it. Robinson was instructed to "lose no opportunity to establish a friendly commercial intercourse between United States and these provinces." In Monroe's estimation this would be to the advantage of both, and his agent was to represent that his Government would do everything to favor it.

We may believe that this was the chief purpose of Robinson's mission. Monroe was then sending agents to other parts of Spanish

¹ I. J. Cox, "The American Intervention in West Florida," Am. Hist. Rev., XVII, 290-311.

2 Pike to Herrara, June 28, 1812. Historia, Op. de G. 1810-1817, Tomo 43, fl., 99, 100.

3 Onis to Vicercy, Jan 5, 1813. Ibid., Not. Dip., III, f. 199.

America with the establishment of commercial intercourse as their main object, but incidentally to report on the revolutionary struggle. Robinson was such an agent, but accredited to the colonial authorities rather than to the revolutionists. As we have seen, Shaler was already on that frontier, so that Robinson's presence would suggest a useless duplication of forces. In all probability Monroe did not reason thus any more than did Wilkinson in sending this same Robinson to accompany Pike six years before. A company of merchants had already attempted to open up trade between St. Louis and Santa Fé,1 and a brisk contraband trade was under way along the Texas border. It was highly important, therefore, to organize this intercourse on a definite basis. With his knowledge of the country and the conditions therein, Robinson ought to prove an excellent pioneer envoy to precede Shaler or other commercial agents, just as he had preceded Pike to Santa Fé. A year later Monroe was so ready to dispense with his services that he arouses a suspicion of trying to ignore the other's agency. Robinson had not in the interim demonstrated his usefulness; but this was not wholly his

The Spanish authorities believed that the sending of Robinson on a commercial mission directly to Salcedo was a design to tempt the latter to act independently of his superiors.2 But if Madison and Monroe refused to recognize either the Regency or Joseph Bonaparte, it is hard to see what other course the Secretary was to pursue, if we grant that the mission was necessary. Monroe knew from Pike that Salcedo exercised practically an independent jurisdiction. likewise knew from the same source that the captain general was jealous of his fellow officials. Perhaps he intended to play upon this jealousy to secure his ends. Incidentally this would result in still further disintegrating the Mexican viceroyalty. From this point of view Monroe seems to be working in harmony with the plans of his former protégés, Gutierrez and Toledo, although he has apparently ceased to hold any relations with them. De Onis and the Viceroy believed that the main purpose of all these pretended American commercial agents was to aid in revolutionizing the Spanish colonies.3 In this Robinson did not disappoint them, although he failed to achieve the purpose of his immediate superior.

After receiving his instructions Robinson quickly passed to the frontier. At Natchitoches the doubting Spanish agent refused to give him a passport, but the American went on anyhow. On the

¹ II. M. Chittenden, "History of the American Fur Trade," II, 496; 15, Dom. Lets., 457, 460, 16, 199; N. Salcado to Bolling Robertson, Jan. 3, 1811; William Baird to Peter B. Porter, Nov 30, 1816, 53, Misc. Lets 2 Anonymous memoir composed in 1813, but filed under date Jan. 1, 1817, in 54, Misc. Lets., Report of Regency to Cortes, Dec 31, 1812, Lets. in Rel. to Burr's Consp.

³ Alaman, III, app., 49

⁴ See note 3, p. 210.

banks of the Trinity he fell in with the filibustering forces under Augustus W. Magee. Some of the latter's associates had taken part in the West Florida revolution two years before, and the sight of an American envoy on the heels of another insurrectionary movement and within disputed territory gave them some uneasiness. However, they could not easily undertake campaigns against both the American and the Spanish Governments at the same time, so they allowed Robinson to proceed, hoping to neutralize by their campaign in Texas any adverse effect of his mission. In this they succeeded, although Robinson was not in a position to avoid warning their enemies of their movements. At San Antonio and at Monclova he met with a cordial reception from Manuel de Salcedo, Herrera. Cordero, and former friends, and emphasized the desire of his Government to preserve cordial relations with them. He states that these officials warmly reciprocated these sentiments. At Monclova he was detained some weeks awaiting the determination of the general commandant, Salcedo, and finally the latter directed him to repair to Chihuahua by way of the Presidio del Norte, an exceedingly dangerous route. His reception by the General was by no means cordial. Salcedo seized upon the irregularities of his credentials as a convenient pretext for refusing to consider the subjects upon which he was supposed to treat. After some delay he was informed that his propositions would be referred either to the Viceroy or to the Regency in Spain, and in due course of time, through the regular diplomatic channels, the American authorities would be informed of their resolution. At the same time Salcedo courteously intimated that Robinson should lose no time in retracing his steps.1

Monroe failed, then, in his attempt to deal directly with Salcodo. It is hard to see how it could have been otherwise with such an agent as Robinson. It is true that he was almost the only person fitted by experience for this mission, but this very quality rendered him the more unacceptable to the suspicious Salcedo. He knew too much already, and in the course of his journey he could not help acquiring other knowledge that might be used with advantage against Spain's decaying colonial system. The very fact that an American agent traversed this country could not but add fuel to the fires of revolt, and Salcedo had pretty good evidence that Robinson did not refrain from scattering a few new firebrands as opportunity presented itself. Accordingly, their last interview was decidedly picturesque, although it did not tend to promote those "friendly relations" that formed Robinson's ostensible purpose. It is no wonder that after one of his characteristic bombastic speeches that irritated the unyielding Spaniard to a frenzy of denunciation against him, his Government,

¹ The main source for Robinson's movements is the "Report of John II. Robinson of his Mission to the Spanish Provinces in New Spain, dated July 26, 1813." It is No. 21 in Paps. Rel. to the Rev. Span. Provs.

and people, Salcedo said: "I am at a loss to know the object of your mission."

The captain general would doubtless have been glad to imprison the audacious envoy, but he permitted him to return by the same route that he came. From the Presidio del Norte he offered on his own responsibility to act as intermediary between the royalists and the forces of Gutierrez, but Cordero had to tell him that his offer was useless in view of Salcedo's attitude. While here he performed the useless task of nursing back to health Col. Elizondo, who had betrayed and captured Hidalgo and his companions. He represented that individual as opposed to Salcedo's policy of exclusion, as desirous only of securing order and stability in the internal Provinces, and even ready to welcome intervention by the United States.1 Robinson reported many of Salcedo's subordinates and the people at large as entertaining similar opinions, and there seems to be other evidence to support this, in the case of Elizondo, although the testimony from the Spanish archives is of another character. At San Antonio, which Robinson reached on his return just a few days before the entrance of the forces under Gutierrez, he found everything in confusion, and many of the citizens vainly besought him to extend the protection of his Government over their lives and property. He reached the frontier in safety, briefly reported this fact to Monroe, and then passed on to New Orleans with the object of proceeding at once to Washington.2 In this way he missed a letter from Monroe, telling him that in view of Shaler's presence at Natchitoches, his further services were no longer needed.8 Had Robinson received this letter, which stated there was no need for him to come to the seat of Government, he probably would not have heeded it, for he was now an envoy in another, and to him, doubtless, more important cause. As such he had some sort of understanding with Shaler and Toledo, whom he encountered on the frontier.

While tarrying at Chihuahua, Robinson was approached by representatives of the "Republican Junta of Guanajuato," who gave him a letter from the president of that body containing an appeal to the American President and Congress. This appeal was based, as usual, upon the claims of humanity, natural sympathy with a revolutionary movement, and the offer of commercial privileges. Robinson claimed to have received similar proposals from other sources, particularly from New Mexico. To all he stated that the American Executive felt a warm interest in their cause, and promised to present their petitions to him in person. In this task he might hope for greater success than as a diplomat. He had become enthusiastic in favor of the

¹ Cf. also National Intelligencer, Oct 23, 1813.

² Robinson to Monroe, Apr. 12, 1813. Louisiana and Southern Boundary.

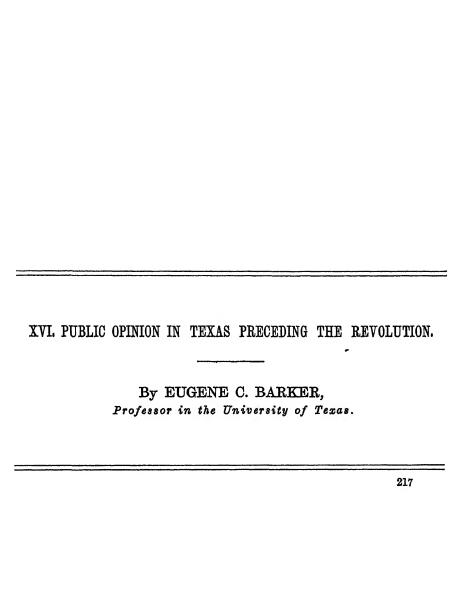
Monroe to Robinson, June 25, 1813, 16, Dom. Lets., 92.

revolution. He possessed more than a wholesome faith in American institutions and believed that they could be applied effectively to our Spanish-American neighbors. He even cherished a quixotic desire to assist in this process. These qualities vitiated his report upon actual conditions in Mexico, but they give color to his plea in behalf of the revolutionists. Accordingly, when Monroe failed to respond either to report or petition, like his predecessors, Toledo and Gutierrez, Robinson abandoned his pacific propaganda in favor of the immediate, if unproductive, activities of filibustering. In this field he found his main rivals for leadership in these two men. But the succeeding relations between them and Monroe or his subordinates do not properly concern the field of this paper.

These three men then attempted without success to initiate diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico. Possibly their failure may be due to their lack of adequate credentials. Gutierrez posed as the representative of Hidalgo, but that chief possessed little power and influence when he commissioned him to go to the United Toledo claimed some indefinite authorization from his friends in the Spanish Cortes, but of these Arispe was the only prominent Mexican, and he was supposed to be attached to the Spanish Government if the Regency would treat the colonists with justice. later controversies with his filibustering rivals on the Texas frontier. Toledo mentioned some credentials from the patriotic junta in Mexico; but he did not produce them nor would they have been of much diplomatic value if he had done so. His influence, then, seems to rest largely upon the hopes of his friends and his skill in intrigue. Robinson's authority seems to be still more indefinite. He is only the chance bearer of communications from some subordinate Mexican juntas to the American Government. At the same time that Government is employing him on another and conflicting mission. In the case of all three this lack of definite authorization would have insured failure, even if other causes had not contributed to the same result. Yet this absence of real authority at first forced an apparent harmony upon them, so that they seemed to find a basis for common action and even for mutual helpfulness. When Gutierrez left Philadelphia, Toledo continued there as his representative. When the latter went to the frontier to supersede Gutierrez in the command of the Texas insurgents, he encountered Robinson there and entered into an agreement with him to represent his cause, as well as that of the scattered revolutionists. In both cases, however, this delegation of uncertain powers was done with a certain amount of suspicion that afterwards developed into open hostility. The ensuing conflict for leadership still further weakened their cause in the view of the American Government.

The uncertainty of Monroe's attitude toward these agents matches their lack of authority. He received them unofficially and listened with interest to their representations. He gave Toledo and Gutierrez the necessary funds for their temporary entertainment and for their passage to Cuba and Texas, where they were to organize insurrectionary movements on a more definite basis. It is true that his own part in these affairs was very slight, but his subordinates would not have assisted Gutierrez and Toledo so extensively if they had not known that their conduct met with Monroe's approval. Possibly his course resulted in arousing their hopes rather than meeting their expectations, but it also excited bitter recriminations on the part of the Spanish authorities. Then Monroe and his chief clerk ceased to correspond with these men, despite continued appeals that show anticipated aid. He sent a special agent to the very authorities that these men planned to overthrow. The ineffectiveness of this mission was the only feature that redeemed his action from the charge of inconsistency.

Doubtless the war with Great Britain prevented Monroe from aiding Gutierrez and Toledo more effectually, if not more openly. As it was he went far enough to encourage the friends and arouse the enemies of the administration at home and abroad. His uncertain course and the later devious career of these three men, who at one time believed themselves his protégés, strongly influenced the succeeding policy of our State Department. These factors complicated other frontier and diplomatic problems, and caused both him and his successor to adopt a more conciliatory policy toward Spain and a more cautious attitude in dealing with our Spanish-American neighbors.



PUBLIC OPINION IN TEXAS PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION.

By EUGENE C. BARKER.

Earnest patriots like Benjamin Lundy, William Ellery Channing, and John Quincy Adams saw in the Texas revolution a disgraceful affair promoted by sordid slaveholders and land speculators. Even to the critical ear of the modern historian their arguments sound plausible, and it is not strange that in a period distinguished by sectionalism they were accepted by partizans at full value. The fundamental defect of these arguments lay in the fact that their authors knew too little of contemporary opinion in Texas. The truth is, so far as one may judge from the absence of discussion of the subject in Texas, that slavery played no part in precipitating the revolution; while it is certain that land speculation, of which there was unquestionably a great deal, tended rather to retard than to hasten the outbreak.

A study from within reveals some interesting parallels between the Texan revolt and the American Revolution. In each the general cause of revolt was the same—a sudden effort to extend imperial authority at the expense of local privilege. In each the method of molding public opinion by town meetings and committees of correspondence was the same, but with the fundamental difference in aim that, whereas in the American colonies it was the object of such agencies to organize resistance, in Texas their purpose was at first to quiet opposition. In each the divided state of opinion which preceded and

¹ I have found but three contemporary references which might indicate a potential connection between the slavery question and the revolution: (1) In a Fourth of July address intended to stir the colonists to resistance R. M. Williamson, a prominent radical, declared that the Mexicans were coming to Taxas to compel the Texans, among other things, to give up their slaves (a broadside in the Bexar archives, "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VIII, 7-18). (2) In a letter of August 21, 1835, Stephen F. Austin said "Texas must be a slave country. It is no longer a matter of doubt" (Quarterly of Tex. State Hist. Assn., XIII, 271). (3) On August 28 the radicals issued a circular in which they quoted H. A. Alsberry, who had recontly returned from Mexico, as saying that the Mexicans boasted that they would free the slaves of the Texans and set them against their masters (Broadside in the Austin Papers).

² During 1834 and the spring of 1835 the legislature of Coahuila and Texas made a number of large grants of land in Texas under curcumstances that pointed to bribery. Some Texans shared in these questionable transactions, and it was from them that the first rumors of disturbances in the interior reached Texas. The people suspected that for purposes of their own the speculators were trying to raise a revolt against the Federal Government, which had annulled some of the objectionable grants, and for that reason their eyes remained closed to Santa Anna's designs longer than would have otherwise happened. Their attitude toward the speculators is indicated by the fact that the constitution of 1836 expressly annulled the large grants made in 1834 and 1835. (See "Land Speculation as a Cause of the Texas Revolution," by the writer, in Quarterly of Tex. State Hist. Assn., XI, 76-85).

accompanied the resort to arms was similar. One cause of exasperation existed in Texas, however, which the American colonists never felt. At the close of summer in 1835 the Texans saw themselves in danger of becoming the alien subjects of a people to whom they deliberately believed themselves morally, intellectually, and politically superior. This racial feeling, indeed, underlay and colored Texan-Mexican relations from the establishment of the first Anglo-American colony in 1821. It was a fertile soil in which throve mutual suspicion and distrust. And on the Mexican side it was powerfully stimulated by the efforts of Adams and Jackson to purchase Texas.

With the ultimate aim of the Texan immigrants this inquiry is not concerned. One may find it difficult to believe that they considered their relation to Mexico as permanent, but there is little evidence before 1835 that they thought of the matter at all. And the minutes of public meetings, town councils, and committees of correspondence, as well as private letters, furnish a mass of testimony from which it is hard to resist the conclusion that at that time the people were almost unanimous in wishing to avoid a breach.

This first becomes apparent in the spring of 1835 through a conflict between State and Federal authority. Toward the end of April Governor Viesca called upon the local departments of Coahuila and Texas for militia to guard the capital from Federal troops who were known to have been ordered against it. The contingent desired from Texas was a hundred men from each of the three departments, and it was only by a show of military force that the Mexican inhabitants of San Antonio were prevented from responding at once; but the political chief of the Anglo-American department of the Brazos frankly declined to muster the militia, and wrote the governor that his people had no sympathy with the State government. He was commended for this by an editorial in The Texas

¹ Von Holst, "Const. Hist. of the United States," II, 553: "Settlers came with their slaves from the slave States [to Texas]. In this the heads of individual persons may have been haunted by far-reaching projects; but I can find no support for the assertion that back of it there was a definite plan of the 'South.'" Stephen F. Austin to Wilham H. Ashby, Oct. 10, 1832, MS. Austin Papers: "It is not our interest to separate [from Mexico] if such a thing can be avoided, unless indeed we should float into the Northern Republic with the consent of all parties, ourselves included"

² Some of the most important of these documents were published in "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VI, nos. 1, 5; VII, nos. 1-4; VIII, nos. 1, 2, 3; IX, nos. 2-4. The labor of collecting them was the writer's, but he is not responsible for the arrangement and editorial notes.

In 1835 Texas was divided for administrative purposes into three territorial departments. Bexar (modern San Antonio) was the capital of the department of Bexar; San Felipe was the capital of the department of the Brazes, comprising the central part of the State, and Nacogdoches was the capital of the department of the same name in the eastern part of the State

The highest executive officer in each department was the political chief. The departments were subdivided into municipalities, consisting of a village, hamlets, and a considerable area of land. The municipal council, composed of the alcalde and regidores, was called the ayuntamiento. The whole of Texas was under the military jurisdiction of the "principal commandant," with headquarters at Bexar, who was subject to the commander of the eastern internal provinces (all northeastern Mexico and Texas).

⁴ The Texas Republican, May 9, 1835.

⁵ Ugarteches to Cos, May 18, 1835. Bexar Archives.

^a He assigned as a reason the corrupt sales of Texas lands by the legislature.

Republican, the only paper then published in Texas. On May 21 the legislature adjourned to avoid capture, and a few days later the governor fled. He was arrested on June 6, and Gen. Cos, the commander of northeastern Mexico, appointed a military governor, pending a new election. This news reached San Felipe by special courier from Cos himself on June 21. Besides being the capital of the department of the Brazos, San Felipe was also headquarters for a small party of radicals who probably desired separation from Mexico. Some members of this party seized the courier, and rifling his dispatches to Capt. Tenorio, who was commanding a garrison at Anahuac, near the head of Galveston Bay, learned that the Government was contemplating a military occupation of Texas.2

This seemed a favorable occasion for alarming the people and hurrying them into a position from which it would be difficult to withdraw. The leaders induced the political chief to issue a proclamation calling on the men of the department to march to the governor's rescue,3 and in a public meeting adopted resolutions enumerating abuses which Texas had suffered through Santa Anna's enlargement of the central power and urging both Texan and Coahuilans to defend the constitution. At the same time, in secret meeting, they authorized an expedition to expel the troops from Galveston Bay. But they soon found that they had reckoned without the host. A meeting of the neighboring municipality of Columbia on June 23 refused by a large majority to indorse the political chief's proclamation; 5 while a second and larger meeting on the 28th went much farther. It protested against "the acts and conduct of any set of individuals (less than a majority) calculated to involve the citizens of Texas in a conflict with the Federal Government of Mexico;" declared that the participants in this meeting were "faithful and loyal citizens of Mexico," whose "wish and interest" it was "to remain attached to the Federal Government;" and requested the political chief to inform the president of these sentiments, while "commanding" the inhabitants of his department "to adhere strictly to the laws and the constitution." It recommended the organization of the militia for protection from the Indians, and advised the establishment of a local provisional government. Within two weeks a number of municipalities adopted the Columbia resolutions en bloc, or passed others of like tenor; 7 while the political chief

¹ Issue of May 9, 1835.

² An account of this, with translations of the captured dispatches, was published in The Texas Republican, June 27, 1835; reprinted in "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VII, 160-164.

The Texas Republican, June 27, 1833; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VII, 26-27.

An English copy was printed in The [La Grange]

Texas Monument, July 23, 1851.

⁵ H. Austin to Perry, June 24, 1835, Austin Papers; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VII, 27-28

⁶ The Texas Republican, July 4, 1835, "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VII, 85-87.

⁷ See the resolutions of Lavaca, Mina, and San Felipe in The Texas Republican, July 18, 1836; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VII, 2-6, 18-19; and of Alfred, Caney Creek, and Gonzales in Colonial Archives (MS.), Texas State Library.

wrote a public letter apologizing for his proclamation. The news of the governor's arrest and of the plans for occupying Texas had overwhelmed him with surprise, he explained, and he had yielded to "the earnest protestations of a number of influential citizens" in calling out the people.1

While this unfortunate episode was being smoothed over, a serious clash developed between certain individuals and the customs collectors. The innate aversion of the average American to paying duties had been strengthened in the Texans by local circumstances. To encourage immigration the Government had practically suspended the tariff until 1831. Collectors appointed in 1832 had left the Province the same year, when the colonists expelled the garrisons from several towns. And between 1832 and 1834 political convulsions had prevented the Government from giving the matter attention. Mexicans as far away as Santa Fé and Chihuahua improved the opportunity to import goods through Texas,2 and for 1834 Col. Almonte estimated this contraband trade at \$270,000.3

Friction was not long delayed, therefore, when the opening of the new year brought a collector and several deputies to Texas with a small detachment of soldiers. The collector stopped to reconnoiter on the Brazos River, while the deputies and the soldiers went on to Anahuac, which was regarded as the port of Galveston.4 The collector later established himself at Velasco, near the mouth of the Brazos, but made no effort to collect anything but tonnage duties,5 while the deputies at Anahuac, backed by the garrison, began a rigid enforcement of the tariff.

The first and chief sufferer from this, or at least the most outspoken, was Andrew Briscoe, a merchant of Anahuac. Since the collector at Velasco was demanding only the tonnage duties, he felt that he was the victim of unjust discrimination, and his indignation waxed accordingly. His own statement of his grievance is an important testimonial to the attitude of the people. "The people would calmly stand by and see me lose all,-damn them. My business has been delayed, our provisions and groceries seized as contraband, and the whole duties claimed on the balance * and all this by a deputy clloector and forty soldiers. And when I talk of resistance the people blame me and talk of a jury trial, and the devil knows what all."6 This testimony is supported by the

¹ This letter is without date, but was probably written between July 10 and 19. It is printed in The Texas Republican, Aug. 8, 1835; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VIII, 359-361.

2 Ugartechea to Cos, [June], 1835 Bexai Archives

³ Almonte, Noticia estadistica sobre Tejas, quoted in Kennedy, "Texas," [1, 86.

⁴ Hernandez to Ugartechea, May 30, 1835. Bexar Archives

⁵ He told the colonists that this was in accordance with his instructions (The Texas Republican, July 11 and Aug 8, 1835); but to his deputies he said that it was because he was without means to enforce the tariff. Hernandez to Ugartechea, May 30, 1835.

⁶ Briscoe to J. K. Allen, Apr 14, 1835. MS. in possession of Mrs. A. B. Looscan, Houston, Tex.

action of the town council (ayuntamiento) of Liberty, the capital of the municipality in which Anahuac lay. On April 17 this body declared that it was the undoubted right of every nation "to establish its own system of revenue," and that "obedience to the laws" was "the first duty of a good citizen." This duty extended farther than mere personal obedience; it entailed the obligation to make others obey. The present tariff laws might be, and probably were, unwise in some of their restrictions on Texas, but to resist them by force "would be more unwise and ill timed than the laws themselves." The way to obtain relief was to memorialize Congress for modification of the laws. In the meantime, could the people not abstain from using imported goods? Turning directly to Briscoe's case, the council suggested that a prudent merchant should inform himself of the revenue laws of the country in which he carried on business, and that he had no right to complain if his failure to do so involved him in trouble. In conclusion it cautioned all persons against interfering with the customs officers, and enjoined the civil and military officers of the municipality to assist, if necessary, in the maintenance of the revenue laws.1 Briscoe was willing to try the effect of a memorial, and on May 4 he and some twenty others petitioned the governor to intercede with Congress for a suspension or amendment of the law. But instead of adopting the suggestion for a non-importation agreement, they declared that, until the result of their petition was learned, they would pay no more duties, unless collections were equally enforced throughout Texas.2 The petition never reached its destination, but a few weeks later the collectors abandoned Texas, and on June 30 a small force commanded by William B. Travis captured the garrison at Anahuac.3 This action, as we have seen, had been secretly authorized by the radicals at San Felipe on June 22.

When news arrived of Travis's attack on the garrison, several communities had already expressed disapproval of Briscoe's petition.

¹ Resolutions of the ayuntamiento of Liberty, Apr 17, 1835, in The Texas Republican, May 30, 1835; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., IX, 89-93 Edward ("History of Toxas," 235-238) prints this document under date of June 1, and succeeding historians have usually followed him.

² The petition and resolutions were published in The Texas Republican, Aug. 8, 1835; "Publications" of So Hist. Assn , IX, 93-98.

³ See an article by the writer, "Difficulties of a Mexican Revenue Officer in Texas," in The Quarterly of the Tex. State Hist. Assn., IV, 190-202.

⁴ Municipality of Columbia, June 28: "Your committee * * * particularly protest against the proceedings of those persons at Anahuac who gave the collector of customs, Don Jose Gonzales, a series of resolutions declaring that they would not obey the revenue laws of Mexico. They denounce such persons as foregners, and disclaim all participation in the act whatever" (The Texas Republican, July 4, 1836; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VII, 80). Lavaca and Mins on July 4 indorsed these Columbia resolutions (The Texas Republican, July 18, 1835; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VII, 88-90, VIII, 2-6). Municipality of Gonzales, July 7: "We protest against those acts which tend to a resistance to the revenue laws of the Government and sincerely invite the Supreme Executive to carry them into effect, * * * suggesting at the same time a modification of those laws, in order that the duties shall all be collected. We believe reasonable duties, received by collectors understanding both languages, without favor or collusive arrangement would be cheerfully submitted to by the merchants, but in contrary case we pledge ourselves to aid the Federal Government in their collection." Colonial Archives (MS.), Texas State Library.

Nearly every municipality in the department of the Brazos now adopted resolutions condemning Travis's act or professing loyalty to Mexico. Tenorio, the captain of the dislodged garrison, was invited to attend a meeting at San Felipe and see for himself that "it was not by the vote of the majority nor by the will of the inhabitants that those persons were authorized to commit that outrage against the supreme Government." Travis himself was so affected by the general disavowal that he expressed to Col. Ugartechea a strong desire to make amends. For several weeks he printed a card in The Texas Republican, asking the people to suspend judgment against him until he had time to make an explanation. This was somewhat tardily prepared on September 1, but it seems never to have been offered to the public.

Down to the middle of August, with three exceptions,⁴ every popular meeting whose proceedings are available manifested a conciliatory disposition. The people were soothed by the assurance that the Government meant them no harm, and an evident effort was made to convince the Government that the people were loyal.⁵ Two

¹ The Texas Republican, July 18, 1835; "Publications" of the So. Hist. Assn , VIII, 18. Tenorio to Ugartechea, July 15, 1835. Bexar Archives.

^{2&}quot;I am extremely anxious to bring all our difficulties to a happy and peaceable termination, and to see the Government firmly established on a permanent basis. It matters not to me what form of government Mexico adopts, so that we are guaranteed in the security of person and property. Therefore, I am disposed to lend my feeble aid to any plan which may be fallen on to bring about these tall things. There only wants a good understanding between the Government and the people of Texas to set all things right. If you will condescend to open a correspondence with me on this subject, I think that this good understanding may be brought about, as I assure you the inhabitants are in the best disposition for it."—Travis to Ugartechea, July 31, 1835. Mexican Archives, Archivo de Guerra y Marina, Frac. 1, Op. Mil., Texas, 1835, Legajo 1, Exp. 9.

The Quarterly of Tex. State Hist. Assn., IV, 202.

⁴ The exceptions were the secret meeting of the radicals at San Felipe on June 22, which, under the exatement produced by the arrest of the governor and news of the contemplated military occupation, voted the attack on the garrison at Anahuac (see above, p. 221); a meeting at Harrisburg on July 14 (The Texas Republican, Aug. 22, 1835; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VIII, 107-109); and a meeting of the district of the Navidad and Lavaca on July 17 (Brown, History of Texas, I, 299).

^{*}A meeting at Gonzales on July 7 resolved, "3rd. * * * every act and deed, tending to interrupt the harmony and good understanding existing between Texas and the Federal Government deserves the marked disapprobation and contempt of every friend of constitutional order in the country. 4th. * * resolved, that we have full confidence in the favorable disposition of IIIs Excellency the President and the General Congress toward Texas, and we believe that when the wants of Texas are fully made known to them they will be provided for. 5th * * * resolved, that the course pursued by the citizens of Texas when called on by the governor of the State to move against the Federal troops, with offers of reward to those who should obey the order, in refusing to leave Texas to interfere in the quarrols of the Republic, if duly considered, furnishes conclusive proof of the loyalty of the inhabitants of Texas toward the Nation and their unwillingness to become embroiled with them."—Colonial Archives (MS.), Texas State Library.

The ayuntamiento of Columbia "would represent to you that the citizens of this jurisdiction hold themselves to be true, faithful, loyal, and unoffending Mexican citizens; that they do not violate the laws and constitution of the land, nor will they countenance others in doing it."—To chairman of public meeting at San Felipe, July 11, 1835, in The Texas Republican, July 18, 1835.

Public meeting at San Jacinto on August 8: "We have always considered and do still consider the aggregate Mexican Nation the rightful sovereign of the territory we occupy. * * * We consider names as the mere signification of things; and * * * we are not so obstinately prejudiced in favor of the term 'foderal republic' as peremptorily and without inquiry to reject another Government purely because it has assumed a different external sign or denomination. * * * There are certain essential, sacred, and imprescriptible rights which must be guaranteed to every citizen * * * we believe these rights may be as well secured under a consolidated as under a foderative government, provided that government be

of the three meetings whose resolutions were less moderate, while expressing a lack of confidence in President Santa Anna, declared that they were ready to support the Federal constitution of 1824. These meetings represented pretty fully the population of the department of the Brazos. The other department, inhabited chiefly by Anglo-Americans, was that of Nacogdoches, in the eastern part of the State, and its political chief wrote on July 28 that his people were tranquil.¹

But pacific efforts did not stop with holding meetings and adopting resolutions. A joint committee representing several municipalities sent to Col. Ugartechea at San Antonio an exposition of public opinion, and asked him to forward it to his superior, Gen. Cos. The committee thought that recent acts, if left unexplained, might justify the belief that the colonists were hostile to the Government, but—

The people at large we know have not participated either in the feelings which prompted the aggressions or any acts opposed to the legal authorities of the Mexican Republic, and do and ever will disavow the course pursued by a few impetuous and misguided citizens whose conduct * * * might implicate the whole community. * * * The citizens of Texas generally have become adopted citizens of the Mexican Republic from choice, after a full knowledge of the constitution and laws. * * * They entertain a grateful sense of the liberality of the Government toward her colonies in the distribution of lands to settlers, and other advantages tending to their convenience and prosperity in agriculture and manufactures. * * * They will be prepared on every constitutional call to do their duty as Mexcian citizens in the enforcement of the laws and promotion of order * * * They will cherish those principles which most clearly demonstrate their love of peace, respect for their Mexican fellow citizens, and attachment to the free and liberal institutions of their adopted country.²

The same committee appointed commissioners to visit Cos and make a personal explanation of the situation, but they were halted at San Antonio by Ugartechea and never reached him.³

At the same time, however, the colonists were organizing the militia, and they went so far as to propose a committee to raise subscriptions

wisely and liberally organized. * * * Resolved, that the dissolution of a government does not of necessity requisite that the constituent parts of the nation should separate finally; that the abstract right to do a thing does not always render the doing of it wise or commendable; that although the citizens of Texas may have the political right to reject the new Government of Mexico and to adopt one more consonant to their habits and feelings, we do very seriously question the policy of doing so, unless constrained by imperious circumstances, such as, we trust, do not and will not exist; that as adopted citizens we ought to exercise even our absolute rights with some diffidence and with a peculiar regard to the moral obligations that may rest upon us."—The Texas Republican, September 19, 1835; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VIII, 110-116.

¹ Rueg to Martin, July 28, 1835. Colonial Archives (MS.), Tex. State Labrary.

² Colonial Archives, Tex. State Library. There is a Spanish translation in the Bexar Archives which has the signatures of three committees and the political chief. The English draft, which seems to be the original, is unsigned.

³ Ugartechea said that it would be useless to make explanations, unless the colonists would prove their loyalty by surrendering the radical leaders to the military authorities. This was later confirmed by Cos. The radicals were not surrendered and the commissioners went no further.—Barrett and Gritten to Cos., Aug. 9, 1835, Bexar Archives; "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VIII, 343-344.

for the purchase of arms and munitions. The menacing activity of the Indians ¹ was sufficient to justify this, and it was used as a pretext; but the real motive seems to have been fear that the Government would push them to extremes. ² Students familiar with the development of the American Revolution will not consider this necessarily inconsistent with a desire for peace. Nevertheless, it raises a question of the sincerity of the Texans which demands some attention.

The best evidence that the professions of loyalty were made in good faith by the public meetings is the fact that they convinced certain contemporaries. Travis, a prominent radical, leader of the attack on the garrison at Anahuac, and an intelligent lawyer who would have been likely to detect subterfuge, wrote on July 30, "The peace party, as they style themselves, I believe are the strongest and make much the most noise. Unless we could be united, had we not better be quiet and settle down for awhile?"3 Three weeks later he wrote, "I found the tories and cowards making a strong effort, and for a time they were but too successful. I was, therefore, disgusted and wrote you but little, as I had nothing to communicate but what I was ashamed of as a free man and a friend of my country." 4 On July 25 Dr. James H. C. Miller, an intense loyalist, who viewed these proceedings with feelings directly the opposite of Travis's, wrote from San Felipe, "All here is in a train for peace; the war and speculating parties are entirely put down." So convinced was he that the people would make almost any sacrifice for peace that he advised Col. Ugartechea to demand the surrender of the radical leaders to the military authorities.5 Finally we have the testimony of a neutral. Edward Gritten, an Englishman who was making at this time a semi-official inspection of the colonies for Ugartechea, wrote on July 5, "From what I have observed and the conclusions that I have drawn, the greater part of the colonists desire to avoid any breach with the Government. * * * If the executive could

¹ See Yoakum, "History of Texas," I, 336; Brown, "History of Texas," I, 290; Navarro to Political Chief of Nacogdoches, June 4, 1835, Bexar Archives; Lynch to Brown, July 20, 1835, Colonial Archives, Tex. State Library.

² Even the most earnest advocates of peace approved the organization of the militia. Columbia advised it on June 28, Lavaca on July 4, Mina on the 5th, Matagorda on the 13th, and Gonzales on the 19th (The Texas Republican, July 4 and 18, 1835, for Columbia and Lavaca; Colonial Archives, Tex. State Library, for other references). The double purpose of the organization is shown by the proclamation in which the political chief ordered it: "The critical and peculiar situation" of the country, he said, demanded "speedy and decisive measures for defense against military usurpation on the one hand and the depredations of the Indians on the other." It is further illustrated by a writer who thought that every exertion should be made to avoid a conflict, but, lest this should fail, advised the organization of the militia. The Mexican view of the situation is shown by a letter from Ugartechea. Cos wrote him Sept. 28, to find out what the four tribes were of which the political chief of the Brazos was complaining and against which he was keeping 300 men in arms. Ugartechea replied that he had no information that the tribes of that department were hostile, and "as for placing 300 carbiners under arms in San Felipe, there is no other motive than to contribute to the revolution which is fomenting in the colonies." Bexar Archives.

³ Yoakum, "History of Texas," I, 343.

⁴ Travis to J. W. Moore, in The Morning Star, Mar. 14, 1840.

⁵ Miller to J. W. Smith, July 25, Colonial Archives, Tex. State Library. The letter is partially printed in Brown, "History of Texas," I, 303,

adopt a conciliatory policy it would meet the support of the sane portion of Texas, which is truly numerous." And again on the 17th he said, "All, even to the Sabine, unanimously desire to preserve the peace, and they manifest without exception their disapprobation of the offenses committed against the nation. * * * In my opinion * * * no more is needed to consummate the work of pacifying this country than to abstain from bringing troops into it for offenders." ¹

It seems clear that until well into August the war spirit was confined to a few individuals,2 while public meetings, which may be said to have expressed organized opinion, were almost unanimously opposed to anything that might precipitate a breach. Conservative leaders from the beginning of the colonies had deliberately advocated the policy of standing aloof from Mexican party dissentions; and they hoped that a continuance of the policy might avert the present threatening storm from Texas. There were sacrifices, however, which they would not make, and these were now unfortunately demanded. Col. Ugartechea made a requisition on the political chief for the surrender of the radical leaders to the military authorities; 3 and it became apparent that Santa Anna was fixed in the determination to establish a number of strong garrisons in Texas. Had there been no atmosphere of racial distrust enveloping the relations of Mexico and the colonists, a crisis might not have followed. Mexico might not have thought it necessary to insist so drastically on unequivocal submission; or the colonists might not have believed so firmly that submission would endanger their liberty. As it was, the Texans at first evaded and then categorically declined to make the arrests: while the same municipalities that had professed unswerving loyalty to Mexico were entirely outspoken in opposing the military occupation of the province. If their action needs palliation, it may be somewhat to the point to remember two things. In the first place, these men who refused to deliver their neighbors to military authority for trial outside the colony were sons of the generation that indignantly protested against Great Britain's revival of Henry VIII's law of treason and against the extraordinary powers of the Gaspee commission; and in the second place, they had already experienced some inconvenience from Mexican garrisons in 1832.

It remains to say a word about the motives of those who at first opposed a breach with Mexico. Most of the rank and file, perhaps, were merely indifferent to the alleged abuses of Santa Anna. They

¹ Gritten to Ugartechea, July 5, 1835, Bexar Archives The letter of July 5 may be read in "Publications" of So. Hist. Assn., VIII, 345–348.

² The prominent ones were W. B. Travis, John A. and William H. Wharton, R. M. Williamson, Henry Smith, Mosely Baker, and James Bowie. But until the end of July we have no record of any active agitation from any of them except Travis, Williamson, and Bowie.

² Ugarteches to Tenorio, July 31, and to Cos, August 1, 1835. Bexar Archives.

recognized certain rights of the central Government in Texas, and, desiring peace, were slow to believe that these rights would be exceeded. More thoughtful conservatives who may have seen the danger from Santa Anna's plans probably feared that Texas could not sustain a struggle with Mexico, and advocated non-resistence as a policy of expediency. But beyond indifference, a readiness to recognize constitutional rights of the Federal Government, and resignation to present ills lest worse should be provoked by resistance, the loyalty of the colonists did not perhaps extend.

XVII. THE RELATIONS OF ENGLAND WITH SPANISH AMERICA, 1720-1744.

By H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge University.



THE RELATIONS OF ENGLAND WITH SPANISH AMERICA, 1720-1744.

By H. W. V. TEMPERLEY.

The aim of this paper is, so far as possible, to deduce the views of the mother country on the importance of the West Indies and of connection with Spanish America during the years 1720 to 1744. The imperial policy, the English Government's plans and their execution are by no means of the same importance in the English colonies on the mainland, because these were self-sufficient and independent enough to work out their own development, and could easily confront imperial regulations by a passive resistance or by a practical evasion. This method was more difficult in the West Indies; the islands had actually to be fed with Irish salt beef, Old English herrings, and New English corn.1 They were continually subject to inspection by the British fleet, by British military officers, and by governors who were not in general liable to the same pressure from their assemblies as were those on the continent.2 Speaking broadly, the continental colonies developed along their own lines, hampered but not checked permanently by restrictive commercial and political regulations. The West Indies grew up under the imperial shadow, and felt the influence of Burke's "winged messengers of vengeance who carried [England's] bolts in their pounces to the remotest verge of the sea."

A word first on evidence. Statistics are abundant, official and otherwise, but their abundance is unconvincing. A great economist once told me that statistics were often considered the most inhuman of things, yet, he said, if error and fraud are human, statistics are the most human of all things, and their examination and interpretation is the most human of studies. Of no statistics is this statement more true than of those of our period, unless it be of the losses in battle which medieval chroniclers record. The West Indian figures of trade to England have been analyzed by Mr. Beer and Dr. Chan-

¹ Evidence of Geo. Walker, "Petition of West India planters to the House of Commons," summed up by Mr. Richard Glover, Feb. 2, Mar. 16, 1775, p. 10. The evidence is to a large extent retrospective.

² The home Government on more than one occasion came vigorously to the assistance of West Indian governors against their legislatures—e. g., Grant and Munro, "Acts Privy Council Colonial" (1910), III, 471, 478, 497-9, 586.

ning and shown to be deceptive.¹ But the figures are deceptive not only in what they state but in what they do not state, for they have almost no reference to the illicit trade. This omission is of considerable importance because the government of the period—Walpole, Newcastle, and their friends—was fully aware of this illicit trade.² Hence, though figures might indicate the English value of the continental American trade as superior to the West Indian, the English ministers knew that the illicit trade from the Spanish Main to England more than made up the deficit. The statements of pamphleteers may therefore have touched the popular imagination, but could have had little direct influence on the ministry.

If we submit the pamphlet literature of this period to a critical study we shall find that it is extraordinarily untrustworthy. In any case, as regards the West Indies, pamphlets will form no direct clue to the policy of the Government unless they are obviously issued under official inspiration, as was the case with several well-known ones published in 1738–9.3 A more valuable source of information than official statistics and unofficial pamphlets are the colonial acts of the Privy Council (III, 1720–45), recently published by Profs. Munro and Grant. Valuable as these are, they are by no means exhaustive and they do not always reveal the intentions of the real men who counted in the government. The new evidence I shall here present is from the private papers of Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Walpole in the British Museum, and from the dispatches of the admiralty and foreign office in the British record office.

During our period the West Indies were important to England on every ground, popular, parliamentary, strategic, and commercial. It was in the West Indies that Drake and Hawkins had reaped a golden harvest, and the popular imagination still regarded the isles as the outposts from which assaults could be made on the treasure houses of the Incas. Pious Protestant adventurers could be trusted to destroy the popish inquisition at the same time that they deprived Spain of the gold of Eldorado. To the outbursts of the mob and of popular feeling neither of England's two real rulers in this period were ever indifferent. To parliamentary pressure Walpole and Newcastle were even more susceptible, and there were in the House of Commons not only members of the South Sea Company, but also West Indian landlords. The West Indian archipelago, unlike the American

¹ Beer, "British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765" (New York, 1907), 186, and Channing "History of United States" (New York, 1910), II, passim.

² See for proofs, my article "Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear." Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., 3d ser. (1909), III, 204, n. 1 and passim. It is significant that in the Admiralty Out Letters (Record Office), vol. 55. pp. 194-6, 231-5, in the instructions to war vessels sailing to the West Indies in 1738 no command is laid on them to stop or interfere with illicit trade, though much is said about suppressing pirates.

² E. g. "The convention vindicated, etc., from the misrepresentations of the enemies of our peace", 1739. This has been attributed to Horatio Walpole, but is not in his own catalogue of his works. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131, ff. 1-5; Gordon's "Appeal to the Unprejudiced Concerning the Present Discontents" (1739) was, like the above, certainly inspired by the Government.

continent, was in large part settled and exploited by men who lived in England,¹ and who employed agents or factors to manage their West Indian estates. Such men often found it convenient or commercially profitable to obtain seats in the Commons, and the young Gladstone was perhaps the last man who represented the West Indian slavery interest in that body. It was as literally true to say that the West Indies were represented in British Parliament as it was absurd to assert that the American colonies were.

If legislature and mob emphasized the value of the West Indies to Walpole, the board of ordnance, the admiralty, and the board of trade taught the same lesson. The soldiers recommended the garrisoning of these remote islands on account of their strategic importance, and during this period large amounts of military stores and supplies, and plans of fortification were sent to almost every British West Indian island.² Indolence or peculation prevented the supplies being effectively used, and all the isles were declared by a good authority to be in a "weak, naked, and miserable condition" when the Spanish War of 1739 broke out.3 Yet, however amiss the practice, the theory, and ideas of the mother country were sound enough. Admiralty officers were even more urgent in recommending the maintenance of a strong naval squadron in the West Indies. The French isles of Martinique and Guadeloupe had the strategic command of the whole east group of the West Indies, and from this side the wind blew ships on the shortest route to England. Hence the greatest security to English trade was the stationing of a strong naval squadron off the Barbados or Antigua. This sound advice was not followed until war became imminent in 1738.

Commercial considerations were the most important of all; in the early eighteenth century England judged colonies by the value of their trade even more than by their provision of materials—raw and human—for the British Navy. From the trade test the West Indies emerged triumphantly. The English exports to the West Indies differed so amazingly from the imports that even contemporaries ceased to trust entirely to the balance of trade as a measure of value. By the import test the West Indian trade was about equal during this period to that from the northern colonies, and it brought more

¹ Cf. Parl. History, XIII, 641 n., 655 n. G. L. Beer, "British Colonial Policy," 1754-1765 pp. 136-7. Cf. also evidence adduced in my article "The Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear," Trans. Royal. Hist. Soc., N. S., III, 222-3. The evidence of Geo. Walker. (Petition of West India Planters, Glover, pp. 32-3, computed the value of West Indian property "owned by persons who live in England" at £14,000,000 sterling, in 1775.)

E. g. Acts Privy Council Colonial, III, 408-10.

³ Quoted from Lord Ehbank's "Journal of the Carthagena Expedition"—Pap. Off. No. 54, p. 36. Cooke's evidence transcribed in Sparks MSS. Harvard University Library, V, 28. For collateral evidence see Acts P. C. Col., III, 555, 623, 649, 653-5, 754, 759.

[&]quot;The importance of the import test as a measure of value for England and the worthlessness of the export test are admirably brought out by E. Burks, "Present State of the Nation." From 1739 to 1756 the official figures give an annual average English export to the West Indies of over £700,000 and an annual average import of over £1,000,000.

direct gains to English pockets.1 Unlike the continental colonies the West Indies could not rival English manufactures, for coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton, fruits, and sugar were all tropical products. The West Indies were also the center and clearing house of that traffic in negroes, which was so dear to the hearts and pockets of the merchants of Liverpool, Bristol, and London. But more important than all this, they were the subterranean channel which might convey to England the whole measureless volume of Spanish trade, the silks and tea of the East, carried from Acapulco to Mexico and thence to Vera Cruz, the Peruvian gold piled high on the quays of Porto Bello, the galleons laden with jewels and plate which sailed from Carthagena and Havana.2 By the Asiento treaty England, and England alone of European powers, had the opportunity of tapping these boundless resources. This treaty gave England the sole contract for supplying negroes to Spanish America and also permission to unlade in Spanish America the cargo of one large ship filled with English goods. Both these privileges could be used to open up the Spanish trade. The limited right of entry for English goods might well become an unlimited one under an easy-going Spanish governor. Even when he refused to wink at an illicit commerce, he was often quite unable to police the coast and suppress the smugglers. enormous illicit trade with the Spanish islands and the mainland was thus promoted or permitted by the interest, the impotence, or the supineness of the Spanish governors themselves.3

Other countries were not so fortunate in their attempts to smuggle goods into Spanish America. Newcastle admitted to Keene (England's ambassador to Spain) that the "Dutch trade in the West Indies in general is much more confined than ours, and that which they carry on to the Spanish colonies is altogether an illicit one." As their trade was altogether illicit the poor Dutch could not complain of confiscated goods, but by the Asiento it was hard to draw the line between the avowed English trade and the smuggling. Keene and Villariàs (the Spanish foreign minister) both declared that the French Government had almost entirely stopped French illicit practices in the West Indies. Even if we do not altogether accept this statement

¹ In 1758 the contrast is very striking between trade to America and West Indies. English exports to continental colonies, £1,832,948; to West Indies, £877,572; English imports from continental colonies, £648,683; from West Indies, £1,834,036.

³ E. and W. Burke, "An Account of European Settlements," published 1757 (London, 1808), I, 346, gives a fairly good account of Spanish trade from authorities and descriptions of about the period 1740. Something can be inferred from E. Clarke, "Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation," 1760-1 (London, 1763), and a good description of the general character of the Spanish American eighteenth century trade, with quotations from MSS. in the British Museum is given by Miss Kate Hotblack, "The Peace of Paris, 1763," Trans Royal Hist. Soc. 3d ser., (1908), II, 240-2, 263-5.

³ Trans. Royal. Hist. Soc., 3d ser. (1909), III, 204.

⁴ Trans. Royal Hist. Soc. 3d ser. (1906), III, 204, n. 1., p. 206 n. 1 and 2, and Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., XIV, App., pt. IX, "Papers of Earl of Buckinghamshire" (Trevor MSS.), pp. 13, 20.

⁵ Ib., p. 205 and n. 1 and 2. But it seems difficult to suppose that there could have been an entire stoppage of smuggling by the French Government, see "Renseignements sur l'Histoire de Guadeloupe (1715-74)" Jules Ballet (Basseterre, 1896), II, 506-7, 511.

it seems safe to assume that the English illicit trade with Spanish America was far larger than the French or the Dutch. It is at least worthy of note that in 1762 the French trade to Spanish America was reckoned at £1,250,000 and the English at £1,090,000.¹ This was 23 years after 1739, the year in which England's privileged monopoly practically ceased, and we must assume, therefore, that in the interval the destruction of English privilege enabled France to equalize matters.

In January, 1738, Horatio Walpole, not the most delightful of historical gossips but his uncle, the most learned and informed of contemporary English diplomatists, wrote a famous secret memoir for the British Government.2 In it he reviewed the whole subject of the English relations with Spanish America, and his arguments formed the basis of all the diplomacy which led up to the war of 1739. He begins by surveying the treaties between Spain and England and admits that a beneficial construction of treaties had given a large amount of illicit trade to England until the end of the seventeenth century, "which without doubt was by connivance and indulgence on the part of Spain, by treating us in a more favorable manner than any other country whatsoever." Spain "even extended their indulgence, with respect to navigation and trade, farther than we could pretend to claim by treaty." When Spain ceased to be England's ally, beneficial constructions ceased also. But in 1713 came the peace of Utrecht and the Asiento, which increased the possibility of smuggling. From 1717 to 1719 and from 1726 to 1727 there was actual war between the two countries. From 1734 to 1737 there was. however, again greater freedom of intercourse, but from 1737 onward a greater Spanish severity than at any previous period in the eighteenth century.

Walpole's general conclusion as to England issuing letters of reprisal on Spain in case of war is interesting. He avows that this is not a good plan, because the Spaniards have nothing worth taking even in the galleons "two-thirds or one-half at least of all these rich loadings belonged to the French." Reprisal may, therefore, embroil against us those nations "that have a chief property in the galleons." On the other hand, England's rich and valuable West Indian trade will be at the mercy of all pirates and interlopers, as well as privateers in case of reprisal. Accordingly he does not recommend action against Spain, but the conclusion of an agreement by which both nations should arrange to restrain by legislation illicit intercourse

¹ Kate Hotblack, "Peace of Paris, 1763," Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., 3d ser. (1908), II, 263-4.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131 ff. 199 et seq. The title is "Points to be Considered with Reference to the Depredations of Spain," in margin "certainly by H. Walpole," "Wrote Jany. 1738, H. W." The text of this memoir was, so far as I know, unknown to historians, until I printed some extracts from it in Trans. Royal Hist. Soc. (1909), III. It is referred to in Coxe's "Walpole," I, pp. 557 et seq., but no detail or summary of it is given.

between their subjects in the West Indies. Hardwicke or Newcastle wrote a note on the margin of the memoir as follows: "The trade to the Spanish West Indies, although illicit by treaties between sovereign and sovereign, is so very lucrative that the Parliament will never pass such a law, and the English merchant will run the hazard of carrying it on in spite of treaty." This aristocratic Government was singularly deferential to the trader. Newcastle complains how he had to endure threats from deputations of merchants who "used in times past to come cap in hand * * * now the second word is * * you shall hear of it in another place" (meaning the Commons), and the duke also approved of "yielding to the times" (meaning not the newspaper but the London mob). It was quite clear that neither Newcastle nor Walpole could oppose the Commons or the capital too far, and in fact the main cause of the war of 1739 appears to have been an outcry of Parliament and people, stimulated by commercial influence.

If we survey the facts, we shall, I believe, find that during 1738-39, the question of Spanish-American trade dominated and subordinated to itself the whole domestic and colonial policy of England.

There was in 1739 a popular clamor about Jenkins and his ear, about outrages on Englishmen by Spanish governors, and about the torturing of Protestants by Jesuits. There was also a very strong commercial pressure on the Government to preserve the whole of the existing illicit trade with Spain and Spanish America. None the less it remains a striking fact that, at one point in the negotiations to preserve peace in 1738-39, Walpole and Newcastle were willing to suppress a large part of that illicit trade with Spain. They actually prepared and drafted articles for a treaty 2 which would have suppressed the illicit trade of private adventurers to the Spanish Indies and mainland. They were not, however, prepared to suppress the illicit trade conducted by the South Sea Co. under the shadow of the Asiento. They were willing enough to put pressure on private adventurers and smugglers because these undercut the profits of the South Sea Co., but they absolutely refused to put any pressure on the company to force it to trade fairly. The reason I believe to be rather an interesting one. The English Government was financially and officially committed to the support of the South Sea Co., which was an English venture and which had an important parliamentary interest.3 Private individuals who smuggled on the Spanish Main were some of them perhaps English, more were West Indians, the majority were from the continental colonies, especially from New England. The continental colonies possessed very little

¹ Trans. Royal Hist. Soc, 3d ser., III, 222 and n. 3.

² Ib., III, 222 and n. 1.

^{*} Ib., III, 222-3.

Ib., III, 223.

interest in Parliament, the West Indian smugglers had less than the South Sea Co. Hence, if there was to be a suppression of illicit trade that of private individuals must suffer. In a sense this action was a sacrifice of colonial interests to purely English ones. In a way it is a more serious instance of such sacrifice than Walpole's sugar act of 1733. He never attempted to enforce the prohibitions of that act. but he did seriously contemplate this other suppression of illicit trade. Thus we see, as far back as 1739, a growing difference of treatment and a possible cause of irritation arising between motherland and her continental colonies. When the wars were over, the separation of commercial interests between the two was soon to be revealed, and to set one fighting against the other. But as yet the difference was hidden in ministerial portfolios. When war broke out in 1739 the New Englanders fitted out ships and spent money to aid the Old Englanders against the Spaniards, and side by side they shared the triumphs and treasure of Porto Bello and disease and defeat beneath the fever-haunted walls of Cartagena.1

^{1&}quot;Acts Privy Council Colonial" (1910), III, S. 530, 706, ar. p. XI. Grant and Munro suggest that the Spanish quarrel was "none of hers" (Massachusetts) and seem to put down the cooperation of New England to a patriotic or imperial impulse. The prosaic necessity of defending New England supplies an adequate, if not a complete, explanation. Even in this early expedition the opposition between British regular troops and the colonials was manifested, another sign of the dissensions of the future. Cf. Admiral Knowles [then a captain] "As for the American troops, they were many degrees worse, but the officers in particular, who are composed of blacksmiths, taylors, barbers, shoemakers, and all the banditt; these colonies afford in so much that the other part of the army hold them at scorn." "The colomal troops were employed as cutters of wood and drawers of water," Lord Elibank's "Journal of the Carthagena Expedition," transcribed in Sparks MSS., Vol. V, p. 28, Harvard Univ. Library. The description by Smollett, who served on the expedition as surgeon's mate is to be found in his "Account of the Expedition against Carthagena" in Works (ed. Henley, London and N. Y., 1901), XII, 187-221. His fictitious account (Humphrey Clinker) differs little from his prosaic one. Both may, however, profitably be studied in connection with Sir W. Clowes, Hist. Royal Navy (London).

XVIII.	THE GENESIS	OF THE	CONFEDE	RATION (F CANADA.
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THE GENESIS OF THE CONFEDERATION OF CANADA.

By CEPHAS D. ALLIN.

The British American League was the product of an unusual combination of circumstances, the strife of parties and of races, economic distress, and political disaffection. The grant of responsible government marked the passing of the old régime of privilege in Church and State; the enactment of the rebellion-losses bill embittered the Tory Party and almost plunged the country into a civil war; the withdrawal of the system of imperial preference reduced the colony to the verge of bankruptcy and drove many members of the commercial community into a dangerous agitation for annexation. The moment was opportune for the birth of a new organization. The old parties and policies had failed. There was a turnoil in men's minds, a presentiment of approaching change. The public did not know definitely what they wanted, but were ready to welcome any party or measure which promised to afford relief for the country's ills.³

The league was founded in Montreal, the center of racial antagonism and political discontent. By gathering together all the disaffected elements of the country, the founders of the league hoped to build up a strong political organization on the ruins of the old Tory Party. An active campaign was immediately undertaken to carry the organization throughout the province. To that end, an address to the public was prepared setting forth in detail the manifold evils, social, economic, and political, from which the country was suffering, and calling for a provincial convention to deal with these conditions.⁴

The objects of the League were designedly left in a state of vague uncertainty in the hope of attracting all the discordant and disaffected spirits of the Province. The bulk of the membership of the League was recruited from among the Tories, particularly from the younger and more moderate section of the party,⁵ but the local associations did not hesitate to welcome into membership disgruntled reformers, radicals, and even annexationists. So large was the

¹ Allin and Jones, "Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity," 53.

^{2 &}quot;Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin," 60.

^{*} The Montreal Gazette, Apr. 13, 1849.

Address to the Inhabitants of Canada, and Rules and Regulations of the Montreal Association.

⁵ Morris, "Nova Britannia," vii.

accession of annexationists, particularly in the Montreal district, that for a time it was feared that they might capture the organization and turn it to their own use.1

The convention which met at Kingston in July, 1849, was a veritable "Cave of Adullam," a heterogeneous body, representative of almost every section of the public save the French Canadians.2 On the third day of the convention a resolution was presented: "That in the opinion of this convention an union of all the British North American Provinces would most materially conduce to the prosperity of those colonies and to the integrity of the British Empire." 3

The resolution called forth an animated, if not comprehensive, debate. On behalf of the resolution, it was contended by various speakers that the Act of Union had been a failure: its principal result had been to hand the English population over to the tender mercies of the French Canadians. It was useless for Upper Canada to think of separation since England would not consent to it, and even though the union were dissolved Upper Canada could not hope to maintain an independent existence without access to the sea. The idea of the Federal union was not new. It had been broached by British statesmen even prior to the Declaration of Independence, as a means of resisting the aggressions of the French. Such a union was even more imperatively demanded at this moment on both national and imperial grounds. It would restore the ascendency of the Anglo-Saxon race in Canada, open up a larger field for industry and political ambition, develop a higher moral consciousness, strengthen the motherland instead of burdening her as at present, and set up an equipoise to the preponderant power of the United States in America.4 One of the delegates also threw out the suggestion that the Hudson Bay Territory should be brought under the control of the Federal Government.5

Some of the delegates accepted the policy of an intercolonial union with considerable misgiving. They were far from convinced either of the utility or the practicability of the proposal, though they were prepared to support it as the best available means of escape from a dangerous situation. The federal union, it was feared, might aggravate rather than solve the difficulty of French domination, by leaving the English population in Quebec even more helplessly at the mercy of their French fellow citizens. One of the speakers ventured topredict that the future relations of Canada and the United States would be much more intimate than in the past. Before many years

¹ The Montreal Pilot, July 19, 1849.

Mackenzie, "Life and Speeches of the Hon. George Brown," 20.
 "Proceedings of Convention of Delegates of the British American League," 1849, 11.

Speech of Mr. Duggan, The Globe, Aug. 2, 1849. See also speeches of Messrs. Macdonald, Gowan, Dixon, and Gamble.

⁵ Speech of Mr. Montgomerie, ibid.

had elapsed the United States would be rent in twain by the slavery issue. Some of the Northern States would then desire to enter into a union with Canada. The topography of the continent and the natural sequence of events marked this out as the ultimate fate of the British American Provinces.¹

But the scheme did not pass unchallenged. An amendment was proposed incorporating the principle of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament into the scheme of a federal union.² The colonies, it was contended, were not strong enough to stand alone. An imperial federation was the only alternative to annexation.³ The project of imperial representation, however, did not find favor among the members, who feared that it would impose on the colonies a heavy burden of imperial expenditure.

Although the convention was strongly favorable to the principle of a colonial union, many of the delegates were of the opinion that the resolution was too pretentious and far-reaching in character. Little was known of the sentiments of the sister colonies in respect to the proposed union, and until there was some definite information before them the delegates were not in a position to pass an intelligent opinion on or proceed with the plan of union. To meet this objection a substitute motion was presented and unanimously accepted, that delegates be appointed to meet at Montreal and consult with similar representatives from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in regard to the practicability of an intercolonial union, the results of their deliberations to be referred back to the next convention of the league for final determination.

The plan of an intercolonial union, it must be confessed, commended itself to the delegates rather as an opportune and utilitarian measure than as a truly national policy. There was at the time a rumor to the effect that the British Government was about to propose a plan of union. The action of the provincial government in sending two of the ministers to the maritime Provinces to negotiate a reciprocal trade agreement seemed to confirm the impression that a federal union was on the tapis. These rumors were not without influence in predisposing the delegates to anticipate the policy of their political opponents by a previous declaration in favor of union. Moreover, it was necessary to formulate an attractive political program as an alternative to the competing policies of the reform and annexation parties in favor of reciprocity and annexation, respectively. The plan of an intercolonial union apparently satisfied this demand. It made a favorable appeal to the diverse and conflicting

¹ Speech of Mr. Gamble, ibid.

[&]quot;Proc. of Conv. of the Br. Am. League," 11.

³ Speeches of Messrs. Wilson and Carroll, The Globe, Aug. 2, 1849.

[&]quot;Proc. of the Conv. of the Br. Am. League," 12.

⁶ Allin and Jones, "Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity," 64.

⁶ The Toronto Examiner, Nov. 13, 1850.

elements of the league; to the imperialists it held out the prospect of preserving the British connection; to the nationalists, an equal prospect of ultimate independence; to the Orangemen it appealed as a means of overcoming the domination of the French; to the business public it promised economic relief and a larger market.¹

Throughout the debates but scant attention was paid to the question of the nature of the proposed union. Although the majority of the speakers spoke of the union as a federal union, there was evidently a division of opinion among the delegates in regard to the matter, and the convention carefully refrained from deciding the question in advance.² The delegates, in truth, were not in a position to discuss even the most elementary outlines of the suggested union. The scheme was practically new to all of them. They had made no preliminary study of the question, and had only a rudimentary knowledge of the principles of federalism.

Soon after the close of the convention the committee on union opened up negotiations with the maritime Provinces for the holding of a conference.3 But at the very outset the committee found themselves in difficulty. They had no official standing, and not even a representative character. To make matters worse, the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were of the Reform party. Hon. Joseph Howe had already denounced the league in unsparing terms.4 The Conservatives in the maritime Provinces could render little assistance to their friends in Canada, for they were a beaten and discredited party. To the best of the committee's knowledge, there was not a single political association in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, or Newfoundland with which the committee could deal. Personal communications were accordingly addressed "to prominent and influential citizens in Halifax," inviting their aid and cooperation in promoting the plan of an intercolonial union. But the response was far from encouraging.

The correspondence with New Brunswick was more successful. In St. Johns a colonial association had been formed somewhat similar in character to the league.⁶ It received the overtures of the committee most favorably and appointed delegates to represent the association at the proposed conference. As there appeared but little prospect of favorable replies from the other colonies by the sea, the committee decided to go on with the conference with the colonial association alone.⁷

¹ Allin and Jones, "Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity," 64.

² Mr. Thomas Wilson, of Quebec, was strongly in favor of a legislative union of the Provinces.

² Allin and Jones, "Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity," 240.

⁴ Longley, "Joseph Howe," 114.

⁵Report of the "Committee of Conference" on Union of the Ba. Am. Provinces, "Proc. of 2d Conv. of Br. Am. League," 7.

The Colonist, Aug. 14, 1849.

⁷ Report of the Committee on Union of Br. Am. Provinces, "Proc. of the 2nd Conv. of the Br. Am. League," 7.

From the very outset the conference was doomed to failure. It was a small, unrepresentative body without influence or prestige. The delegates met at a most inopportune moment. The citizens of Montreal had just been thrown into a high state of excitement over the appearance of the annexation manifesto. As a natural consequence the proceedings of the convention attracted but little public attention. The delegates were ill equipped for their mission. The representatives of the colonial association were not authorized to act definitely, but only to ascertain the views of the league and to report back to the association. The committee of the league were not prepared with any specific plan of proceeding and had nothing definite to submit. All that the delegates could do was to talk over in the most general way the questions of the expediency of a union and the best form of a constitution for the Provinces.

It was the unanimous opinion of the conference that a union was desirable, especially as a means of increasing the influence of the colonies at Westminster, of overcoming the ascendency of the French, and of securing an extension of the powers of self-government. The delegates of the league were opposed to a federal union on account of the great expense of such a complex system of government, but the New Brunswick representatives refused to "recommend a legislative union unless Canada would consent that the lower colonies should have sufficient influence in one house, the legislative council, to enable them at all times to interpose an effectual check on all measures which tended in any way to their detriment." The committee recognized that the proposition of the maritime delegates was a reasonable one "that Canada ought not to and would not oppose." There was, however, a great difference of opinion among the delegates in respect to the details of the proposed constitution, but it was generally agreed that all conflicting opinions could be easily reconciled if the colonies were sincerely desirous of affecting a union. New Brunswick delegates, however, refused to pledge themselves in any way as to the course which New Brunswick would ultimately pursue.

The practical results of the conference were summed up in a resolution: "That a union of the British-American Provinces on mutually advantageous and finally arranged terms with the concession from the mother country of enlarged powers of self-government (including the unrestricted privilege of making laws to regulate and protect their commercial and industrial interests and to reduce the expenditure of the civil governments to an adequate scale) appears essential to the prosperity of the Provinces." **

¹ Tbid., 7.

² Report of the delegates of the Colonial Association, The British Colonist, Nov. 23, 1849.

⁸ Report of the "Committee of Conf." on Union, "Proc. of the 2nd Conv. of the Br. Am. League," 8.

The conference further resolved that deputations from the two societies should meet at Halifax on as early a date as possible with such gentlemen from the other Provinces as might attend "for the purpose of maturing a general plan for uniting the North American Provinces," the said plan to be submitted to the people of the several Provinces for acceptance or rejection. It was also agreed that a convention of the league should be summoned to deal with the various matters which had been raised at the conference.1

Accordingly, the executive of the league soon after issued a call for a convention to meet in Toronto in the beginning of November. The convention was, as on the last occasion, a heterogeneous group of men of the most diverse opinions. There was a marked falling off in attendance, an unmistakable evidence of the rapidly diminishing influence of the league.2

The question of union came up on a resolution declaring that it was expedient to obtain the authority of the legislature for the holding of a general convention of delegates from all the Provinces to draw up a new constitution for the British American colonies.3 The delegates plunged at once into a lively discussion of the best mode of procedure to bring about a union. An amendment was proposed to the effect that the league should proceed to draw up a plan of union for submission to the respective colonies which, if adopted, should then be referred by the several legislatures to the Imperial Parliament for confirmation.4 On behalf of the motion it was contended that the only constitutional way of dealing with the question was through the legally chosen representatives of the people and that the English Government would not heed the representations of any other body of Moreover, the convention had not sufficient information before it to justify an attempt to frame a draft constitution for the other Provinces. If the legislature should refuse to act, then the league would be warranted in petitioning the Governor General to dissolve the assembly in order that the country might have an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the programme of the league.5 The supporters of the amendment, on the other hand, were suspicious of the intervention of the legislature. They feared that it would either fail to act or would seek to rob the convention of the honor of originating the federal movement. The amendment, it was claimed, would expedite matters. The maritime Provinces were looking to the league for leadership and expected the convention to draw up a definite scheme of union for submission to an intercolonial conference.6 Upon a division the amendment was declared carried.7

^{1 &}quot; Proc. of the 2nd Conv. of the Br. Am. League." 8. ² The Globe, Nov. 3, 1849.

[&]quot;Proc. of the 2nd Conv. of the Br. Am. League," 11.

⁴ Ibid, 11.

Debates of the Conv., speeches of Messrs. Gamble, 14; Vankoughnet, 20; Duggan, 22; and Moffatt, 23.

Debates of the Conv., speeches of Messrs. Dixon, 30, and Wilson, 22.

^{7 &}quot;Proc. of the 2nd Conv. of the Br. Am. League," 12.

But the convention quickly realized its inability to proceed with the delicate and difficult undertaking of drafting a constitution. A series of resolutions setting forth in vague and ill-matured terms the general principles upon which the proposed union should be constituted,¹ together with a rough outline of a federal constitution, were laid before the members, but no action whatever was taken upon them.² The convention completed its session by adopting a resolution providing that "inasmuch as time did not permit of the conference digesting the principles of a constitution for the union" a deputation should be appointed by the central society to meet in Halifax with such gentlemen as may be appointed by the other Provinces to discuss the terms of the union and to report back "to the central society and to this or any other future convention as also to the public" such information and suggestions "as may be thought useful."²

A review of the proceedings of the convention brings out clearly the fact that no substantial progress was made with the project of a federal union. The resolutions and discussions covered much the same ground as at the previous convention. The delegates had nothing definite before them. They did not even venture to outline a plan of union or to prepare instructions for the delegates to be sent to the Halifax conference. They left the question in the same nebulous state in which they found it. The debates throw little light on the opinions of the members in regard to the form of union, though the delegates generally assumed that the union would be federal in character. There was, however, a difference of opinion in some quarters as to whether the federal government should be endowed with comprehensive or restricted powers of legislation.4 A proposal was put forward that the members of the legislative council should be chosen like the American Senate, by the legislatures of the respective Provinces.⁵ But neither this proposal nor the further suggestion to subject the choice of councilors to the royal veto met with much favor.6 The convention in truth was not a constructive body; its personnel was weak and there was a signal lack of leadership throughout the proceedings. It was much more interested in the local political situation and in fighting out its internal differences than in the noble ideal of a united confederation.

The following May the central committee of the league issued a manifesto in which they called upon the members to petition the legislature:

To pass an address to the Governor General and both Houses of Parliament praying them to authorize by an imperial act the people * * * to hold a general con-

¹ Copy of resolution, ibid., 19.

² Copy of sketch of constitution, ibid., 20.

 [&]quot;Proc. of the 2nd Conv. of the Br. Am. League," 21.
 Debates of the Conv., speech of Mr. Gamble, 17; Dixon, 30.
 Ibid., speech of Mr. Vankoughnet, 35.

Ibid., speech of Mr. Vankoughnet, 35
 Ibid., speech of Mr. Dixon, 31.

vention of delegates for the purpose of considering and proposing a constitution for the government of this Province and with power to act in concert with delegates from such of the other British Provinces in North America as may be desirous of forming a federal union with Canada, such constitution to be afterwards submitted to the people for ratification.¹

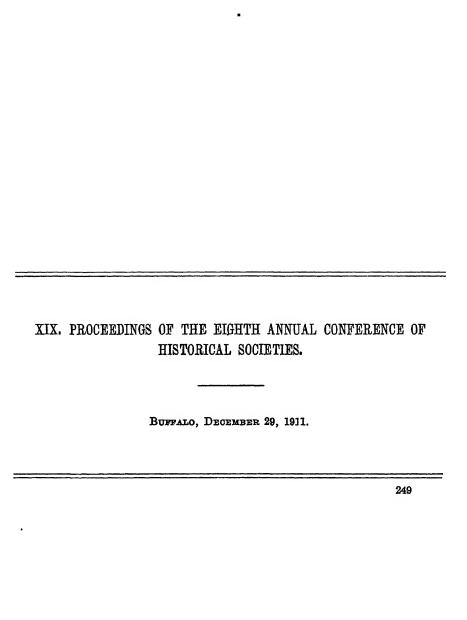
This manifesto marks the end of the activity of the league. Neither the Government nor the legislature paid any attention to its representations. There was nothing further that the executive could do. By the end of the year the league had practically disappeared; it was absorbed in the Conservative Party.

Although the league can not claim the honor of originating the project of an intercolonial union, nevertheless it is entitled to the credit of attempting to popularize the project and make it a distinct political issue. The proposal was undoubtedly premature, for the people of Canada and the maritime Provinces were strangers to one another. Their social and their economic relations with each other were much less intimate than their relations with either Great Britain or the United States. A national consciousness had not yet arisen. An imperial citizenship was the all-sufficing bond of union. plan of a federal union was attractive in appearance but it failed to commend itself to the general public as a practical measure of relief. The community at large were not interested in constitutional experiments: they demanded immediate and effective remedies for the country's ills. No attempt had been made to instruct them as to the advantages of a federal union or as to the principles of a federal constitution. They were entirely in the dark in regard to the national significance and imperial importance of such a measure. for bread and the league was apparently offering them a stone. It is little wonder that under these circumstances the policy of the league failed to commend itself to the electorate. Within a few brief months the whole scheme of federation was practically forgotten, though a few individuals attempted to revive it somewhat later.2 But the efforts of the league were not entirely fruitless. Thanks to the league's propaganda, the Canadian public were familiarized with the idea of a federal union and were made conversant with some of the chief advantages of a confederation. The seed which was then sown on unfavorable soil sprang up and bore abundant fruit a few years later in the Confederation of Canada under the British North America act of 1867.3

¹ The Toronto Examiner, May 8, 1850.

The Toronto Examiner, Nov. 13, 1850.

Pope, "Life of Sir John A. Macdonald," I, 72,



PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The eighth annual conference of historical societies was held in the building of the Buffalo Historical Society on the afternoon of December 29, 1911. It was presided over by Prof. I. J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, and about 50 delegates from historical societies were present. The secretary of the conference, Mr. W. G. Leland, stated that 80 societies had furnished reports on their activities during the past year, and that summaries of these would be printed as an appendix to the proceedings of the present conference. He also reported that the council of the American Historical Association, to which had been referred the resolution passed at the conference of historical societies in 1909, asking that the council consider the possibility of preparing a report on the work of European historical societies, had referred the matter to a committee consisting of Messrs. J. F. Jameson, E. C. Richardson, and H. E. Bourne. committee had had correspondence with the publishers of Minerva and had made a report to the council in the form of a list of European societies in Great Britain and Europe, which list will be printed as a part of the annual report of the association for 1911. The secretary further reported that the council had voted to place at the disposition of the conference the preliminary report on historic sites which had been prepared by a committee consisting of Messrs. E. E. Sparks, E. S. Meany, and F. H. Severance.

It was moved and voted that the conference request the council to provide, if possible, for the printing of the material gathered by the committee on historic sites in an early volume of the annual reports.

The conference then listened to the report of the committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments, which was read by the secretary in the absence of the chairman of the committee, Mr. Dunbar Rowland.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND DEPARTMENTS TO THE CONFERENCE OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The committee of seven on cooperation of historical societies and departments submits the following report of progress:

Mr. W. G. Leland, the representative of the committee in active charge of its work in Paris, has submitted the following report of the activities of the past year:

REPORT OF WORK ON THE CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS IN FRENCH ARCHIVES RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

Active work on this catalogue was commenced in Paris in November, 1909, and for a year was carried on by a single assistant, who was paid at the rate of \$30 a month. Upon my return to Paris in 1910 I organized the work more fully, securing three, and later four, assistants, who spent the greater part of their working time upon the catalogue. At present three assistants are devoting a small part of their time to the catalogue. Investigations have been carried on, principally in the archives of the ministries of foreign affairs, war, marine, and colonies, in the national archives, and among the manuscripts of the National Library. The work in the ministry of foreign affairs is nearly completed. That in the ministry of war is in such a condition that it can be completed with very little work. The researches in the National Library and the National Archives, must, in order to avoid waste of time and money, follow my investigations for the Carnegie Institution. When these investigations are completed, I do not imagine that the work for the Mississippi Valley will require a very large amount of time. The bulk of what remains to be done is found among the archives of the ministry of marine and the ministry of colonies. Here we have the problem of examining several thousand volumes, and the work can hardly be done in less than another year. There also remain to be examined the manuscript collections of a considerable number of minor libraries, and here again the work on the catalogue must follow my investigations for the Carnegie Institution.

The question naturally arises whether or not the scope of the catalogue should be enlarged so as to include documents in departmental and municipal archives. There can be no doubt as to the existence of a considerable number of documents bearing on the history of the Mississippi Valley in the archives of such towns as Brest, La Rochelle, Rochefort, Quimper, etc. Such an investigation would, however, be expensive and should not be undertaken unless it would be possible to raise a considerable additional amount of money. The work that has thus far been done demonstrates the great usefulness that the completed catalogue will have. Nearly 10,000 documents have already been catalogued ranging in date from the early part of the seventeenth century to 1848, and a vast amount of interesting material shedding new light on such problems as that connected with de la Salle, the operations of the Company of the Indies, the military

force maintained in Louisiana in the first half of the eighteenth century, the cession of Louisiana to Spain and its retrocession to France, the acquisition of the Floridas by the United States, the various boundary disputes, etc., has been found. The work when completed will constitute the most extensive catalogue of documents in foreign archives ever attempted by any country. It is impossible to make an accurate estimate of the number of entries that the catalogue will contain, but it can hardly be placed at less than 25,000. These entries vary in length from two to six lines of print. The effort has been made to make the description of each document so complete that the catalogue can be used not only for the purpose of ordering transcripts of documents or as an aid to personal investigation in the archives but also to a certain extent as a historical source. It is certainly to be hoped that the work may not have to be abandoned for lack of funds. Of the fund of \$2,000 there remains at present a balance of \$350. In order that the work may not suffer any interruption and the consequent dispersion of the force of workers whose training has rendered them unusually efficient, it is necessary that further funds be secured with as little delay as possible. How this shall be done must of course be left to the committee, but I shall be glad to cooperate in any way in my power in securing additional monev.

Respectfully submitted.

W. G. LELAND.

December 18, 1912.

To the Committee on Cooperation Among Historical Societies.

The statement in Mr. Leland's report that additional funds are necessary for the completion of our work is the matter which requires action by the conference.

We can not, of course, for a moment consider abandoning our enterprise for want of funds.

Owing to conditions over which it had no control, the Michigan Historical Society was unable to pay to the committee its contribution; hence we are \$200 short of our original expectation,

Your committee suggests this plan for raising additional funds, and if it is approved by the conference it promises to provide them: We suggest that the present contributors make an additional subscription of \$100 each, and that the committee be authorized to call upon other societies, such as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Texas, Arkansas, and Nebraska. These societies have ample funds and no doubt will be glad to contribute to a work which means so much to the historical interests of the entire country.

Dr. J. F. Jameson, treasurer of the committee, has submitted his financial report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FUND.

RECEIPTS.		
Wisconsin State Historical Society	\$200.00	
Indiana Historical Society		
Mississippi department of archives and history	250.00	
Missouri Historical Society		
State Historical Society (Missouri)	150.00	
Illinois State Historical Library	200.00	
State Historical Society of Iowa	- 200, 00	
Chicago Historical Society	100.00	
Kansas State Historical Society	100.00	
Alabama department of archives and history		
		1, 800. 00
expenditures.		
Mile. J. Bossart	169. 12	
Miss F. M. Dennis	52.00	
W. G. Leland		
		1, 716. 12
Balance in hands of tressurer		83.88

It gives me pleasure to pledge a \$100 subscription from the Mississippi department of archives and history.

Very respectfully submitted.

Dunbar Rowland, Chairman.
J. F. Jameson.
Worthington C. Ford
R. G. Thwaites.
Evarts B. Greene.
Thomas M. Owen.
Benjamin F. Shambaugh.

December 23, 1911.

The conference voted to accept the report and to continue the committee, with power to secure further funds for completing the catalogue of documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley.

The conference then proceeded to listen to the papers which had been prepared. These and the discussions which followed them related to two principal subjects: First, the characteristics of a suitable building for a local historical society, and, secondly, the historical work of hereditary and patriotic societies.

The first paper was presented by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.

THE LIBRARY OF AN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

"Among the singular advantages which are enjoyed by the people of the United States none is more conspicuous than the facility of tracing the origin and progress of our several plantations.

* * With such advantages in our hands, we are wholly inexcusable if we neglect to preserve authentic monuments of every memorable occurrence." Thus began the "introductory address" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, organized in 1791 and the eldest of the great family of historical societies which are now scattered throughout almost every portion of the national domain. To-day there are in the United States nearly 250 historical associations, each collecting materials for the history of their respective localities and inspiring an interest in the study of the past.

What is the peculiar province of a local historical society as distinct from the numerous libraries and museums whose territory it must never seek to encroach upon? Along what lines should it try to acquire material and in what fields should it endeavor to make its activities felt? There are many things which it should not do, reference to which would seem needless in an elementary treatment of the subject were it not for the fact that even in these latter days of specialization so many libraries are frequent transgressors. ambitious a program as that mapped out by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, "to collect, preserve, and communicate materials for a complete history of the country," might be excusable in a day when there was no similar society elsewhere in America. But to-day it would be an unwise if not an impossible proposition. And yet I recently visited a small local historical society which as zealously begged for books relating to the Eastern Hemisphere as it sought for the literature of its own particular region. The whole world of letters was its sphere. There are many libraries that I could mention which, through the whim of officers in charge, are journeying into strange and wonderful fields. I knew the custodian of a theological collection who was spending no inconsiderable portion of his library's income in purchasing books on the drama, perhaps because he desired to follow in the steps of the learned author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain" by writing a modern

"Short View of the Profaneness of the Stage." Another gentleman, the unsalaried guardian of a small local collection, was so interested in Egyptian antiquities that he could not refrain from endeavoring to make his library supreme in this particular field. Such cases seem exaggerated, but it is a fact that unless a code of restrictions limits the ambitions of an occasional blunderer, or unless the policy of the institution is a settled one, a library often finds itself facing the problem of how to make up for the ground which has been lost.

What not to do, I suppose, is merely the correlative of the proposition of what should be done. The proper scope of an historical society has been well portrayed by many writers from Isaiah Thomas to Reuben G. Thwaites. A brief reference to some of these lines of activity, with an occasional excursion into other fields which the allusion may suggest, may not be amiss. The cardinal principle underlying the collecting of every local historical society should be the preservation of every book and pamphlet printed in the territory which the society represents. The more limited the territory the less unsurmountable is the task. Only in this way can the full history of a particular region—the story of its political, social, economic, educational, and scientific achievement—be traced and written.

In such a comprehensive scheme of collecting nothing is worthless. There has been an outcry from many quarters in late years against the excessive accumulation in libraries of printed literature. It was only a short while ago that President Eliot aroused the comment of the library world by proposing that a fair share of the books in the Harvard University library should be relegated to a separate collection, or cemetery of "dead" books, where the investigator whose researches led him into fields beyond the ordinary academic scope would be forced to exercise much extra patience and effort in order to catch a glimpse of his material. But who would be the chosen one to consign this "dead" literature to such a limbo? The historian would doubtless be willing to do without a large proportion of scientific books; the scientist without the theological books; the theologian without the "profane" books, as they were once called; and the litterateur without the historical books. After having been subjected to such a discarding process there would be scarcely sufficient books remaining to fill a "5-foot shelf."

Charles Francis Adams, in an address delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the new building of the American Antiquarian Society in 1909, said that he in a way heartily indorsed the suggestion once made by Hawthorne, who, after wearisomely plodding through a great European collection, remarked that it would be a most desirable consummation if each generation could cart its rubbish off with it.

The world of scholarship," said Mr. Adams, "would be in no wise

appreciably poorer if one-half, and that the larger half, of the printed matter now accumulated in our public libraries could to-morrow be obliterated—swept clean out of existence."

Only within the past few weeks the London newspaper reports have contained the startling announcement that Edmund Gosse, the well-known author and critic, had declared that the time has come to regulate the accumulation of books by some public system of destroying the worthless. "Why should not a printed book," he is reported to have said, "enjoy its hour, and then disappear?"

Such statements as these, although apparently revolutionary in tone, are justifiable outcries against the appalling increase in the production of printed books. They concern, however, chiefly the general libraries, which have to exercise to the last degree the policy of selection or else be crushed under a pressure that augments with each succeeding year. One solution of the problem is to have a library—State, sectional, or local—collect in toto all the printed literature of its own territory, thereby dividing the labor of collecting and relieving the general libraries of their responsibility of preserving everything for posterity. Here most assuredly is one of the most important fields to be covered by the historical society. For many years many of the larger historical libraries have been following this plan and have amassed collections of local material that could not be equaled by a combination of all other existing collections.

Another leading feature of a local collection is a comprehensive showing of works written by local residents. This should comprise, first, all the publications of persons born in the territory covered—the native authors, so to speak; secondly, the publications written by those who have resided for a reasonable length of time in the locality. This latter class is open to considerable latitude. The rule at the Rhode Island Historical Society was to preserve everything written by an author during the time of his residence in the State, but the earlier and later writings of the transient visitor only in case his residence was of sufficient length or importance to identify his name closely with that of his adopted home. Such a collection is of prime consequence in the formation of a State or local bibliography. In fact, nearly every such bibliography has been based upon the contents of a large State historical collection, and no State has yet produced a good bibliography where such a collection had not been gathered.

It goes without saying that every published work dealing with the territory in which an historical society is interested should be acquired. All books referring to the region and its people—the journals of early travelers, the impressions of visiting critics, the histories and statistical accounts which cover a larger area but refer specifically to the smaller locality, the biographies of its residents, and the genealogies

of its families—all these would come under this category. So far as concerns printed genealogies, their importance has been often exaggerated in local historical collections. It is true that families become so scattered that a comprehensive family history touches almost every State in the Union. Charles B. Tillinghast, the late librarian of the Massachusetts State Library, once said to me as he pointed to one of the largest genealogical collections in the country, "There is the best cyclopedia of Massachusetts biography existing." Such a voluminous scheme of collecting might not be unwise for a large library where the wealth of books in other classes of history made genealogy really a side issue, but for a local historical society it has often proved an ever-increasing burden. Of course, every genealogical volume which specifically concerns the locality should be obtained, but those expensive publications which primarily treat of the families of other States can well be left for societies which make a specialty of this class of literature. I know of a certain local historical library where over half of the work done consists of the search for ancestry in other States, thus losing to sight the chief object for which that particular society was formed. Genealogical research is not to be scoffed at, for it brings the student into contact with much historical source material which would otherwise remain untouched, and often incites the curious climber of a family tree to look into historical matters that concern others than those of his particular blood. tracing of ancestry, per se, is of considerable value, but it should not hold an exaggerated place in the work of an historical society.

A tedious, yet important, feature in the amassing of a comprehensive local collection is the effort to complete sets of the reports of institutions and societies. Tedious, I say, and yet fascinating, for the true collector rejoices more to obtain the final and long-sought-for early report of some struggling Bible society than to possess the latest one-thousand-page volume, criticisms of which may be filling the reviews. No library ever made a good collection of incunabula or schoolbooks, Indian narratives or temperance reports, by merely preserving. Collecting, not preserving, gives a library reputation. As Dr. Jeremy Belknap wrote Ebenezer Hazard in 1791, in regard to the Massachusetts Historical Society, "We intend to be an active, not a passive, literary body; not to lie waiting, like a bed of oysters, for the tide of communication to flow in upon us, but to seek and find, to preserve and communicate, literary intelligence, especially in the historical way."

The many other lines of acquisition appropriate to the scope of an historical society can receive but passing mention in a paper of this length. The collecting of early newspapers, always beset with difficulty, becomes doubly so as time goes on. The collectors of a century ago possessed the opportunities in this direction, and to-day

many of the best files of western newspapers are in eastern libraries. Maps of a specified region, although often uncommon if thought of as separate publications, run into large numbers if considered as pages of atlases and comprehensive works. Engravings, views, and portraits are an interesting feature of every local collection. Manuscripts are among the most important of desiderata, and a discussion of their acquisition and care could well form the material for a separate paper. The publishing of transactions, reminiscences, historical documents, biographies, and the legion of subjects which go to make up the pages of an historical publication places upon record valuable facts for all time. The museum of a society, especially if arranged to show the growth and development of aboriginal and colonial life, not in the haphazard method so common to the old-fashioned exhibition cases, is a feature greatly prized by visitors. The holding of lectures, the marking of historical sites, the arranging of exhibits, the preparation of material for school children, all are part of the historical society's field of activity, and enlarge the sphere of its usefulness.

Admitted that the foregoing partially outlines the scope of collecting on the part of a local historical society, in what sort of building should its collections be housed? The old type of an historical building generally grouped several small rooms around a central audience room which also frequently served for museum purposes. This type of structure was satisfactory so long as libraries remained small. But as they increased in size the need of an economical method of shelving a large number of books brought into use the modern library stack. To-day those who are planning historical buildings favor the combination of an audience room, smaller rooms for museum purposes, administrative uses and special collections, and a stack for the shelving of the main body of books. Variations from this general idea most frequently depend upon how largely societies are given over to museums or art galleries, which then assume correspondingly greater proportions. The old idea of a large museum sheltering a motley and miscellaneous collection of relics has often given way to exhibits arranged in smaller rooms and grouped in classes. Administrative rooms and study rooms for special readers obtain their greatest effectiveness when apart by themselves, although there should always be one reading room where the ordinary run of visitors can consult books under the eve of an attendant. The large reading room, so familiar a feature of the public library, is not one of the requirements in a local historical society. The stack, which houses the greatest part of a library's possessions, can always be built a little larger than seems necessary.

These are a few of the lessons which have been learned in the construction of the new building of the American Antiquarian Society.

Its library is one essentially of special collections and its building was planned to house properly these collections and to render them most easily accessible to researchers. The plan involves the grouping around a large central reading room of a series of 6 open alcove rooms for special collections—such as Spanish-Americana, Civil War, local history, bibliography—and 4 workrooms for the council, librarian, assistant librarian, and cataloguer. At the rear of the reading room is the entrance to the bookstack, a 5-story structure with a capacity of 200,000 volumes. On either side of this entrance door is the card catalogue, which is thus placed halfway between the librarian's room and the catalogue room, and like the hub of a wheel is the very center of the library. Within a radius of 65 feet, on the same floor, are shelved 75,000 volumes.

On the second floor, which follows in the main the arrangement of the lower floor, are the exhibition rooms, map room, manuscript room, and newspaper reading rooms. The whole building is strictly fire-proof.

This building, although planned for a library somewhat larger than that of the average local historical society, yet might serve as a typical structure intended to house a special historical collection. It differs, however, from most local societies in that it is primarily a library and does not maintain a museum, and furthermore, since it has few meetings, does not emphasize the feature of a lecture room. A slight change in the arrangement of the partition walls could bring about such a desired enlargement of the museum and lecture hall space. The most important feature of the building, and that which makes it important as a type of modern library structure, is its compactness and its grouping of work and study rooms around a central administrative point. With certain modifications it might serve as a model for any library which, like an historical society, makes a feature of special collections.

At the close of Mr. Brigham's paper, Mr. Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, spoke briefly on the things deemed requisite in offices and auditoriums of historical buildings. He sketched the circumstances through which the Buffalo Historical Society came into possession of its present building. He called attention to the fact that although the society's ultimate occupancy of it was known to the architects, yet it was primarily planned for the uses of the New York State commission during the pan-American exposition. On taking possession after the exposition, the society had to make alterations, but did not regard the building as an ideal one for the purposes of such an institution. Mr. Severance said, regarding an auditorium, that its character naturally depended largely on the kind of work the institution undertook to do. His conception of the proper work for an historical society was that it should

make its building and possessions useful to as many people in its home community as possible. With that principle as a starting point, it was obvious that the auditorium should be ample in size, equipped with all useful appliances for entertainments, especially for the use of lanterns, and with stage with proscenium entrance, considerable depth, properly lighted and equipped. All of these appliances he thought essential for the sort of entertainments found most useful in attracting the general public. The office construction, equipment, and location should obviously be suited to the sort of work to be carried on, giving necessary oversight to the library and the building as a whole, and yet with some provision for uninterrupted quiet essential to the prosecution of literary work. Mr. Severance added that although these ideals were not wholly realized in the historical building of Buffalo, yet the historical society of that city and the community at large were inclined to congratulate themselves on the possession of a building of such architectural dignity and excellence and of such general usefulness for reference library and museum purposes as is the case with the Buffalo building.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Bernard R. Green, superintendent of the Library of Congress, who made some general remarks respecting the construction of libraries, and pointed out that such structures present no unusual difficulties to the engineer or architect, but that the important thing is to have a definite idea of the uses to which the building is destined, and this can be obtained only through suggestions from those who are to occupy the building. The situation in Delaware was described briefly by the president of the Delaware Historical Society, who stated that that society expected to erect a building, and said that it would be glad to secure sketches, photographs, and plans of other buildings.

Mr. Solon J. Buck, of the University of Illinois, emphasized the desirability of the preservation by local historical societies of not only books and pamphlets relating to the regions in which they are located, but also of such printed material of a more ephemeral character, as newspapers, circulars, handbills, programs, election ballots, etc. He also urged that more attention should be paid to materials for contemporary history, and that printed matter should be collected as soon as it appears in order that it may be preserved for the use of future students. He also mentioned the possibility of cooperation between local historical societies and local libraries as desirable in cases where the society is unable to have a building of its own.

The second part of the program was opened with a paper by Mr. Harry Brent Mackoy, of Covington, Ky., on hereditary and patriotic societies, the full text of which is here given.

THE PRODUCTIVE WORK OF THE HEREDITARY PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD, OF THE REVOLUTION, AND OF THE WAR OF 1812.

By HARRY BRENT MACKOY.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century there sprang into being a number of organizations which have generally received the title of hereditary patriotic societies. Prior to that time there had existed such orders as that of the Cincinnati, the Veteran Corps of Artillery of the State of New York constituting the Military Society of the War of 1812, the Aztec Club of 1847, the Loyal Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic, and other societies of the union army or navy of 1861-1865. The objects of the earlier group had been, for the most part, to perpetuate the remembrance of wars' events, to keep alive the traditions that clustered about the names of participants. and to cherish the mutual friendships formed under pressure of common danger.1 With the advent of the later group several new motives appeared, chief among which were to maintain the patriotic spirit of their ancestors, to collect and secure for preservation manuscripts and records relating to historical periods, and to provide suitable memorials of important occurrences.2

The immediate incentive to the establishment of the first society in point of age in this group was "to take part in the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia," it being suggested that it was "an appropriate time for the formation of a society on a broader basis" than that of the Cincinnati, which was, of course, greatly restricted in membership. Only after the stimulation of other centennial anniversaries had been added to this one, however, did the several kindred organizations begin to assume potential existence. The decade beginning with the year 1883 was most prolific of them.

Like some of their predecessors, eligibility to membership in these societies was, as their generic description indicates, made conditional upon relationship to, and usually lineal descent from, a participant in the events of the respective periods to which they related.

¹ See statements contained in constitutions of the Order of Cincinnati, Aztec Club of 1847, etc.

Note particularly the constitutions of the Revolutionary societies and those bearing on the colonial period.

S Circular letter issued by John Austin Stevens, founder of the Sons of the Revolution, January, 1876.

At their inception the older institutions met with criticism and occasionally with active opposition.¹ The same was true of the newer societies. They were characterized as un-American, exclusive, and even snobbish, terms of obloquy which arose partly from public misapprehension, partly from a mistaken conception of their purposes in the mind of some of their own members, and largely because there followed in their wake various pseudo-patriotic clubs, based on absurd and high-sounding qualifications for eligibility. Many of the last have served no practical end, except to preserve in convenient shape the genealogical records of persons who have been admitted, to stimulate the laudable desire of emulating and reverencing their forebears, and to arouse keener interest in things and matters historical by reason of family association with them. These accomplishments do, it is true, justify their existence, yet it is to be regretted that they have not seen fit to enlarge their field of usefulness.

Despite such antagonism, which was naturally to be expected in a young republic, an increasing number of organizations has been progressing along useful lines—social, economic,² benevolent,³ literary, and historical. Their activities are so varied, with ramifications and subdivisions in some instances so numerous, that to do them justice would require an extended treatment of the subject.⁴ It will be possible to treat here of only one phase, i. e., the productive historical work, and that only so far as it relates to the colonial period and the two wars with Great Britain. Moreover, it must be premised that the subject can not be handled either statistically or comparatively. An attempt has been made to obtain accurate statements from the proper officers in every case, but some have failed to furnish the necessary facts and figures. Without these, it is practicable to give simply certain specific results.

The productive historical work relating to the periods mentioned may be generally described as of two kinds: (a) Educational; (b)

¹ The Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, formed in 1789, was the result of a popular movement in New York City to counteract the influence of the so-called "aristocratic" Society of the Cincinnati. Jefferson, Samuel and John Adams, Gerry, Jay, Franklin (at first), and others denounced the Cincinnati as an order of chivalry.

² De Shon Chapter, D. A. R., Boone, Iowa, has a committee which cooperates with the Civic Committee of the City Federation in securing better sanitary conditions in the city and in public schools and cooperates with teachers in beautifying school grounds. Report of National Committee on Patriotic Education, D. A. R., for 1910-1911, 18.

³ The Long Island D. of R. "pay more attention to the living than the dead. One committee visits the United States soldiers in hospital at Fort Hamilton and distributes comforts to them. Another goes to the children's court in Brooklyn, and the society contributes to the salary of the woman probation officer." It also aids financially "an original daughter whose days are fast passing "Report of Mrs. John Suydam, historian, Oct. 25, 1911. Many D. A. R. chapters seem to be assisting original Daughters of the Revolution, and the National Society, D. A. R., grants them pensions. The Michigan Society, D. A. R., does an active charitable work through its Settlement Committee. See Report of Louisa St. Clair Chapter (at Detroit) Settlement Committee, May 20, 1909.

⁴ The work of the Daughters of the American Revolution already fills fifteen large volumes of reports published through the Smithsonian Institution. The organization also publishes a periodical entitled "The American Monthly Magazine." See letter of Mary S. Lockwood, for many years editor of the Reports, under date of Oct. 21, 1911.

constructive. Under the former head are embraced the stimulation of study in schools, colleges, and universities by offering prizes for essays on topics of historical interest; donation of scholarships; the establishment and maintenance of patriotic organizations for children, and general improvement of educational conditions among various classes of people. The latter includes research for and publication of source material, or what is based thereon; the locating and marking of historical sites, buildings, etc; and the collecting and preserving of old records, manuscripts, and relics of different sorts.

The societies engaged in such work, so far as they have reported, are: Daughters of the American Revolution; Daughters of the Revolution; Sons of the Revolution; Sons of the American Revolution; Society of the Colonial Dames of America; Society of Colonial Wars; Society of Mayflower Descendants; Order of the Founders and Patriots of America; Society of the United States Daughters of the War of 1812. Others may occasionally make incursions into the same or similar fields, but their efforts are too sporadic and ephemeral to demand attention.

Methods of procedure are usually adapted to local conditions. An organization located in a far western State naturally finds few, if any, antiquities bearing on the history of these periods, while many situated in the original colonies are unequally surrounded with opportunities. Some seem to have pursued special lines as a matter of choice, even when all are open to them. Financial considerations would, of course, have to be taken into account in estimating comparative results; but money has not played so important a figure as one might have imagined.² The initiative and leadership of active executives are more responsible for the success of individual societies than any other single cause.³

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Of the two kinds of productive work those included under the first subdivision are more popular, since, with one notable exception, they are more easily undertaken. The exception has been the establishment and maintenance of patriotic organizations for children. This exceedingly practical educational work has been nowhere more successful than in the formation of the Children of the

¹ Mr. Holdridge O. Collins, of Los Angeles, the able and accomplished president of the California Society S. O. R., writes under date of Sept. 25, 1911: "This society has been strenuous in its efforts to inculcate in the students of our public schools sentiments of patriotism, a love of study for American history, and a reverence for those whose labors secured the independence and organization of the United States."

²The Alabama Society, D. A. R., is a striking illustration of this fact. The organization is not large nor rich in Revolutionary and historic spots, as Mrs. J. Morgan Smith, of Birmingham, says, but "she is improving the little she has."—Letter and report of Sept. 30, 1911.

^a Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, state regent, Connecticut D. A. R., 1895-1905, and Mrs. John Laidlaw Buell, present State regent of the same society, are cited as examples. Many others may be named who have accomplished much in their respective organizations.

Republic. To the Ohio Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution belongs the credit of starting the movement, the chief object of which is "to Americanize our little foreigners and to develop them into good citizens with a high sense of civic honor." The plan has been adopted by 13 other States, which now have 90 clubs of boys and girls. An attempt has been made and carried out in a few places to supplement the junior clubs by others, composed of children graduating from them, to be known as Sons or Daughters of the Republic, and the Ohio societies of the Sons of the Revolution and Colonial Wars have been contributing toward that end for several years.2 Unfortunately just a little over 100 women have been directly interested in this work out of a total membership of 88,000 in the Daughters of the American Revolution,3 while the men taking part in it could probably be counted on one's finger tips. foregoing organizations are totally distinct from the Children of the Revolution, membership in which also depends upon hereditary qualifications, and branches of which were started in many localities several years ago as subsidiary to the older societies. They usually partook of the nature of patriotic literary clubs, but were not very successful and in most instances have been allowed to become dormant.

Probably the clearest way to understand the methods of work and achievements of the hereditary patriotic societies along educational lines is to study the work of one, which, by reason of numbers and enthusiasm, has, perhaps, done more than any other—the Daughters of the American Revolution, just mentioned. This organization has likewise been incorporated under act of Congress of the United States of America, which act, in addition to enumerating its purposes, provides that the "society shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and said secretary shall communicate to Congress such portions thereof as he may deem of national interest and importance." The connection of its proceedings with national affairs has given them a broader and more systematic scope, developing, at the same time, a higher sense of responsibility.

For the purpose of carrying on its educational department, a national committee on patriotic education has been constituted which supervises all plans and reports progress to the annual congress of the society. During the past year two subjects, which were considered of paramount importance, were (1) the immigrant and

¹ Report of Mary Murphy Gardner, chairman Children of the Republic, U. S. A., to Twentieth Continental Congress, D. A. R.

² MS. minutes of Ohio Society, S. O. R., and the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Ohio, to which the writer has had access as a member of said societies.

² Report of Mrs. Gardner to Twentieth Continental Congress. See above. Letter from national secretary, D. A. R.

the possibilities of his assimilation, and (2) the education of the children of our southern mountaineers.¹ The task of reaching the southern children had to be performed largely by proxy through donations to schools and colleges in that section of the country; but that it was generously supported is attested by the figures. Seventeen chapters in Connecticut alone maintained 24 whole and 4 partial scholarships for the benefit of students at Marysville College, Tennessee; Berea College, Kentucky; Miss Berry's school in Georgia; and other schools, the total amount sent South by them during the year being \$1,260.³

The immigrant question is handled in several ways, principally by the giving of lectures and distribution of literature.³ In some States regular settlement committees are maintained, which do a benevolent and social as well as an educational work.⁴ The lectures are nearly always on subjects to inspire patriotism or civic interest and pride, and are frequently illustrated by stereopticon views. To provide such lectures and slides cheaply and regularly, the national organization, D. A. R., has established a bureau for their interchange, which states that last year about 8,000 children alone were reached in this way.⁵

The literature distributed consists of all sorts of information explaining in a simple style and in the language of the immigrant the customs and matters with which citizens should be acquainted. Such, for instance, are the compulsory school laws, sanitary and child-labor laws, conservation, and the principles of American life and institutions. Printed pamphlets, or leaflets, can generally be secured from some institution, as that of the North American Civic League for Immigrants, but at least one State has prepared and published a book of its own. The second edition of the "Guida," or Guide for Italian Immigrants, first issued by the Connecticut D. A. R., less than a year ago, is already nearly exhausted, and the English, Yiddish, and Polish versions are now in preparation. The Italian Government and the Bank of Naples have purchased large numbers of copies for use in that country.

Side by side with the above, this organization has been accomplishing other practical educational tasks, such as the establishment

¹ Report of Edith Darlington Ammon, chairman of national committee on patriotic education to Twentieth Continental Congress, D. A. R., from which report much of the information here given was obtained.

² Report of the Connecticut D. A. R., Mar. 22, 1911. Other States which have been accomplishing much in this direction, through various organizations, are Ohio (S. O. R. and D. A. R.), Georgia, Massachusetts, and New York (D. A. R.).

The work of the Children of the Republic (see above) is also an important part of the movement.

⁴ Particularly the Louisa St. Clair Chapter, D. A. R., of Detroit, Mich. (see note 3, p. 264).

⁵ Report of interchangeable bureau of lectures, alides, and literature to Twentieth Continental Congress, D. A. R.

⁶Report of Connecticut D. A. R., March, 1911 (see above). The Illinois Society of Colonial Dames expects to publish in December a "Civic Primer," which is designed principally for foreigners, being printed with parallel pages in English and Bohemuan.

of story-telling hours for children, which relate usually to the colonial and revolutionary periods; the cultivation of a spirit of reverence for the American flag; the development of a "safe and sane" Fourth of July celebration; the promotion of more intimate knowledge of French history.1

While not strictly productive historical work, the same matters have occupied the attention of the remaining hereditary societies to a more or less degree. The Colonial Dames of America, a much smaller organization, has been a potent factor in the building up of intelligent citizenship. The education of immigrants and the children of southern mountaineers has been conducted by it just as widely and intelligently as in the case of the Daughters of the American Revolution.2 This is especially true of the West and Northwest, the State organizations of Illinois and Michigan having been pioneers in the field. As a rule, however, the women have been much more active in these respects than the men, and, with the exception of the two organizations particularly mentioned, educational work has been largely confined to the donation of prizes and scholarships in schools, colleges, and universities.

Within a very few years after their establishment, most of the societies, where finances permitted, began to offer medals or money rewards of various amounts for the best essays submitted on topics selected from American history, usually of the colonial or revolutionary periods. The contestants were generally limited to pupils in the high schools or more advanced grades; occasionally to those of higher institutions of learning, or groups of institutions.8 Conditions were that the writings should be original (though rarely from source material), of a certain length, and submitted under a nom de plume. Cooperation of school authorities was of course asked, but could not always be secured, whereupon the idea had to be abandoned in a few instances.

The societies of the Sons of the Revolution in New York and Missouri have been conducting these prize contests for 17 years and appear to have aroused considerable interest in the study of historical questions by means of them. In the latter State 133 essays were submitted in 1910, and, in consequence, it has been decided to limit the number hereafter from any one school to six, the teachers to judge and select such six from all those prepared in the school. In New York there were 112 essays received in 1910, representing 63 schools.

I There is a committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution known as the Franco-American Committee, the particular object of which is to strengthen and develop the love of France as our ancient ally in the Revolutionary War.

Addresses of the historians of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1903 and 1910.
 Sometimes the contest is open to every one. The proceeds of the "Roger Williams Fund," founded. by the Society of Colonial Dames in Rhode Island, are offered "to the student, man or woman, who shall write the best essay on a subject connected with the colonial period." Report of Mrs. Henry Hyde Cabot, of Bristol, R. I.

although three years ago it was found necessary to offer both medals and cash for prizes in order to hold out greater incentives.¹

The results have been different in other localities, some organizations reporting an entire lack of interest. Why this should be the case is not satisfactorily explained, but it must be due in part to methods pursued, because in Virginia, for instance, a prize offered by the Sons of the Revolution several years ago drew forth but one contestant. In the same State, however, the number of contestants for a prize donated by Fairfax County Chapter, D. A. R., increased during four years from 19 to 225.² And there is hardly a chapter of the 26 in the D. A. R. of that State which does not offer medals and prizes annually, one bestowing 23 prizes yearly.³

The giving of scholarships and fellowships in history is possibly the most productive phase of educational work being done by all the hereditary societies. A great many State organizations nowhelp to educate deserving students in their respective institutions. The Indiana Daughters of the American Revolution have educated several girls, giving a grammar school and college education. The Long Island Daughters of the Revolution are aiding several college girls who would otherwise be in greatly straightened circumstances.

Two of the most useful forms pursued in making such donations are those adopted by the Society of Colonial Dames in the States of Dinois and Ohio. By the latter, the sum of \$300 has been contributed annually during the past five years toward a fellowship in Ohio Valley history in the University of Cincinnati, and it has pledged \$300 this year toward a fellowship in colonial history in the same university. The articles written by the recipients of the former fellowship have occasionally been published and have been valuable contributions to historical literature.

By the Illinois society a scholarship is awarded at the Northwestern University for the man doing the best work in American history, but the student who earns it is required to give a part of his time for one year thereafter to classes in American history for boys of foreign-born parentage and to lectures encouraging good citizenship, such work being under the direction of the officers of the society.

The Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Massachusetts in 1903 attempted a variation from the foregoing by offering a prize of \$300 for the best picture by an American artist in Paris, but the competition was not a successful one. Later the same organization held

¹ MS. reports and printed proclamations of New York and Missouri societies, S. O. R., 1911.

² Report of Virginia 14th Annual Conference, D. A. R., 36.

³ Letter of Alice Peyton Jamison, Virginia State regent, D. A. R., Sept. 21, 1911.

⁴ Illinois (Colonial Dames, S. O. R., and D. A. R.), Ohio (Colonial Dames), Mississippi (D. A. R.) are among the States so reporting.

See, for instance, "The Soloto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis," by T. B. Belots, published by the University of Cincinnati, 1907.

⁵ Letter and report from Julia Loomis Keith, corresponding secretary, Colonial Dames, State of Illinois, Nov. 14, 1911.

two competitive exhibitions in Boston for the best pictures or compositions embodying the spirit of the colonial or provincial period. Any characteristic subject was to be rendered either in oil, water color, or pastel, provided only that it was the work of an American artist and not previously exhibited in Boston. These exhibitions turned out very successfully.¹

In the State of Washington the Colonial Dames have likewise departed from traditional lines by offering a gold medal to that student in the State university who writes the best colonial play, essay, or story dealing with American historical characters or events prior to 1776. The character of articles to be submitted is first determined by the society and university faculty.²

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.

Coming now to what has been termed the constructive branch of productive work done by the hereditary societies, it will be observed that it consists primarily of three divisions, viz:

- 1. Research for and publication of source material or what is based thereon.
 - 2. Locating and marking historical sites, buildings, etc.
- 3. Collecting and preserving old records, manuscripts, and relics of different sorts.

While a few individual members are doing special research and publication work, not many organizations, as such, are engaged along the line first mentioned. There are, to be true, a number publishing essays and addresses delivered before them, some of which are prepared by their own members. Others are conducting genealogical or historical query columns in the newspapers,³ or editing regular periodicals.⁴ Nearly all of the societies issue at intervals, some regularly, what they call "yearbooks," containing constitutions and bylaws, registers of membership, lists of ancestors,⁵ with records of their services, obituary notices of deceased members, and frequently supplementary material, such as information for applicants, accounts of past meetings, tablets and monuments erected, etc. Occasionally

¹Letter and report of Laura Revere Little, corresponding secretary, Colonial Dames, State of Massachusetts, Dec. 1, 1911.

² Letter and report of Mrs. Harry S. Bolcom, corresponding secretary, Colonial Dames, State of Washington, Nov. 14, 1911.

³ Particularly the Alabama D. A. R.

^{&#}x27;The National Society, Daughters of the War of 1812 publishes a leaflet giving information of work done and other items of interest. The National Society, D. A. B. edits and sells "The American Monthly Magazine," its official organ. The Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants publishes an illustrated quarterly magazine, called "The Mayflower Descendant," which has "long been the recognized authority on Pilgrim genealogy." The National Society of Sons of the American Revolution publishes a monthly bulletin. (Yearbook for 1911, p. 117.)

⁵ The California S. O. R. has been publishing in the "yearbooks" biographies of the revolutionary ancestors of deceased members of the society, also biographies of deceased members themselves who have been distinguished in the Army or Navy.

in the "yearbooks," or in connection therewith, are also found valuable contributions to local and even general history.

The Kentucky Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has edited a volume of this sort, which contains lists of bounty recipients and revolutionary pensioners residing in that State in and before 1832. The New Connecticut Chapter, D. A. R., of Painesville, Ohio, has published a "Record of the Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Lake County, Ohio, with a Partial List of Those in Geauga County." The Indiana Society, S. O. R., has issued an original bibliography of information relating to George Rogers Clark. A book called the "History of the Sibley House," the home of the first governor of the State, has been published by the Minnesota D. A. R. quite recently. All of the foregoing and others of similar character have been well worth while.

In the way of systematic contributions to genealogical literature the "Lineage Books" of the National Society, D. A. R., are most important. They possess a constantly increasing interest to students, because the information contained therein is obtained from many miscellaneous and widely scattered sources, all of which is verified by the officers of the society. The Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants has for the past fifteen years been compiling from the original records the genealogies of all Mayflower families and has a large and valuable collection of data for that purpose. The Society of Colonial Dames of America in the same State has issued a copious genealogical register of Massachusetts families with a supplement. Some State organizations, such as the Maryland Society of Colonial Wars, have attempted a more elaborate scheme of setting forth pedigrees of members in chart form, but this plan has been too expensive to be generally adopted.

As supplemental to their educational work, a few societies are getting out local histories as textbooks for school children, which show more or less originality. A type of this work is the book being prepared by the Colonial Dames of America in Delaware, entitled "Once upon a Time in Delaware." It consists of twelve stories of early colonial history in that State, to be written by Katherine Pyle and to be illustrated in pen and ink by Ethel Penniwell Brown.

¹ Among other instances which should be specially mentioned are that of the Rhode Island S. O. R., which, in its "Second Record Book" (1902), published the Journal of Captain John Topham, written on the Quebec campaign, with notes and partial list of men in the Rhode Island companies; also a sketch of Capt. Topham The Maine Society of Colonial Wars printed the roster and record of Col. Jeddash Prebles's regiment in the campaign of 1758, and the Journal of Capt. Samuel Cobb.

² All, or nearly all, of the societies preserve at national headquarters, generally in the office of the registrar, copies of application papers containing pedigrees and records of ancestors' services, which are convenient of access. In some instances card catalogues are kept of these records, as by the Daughters of the Revolution and the Sons of the Revolution. The "Lineage Books" and "Reports" are for sale by the National Society. D. A. R.

² Mr. George Ernest Bowman, the able and energetic editor of the society's publications, is doing this work.

⁴ See Yearbook of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland for 1905.

Several organizations have published volumes of letters, as, for instance, those of Moore Furman, first mayor of Trenton, N. J., edited with historical notes by the Historical Research Committee, Colonial Dames of America in New Jersey. In other cases they have published memoirs. The S. O. R. in New York has issued a reprint of the original edition of the Memoirs of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, edited by Prof. Henry P. Johnston.¹

The printing of old town, county, church, and cemetery records is one of the most useful things being accomplished. The Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, already mentioned as doing much in other directions, has published separate volumes of town and cemetery records and has others in preparation. The Delaware Colonial Dames of America has printed "Abstracts of Wills of New Castle County, Del." In Maryland the same society has rendered a great service in editing the data relating to "Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia." The Virginia organization has been printing the old parish registers of that State.

At the present time the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Colonial Dames of America are interested in cataloguing and illustrating old church plate. The latter society is managing and financing a book to be entitled "The Old Silver of the American Churches," by E. Alfred Jones, of England, which it is hoped will appear in 1912.

Three or four organizations seem to be undertaking the regular issuance of original source material, or what is based thereon. The New York and Pennsylvania Societies of Colonial Wars and the Sons of the Revolution in Pennsylvania have made contributions of this sort to historical literature almost each year. The Order of the

¹ The Ohio Society of Colonial Dames of America published in 1903 the "Rufus Putnam Memoirs." The "Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island," edited by Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, has been published by the Colonial Dames of America in that State.

² Admirably edited by Mrs. John Ridgely, of Hampton, Md., and published by the Grafton Press in 1908.

³ The Colonial Dames of America in New York have printed a "Calendar of Wills," and "Minutes of the Orphan Master's Court of New Amsterdam, 1655 to 1713" (2 vols.). In the second volume of the latter appear "The Minutes of the Executive Board of the Burgomasters of New Amsterdam" and the "Records of Walwyn Van Der Veer."

⁴ Following is a partial list of the publications of this society, as furnished by the secretary, Mr. Frederick Dwight and by Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer of the American Historical Association:

^{1.} Publication No. 1, so far as ascertamed, was the Journal of the Rev. John Graham, chaplam of the First Conn. Regt., Havana Expedition, 1762, of which only four copies remain at the office of the society.

^{2.} The year 1619 in the colony of Virginia.

^{3.} A copy of original Mass. Muster Rolls.

^{4.} The Second Capture of Louisburg, Church Service, Mar. 24, 1895 (only 10 copies).

^{5.} Register of members who served in the Spanish-American War.

^{6.} Addresses at the Tenth Annual Banquet at Delmonico's, Jan. 10, 1902.

A Rebellion in the Colony of Virginia.
 Battle of Lake George, with map.

^{9.} Daniel Claus' Narrative.

^{10.} Lake George Celebration: Report of the Executive Committee.

^{11.} Native Troops in our Colonial Possessions.

^{12.} Orderly Book and Journal of Maj. John Hawks in the Ticonderoga-Crown Point Campaign, under Gen. Jeffrey Amberst

^{13.} Year Book of the Society, 1905.

Year Book, 1906-1907.

Year Book, 1908-1909.

Founders and Patriots of America, which has local branches in only four States, is producing a number of short historical studies, particularly through the New York society.²

The locating and marking of historical sites, buildings, etc., have been carried on in three principal ways:

- 1. Actual preservation and restoration of buildings, old roads, cemeteries, and other places of historical interest.
- 2. Erecting of monuments and tablets at points to commemorate historical events.
- 3. Establishing memorials to persons who took part in such events by marking their graves, putting their services on permanent record, securing their portraits, etc.

Work of the first class has been accomplished either by urging and securing appropriations from national, State, and municipal governments for such purposes, or by purchase with the funds of the organi-

- 1. "The Capture of Fort Duquesne," The Right Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead, S. T. D.
- 2. "Memoir of Henry Bouquet," Dr. Edward Shippen, U. S. N.
- "Dedication of Tablet in the State House, Philadelphia," Frederick Prime.
 "Some Wars in Science," Dr. Persifor Frazer.
- 5. "Early Fire Protection, Fire Insurance Companies and the Use of Fire Marks," George Cuthbert Gillespie.
 - 6. "American Literature in the Colonial Period," Francis Howard Williams.
 - 7. "Environment the Basis of Colonial Architecture," George Champlin Mason.
 - 8. "The Colonial Flag" (a brochure), Francis Olcott Allen.
 - 9. "While yet the old-time chivalry in knightly bosoms burned," Brig. Gen. Louis H. Carpenter.
 - 10. "Art in America before the Revolution," Edwin Swift Balch
 - 11. Pamphlet and illustrations of Swedish and Dutch Tablets erected in the City Hall, Feb. 6, 1909.
 - 12. "Suffrage and Elections in the Province of Pennsylvania," Charles Chauncey Binney.
 - 13. "The Sailing of the Ark and the Dove from Cowes in the Isle of Wight," S. Davis Page.
 - 14. "Fort Louisburg, its two Sieges and Site to-day," with illustrations, Louis Barcroft Runk.
- The bibliography of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution has been kindly furnished by Mr. John W. Jordan, librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is attached to these notes. It contains 31 publications, and is too long to be inserted here.
- ¹ New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. This order has likewise been copying some colonial records in Delaware that were in danger of being destroyed (letter from I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnata).
- ² Below is a partial list of publications by the New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania societies: Connecticut Society—The Foundation Period in American History, Charles Henry Smith

Pennsylvania Society—The Peopling of the English Colonies in America, H. V. Ames; Social Customs in the Colonies, H. V. Ames; Medicine in the Colonies, William S. Wadsworth; An Account of the Rochambeau Tablet Erected in the City Hall, Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1908.

New York Society-George Clinton, an address by Col. Ralph Earle Prime.

Washington, Lincoln, and Greene, Gen. James Grant Wilson.

Early New York, Robert B. Roosevelt.

Early Long Island, William Winton Goodrich.

Some Social Theories of the Revolution. Theodore Gilman.

The Story of the Pequot War, Thomas Eggleston.

Some Municipal Problems that Vexed the Founders, William Reed Easton.

A Vanished Race of Aboriginal Founders, Brig. Gen. H. S. Turrill.

The Hudson Valley in the Revolution, F. W. Halsey.

American Territory in Turkey, Ralph Earle Prime.

Dedication of the Tablet on the Site of Fort Amsterdam.

Origin, Rise, and Downfall of the State of Franklin, W. E. Frich.

Constitution, By-Laws, and General Regulations, published by the general committee of the order, November. 1906.

^{14.} A number of addresses upon special colonial themes delivered on invitation before various meetings. Also is given here a list of papers published by the Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Wars:

zations. Owing to the expense attendant upon the latter method, it has not been practicable to do all that has been desired. Nevertheless, only a few of the numerous achievements along this line can be referred to.

The National Society of Colonial Dames of America has successfully undertaken the restoration of the old church at Jamestown, Va., the "first built upon our soil by Englishmen," and presented it in its restored form to the Association for Preservation of American Antiquities.¹ The Sons of the Revolution in New York have purchased and restored Fraunces's Tavern, the building where Washington took leave of his officers, December 4, 1783. It is used as the headquarters of the society as a museum, library, and general meeting place.² The Colonial Dames of America in New York have leased from the city of New York the Van Cortlandt house, have restored and refurnished it as in colonial times, and are now maintaining it as a museum.³ The same society in Massachusetts has acquired, refurnished, and opened to the public the Quincy homestead, built in Quincy in 1636, "one of the most interesting examples now remaining of colonial domestic architecture."

Of the numerous instances where these organizations have cooperated with governmental authorities in preserving old buildings one of the most notable is that of the Connecticut Colonial Dames of America, who raised \$10,000 for the restoration of the old statehouse at Hartford, built by Bulfinch in 1794, additional funds therefor being given by the city at the instigation of the society. The Delaware society of the same name, by arousing the interest of other patriotic societies, succeeded in bringing about the restoration of the colonial statehouse at Dover to its original appearance, adding to it

¹ See account in historian's address of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America for 1908, p. 25 et seq.

³ Purchased largely through the munificence of Mr. Frederick Samuel Tallmadge, president of the society. See further the society's Reports and Proceedings for 1909–10.

^{*} See "Story of Van Cortlandt Park," by Mrs. William B. Beeckman, published by the New York Society of Colonial Dames of America.

⁴ The things accomplished by this society are almost too numerous to mention. Below is a partial list of other places restored and preserved:

^{1.} Restored and furnished one room in the Rebecca Nourse house at Danvers, Mass, built in 1636 and pronounced by experts to be the best specimen of an early colonial farmhouse in existence. This was the house of one of the victims of Salem witchcraft.

^{2.} Restored and furnished three rooms in the Royall house at Medford, Mass, built in 1732 by Isaac Royall. A colonial mansion, with very fine staircase and wansooting.

^{3.} Donated to the restoration of the Paul Revere house, Boston,

^{4.} Donated to preservation of Hancock-Clarke house in Lexington, Mass.

Contributed toward the assistance and improvement of Dummer Academy in Newbury, the oldest academy in Massachusetts, established in 1672.

^{6.} Contributed toward preservation of old church in Fairfax County, Va., where Washington attended. Other state organisations which might be specially noticed in this respect are:

The Society of Colonial Dames of America in North Carolina, which has preserved old St. Philip's Church, built in 1745 at what was formerly the town of Brunswick, the first settlement on Cape Fear River, near Wilmington.

The Whitfield house at Guilford, Conn., built in 1639-40, is preserved as a state museum largely through the efforts of this organization, and is eared for by a committee which includes several of the society's members.

suitable buildings for safeguarding the invaluable papers owned by the State. Delaware is one of the three of the original 13 colonies in which the first statehouse remains standing and in use. It was through the efforts of the Illinois D. A. R. that their State was induced to purchase the site of Fort Massac, beautify the surroundings, and make the whole into a park. The D. A. R. in Kansas have been exceedingly active in work of this kind, and with the assistance of the State Historical Society have succeeded, among other things, in marking the old Santa Fé Trail through the State. Other organizations are equally zealous in securing legislation of this sort.¹

The erection of tablets and monuments at points of historical note has probably been the most fruitful field for the efforts of the patriotic hereditary societies. The annual report for 1910–11 of the National Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution on Preservation of Historic Spots, the jurisdiction of which also extends to the other two lines of work specially treated of under this head, covers 46 finely printed pages, octavo size.² There is hardly a State organization which has not at least one tablet to its credit, and many small chapters may claim this distinction. The Daughters of the American Revolution in Vermont alone, a limited territory, have erected 12 monuments, placed 13 inscribed tablets, 15 granite markers along old military roads, and identified and marked 727 graves of Revolutionary soldiers.³ Way out in Wyoming the Jacques Laramie Chapter has placed a marker on the "Overland Trail," near Laramie City, which was an early trail to Salt Lake.

Some of these monuments possess a national and even international significance and value. Memorial Continental Hall, erected by the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, in Washington, D. C., and costing half a million dollars, is a wonderful example of the results of energy and executive ability on the part of its officers and members. In it are contained the business offices of the society, an auditorium for sessions of its congress, a museum for part

¹ Among them should be mentioned the Arkansas D. A. R., who are trying to preserve the statehouse; the Fiorida D. A. R., who are seeking to maintain Fort Matanzas; the Mississippi D. A. R., who have appealed for funds to mark the old Natchez Trace.

² The following quotation from pages 1-2 of the report shows the comprehensive work being accomplished: "We speak in praise of Massachusetts, who cherishes so tenderly Plymouth Rock, the Minute Man, and Bunker Hill, and preserves the old colonial mansions; Virginia, who is preserving her historic buildings; Pennsylvania, who is placing a memorial arch on the site of Gen. Washington's encampment at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-78; New York, who has just purchased the Philip Schuyler mansion and hopes soon to own the Gen. Herkimer home; Ohio, who reports so much work done in marking historic spots; Washington, where was erected last year the elegant bronze statue of Baron von Steuben; Nebraska, who has placed the first marker on the Oregon Trail; Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico, who have set up their 'signs at the crossroads,' until to-day the Santa Fe Trail shows a chain of these wide of the set of the s

² Report of Mrs. J. E. Buxton, of Middletown Springs, State historian, Nov., 1911.

of the society's relics, and handsomely appointed rest and reception rooms furnished by the various State organizations.¹

The sailors' monument presented to the city of Annapolis by the National Society, Daughters of the Revolution; the Valley Forge Memorial Chapel, a gift of the same society; the elaborate memorial window in St. Michael's Church, Dartmoor, England, placed there by the National Society, United States Daughters of 1812; and the monument being erected to the Pilgrim Fathers at Southampton, England, by the cooperation of the National Society of Mayflower Descendants, are among the striking results of this movement.

The projected George Washington Memorial Building, for which about \$600,000 has already been raised by a number of the societies, will be one of the most practical monuments ever erected. It is the purpose to devote this building to the uses of patriotic and scientific organizations, and the intention is to expend \$2,000,000 in its erection, with \$500,000 more for other objects.⁴

Putting markers over the graves of Revolutionary soldiers has become a very popular field of endeavor. From Maine to Texas, and even Arizona,⁵ reports have come of efforts in this direction. The markers are usually of bronze, being specially manufactured for the purpose, but occasionally of stone. Of late years, owing to the perishable nature of all such monuments, a custom has grown up of placing one large bronze tablet in a central location, preferably the courthouse or a memorial hall, whereon the names of all soldiers buried in the county may be inscribed.⁶

A more novel phase of activity is that adopted by the North Carolina Society, Sons of the Revolution, which has been presenting to the State oil portraits of its Revolutionary patriot judges and governors. After the list is completed the plan is to commemorate with handsome tablets or busts some of the notable men or events in the Revolutionary history of North Carolina.

¹ For a fuller description see American Monthly Magazine for April, 1911, where exterior and interior views of building are given.

² It was in Dartmoor prison that the captain and crew of the schooner *Polly* were imprisoned in 1812. See Magazine of History for July, 1910.

^{3 &}quot;This is to be located as nearly as practicable at the point of departure and is expected to be unveiled Aug. 15, 1912." (Letter from Constant Southworth, secretary Ohio Society, Oct. 5, 1911.)

⁴ National Year Book, Society of the Sons of the American Revolution for 1911, p. 115.

⁵ Mrs. S. M. Hall, historian of the Arizona D. A. R., says: "Several graves have been marked, some of them privately, but, through the inspiration of the historical work, two by the State and one by the Maricopa Chapter of the D. A. R."

⁶ The D. A. R. m Illinois have adopted the plan of placing tablets in the courthouses of each county. The Ohio Society, Sons of the Revolution, on Oct. 19, 1909, dedicated a very large and handsome tablet containing the names of 182 Revolutionary soldiers buried in Hamilton County. The tablet is placed in the Soldiers' Memorial Building and contains space for more names, some of which have since been added. Mr. Robert Ralston Jones, the chairman of the committee in charge of this work, has visited nearly 300 cemetery sites, many of which had long since ceased to be used, and examined countless private and public records in his researches.

⁷ Report of work accomplished by the society, published by Marshall De Lancey Haywood, secretary, of Raleigh, N. C. The Society of the D. A. R. in New Jersey has presented to Memorial Continental Hall copies of portraits of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence from that colony.

It is hardly necessary to add that whenever these markers are placed, portraits given, or monuments, etc., erected, a record is made and kept of the services of the persons so honored. This is recognized as an indispensable feature of the task.

The remaining branch of constructive work, i. e., the collecting and preserving old records, manuscripts, and relics of various sorts, has not been extensively followed. Most organizations have no proper house or room of their own in which to store things of value. Several turn over such articles to the local or State historical societies.² A great many State societies, Daughters of the American Revolution, send their collections to the national society's headquarters at Washington, D. C., where they are either placed in the museum of the Memorial Continental Hall or in the Smithsonian Institution. The relics now on deposit in the latter place by this organization make an interesting exhibit.

The purchase of Fraunces' Tavern by the New York Society Sons of the Revolution and the leasing of the Van Cortlandt Manor House by the Society of Colonial Dames of America, in New York, already referred to, have given both those societies opportunities to acquire valuable museums which they have not neglected. In fact, the Colonial Dames of New York make the preservation and enlargement of their noble museum their principal care. The collection of pewter ware, miniatures, and tapestries is especially noteworthy, and it is not strange that more than 300,000 visitors enjoy it each year.3

The Society of Colonial Dames of America, in Ohio, has also secured an advantageous location for a museum in the purchase of the land office of the Ohio Company at Marietta, built in 1787, and restored in 1900 by the society. It contains a number of valuable relics relating particularly to the early development of the Northwest Territory.

In Connecticut an exceedingly important task has been carried out by the Society of Colonial Dames of America, which through its manuscript committee has copied the records of 82 early churches. These are kept in a fireproof safe in the custody of the State.

It would be profitable to describe other features of the work being carried on by the hereditary patriotic societies, such as the collection and establishment of libraries, the introduction of traveling libraries,4

¹ The Kansas Society, D. A. R., says that "nearly every chapter in the State has a room for such collections," The same society in Vermont reports that the local chapters have small collections, but these conditions are rather unusual.

² All the patriotic societies in Mississippi seem to contribute their relics to the State Department of Archives and History. (Letter of Mrs. Dunbar Rowland.)

2 On Sundays and holidays the number frequently climbs into the thousands. See further the historian's

report, National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, for 1910, 15.

The Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames of America reports that "100 traveling libraries of historical nature, including, of course, many books on such subjects written for children, are sent to the more remote country schools of the State, together with a series of stereopticon views illustrating a lecture on the early history of the United States." Report and letter of Nov. 6, 1911, from Miss Edith D. Kingsbury, corresponding secretary.

The Rushville Chapter, Indiana D. A. R., within a year of its organization, established, equipped, and maintained a public library. Report of National Committee on Patriotic Education, D. A. R.

the conducting of special classes in civics and history, the educational work in the Philippines, and various objects not so closely allied to these matters. As one secretary puts it, "We do not intend to be merely a dry-as-dust organization. We are as much concerned with the present and future as with the past." ²

While such activities are all productive of great and good results, they are not fairly within the scope of this article, which has necessarily been limited to the more purely historical standpoint, especially as bearing upon the periods we have mentioned, or education tending to acquaint people with those periods.

The words spoken by Henry Van Dyke may be well applied to the organizations which have undertaken the noble enterprises that have here been so briefly touched upon:

To teach our sons and daughters, by precept and example, the honor of serving such a country as America—that is a work worthy of the finest manhood and womanhood. The well born are those who are born to do that work. The well bred are those who are bred to be proud of that work. The well educated are those who see deepest into the meaning and necessity of that work.

In discussion of the paper on the productive work of the hereditary patriotic societies Professor William Libbey said that the paper presented a valuable summary of the work of these societies, but as there were no generalizations in the paper it would be difficult to discuss it; that there was need of a suggestion as to a plan of operation, possibly of cooperation, between the two classes of societies—historical and patriotic.

It has always seemed strange that the patriotic societies should be called upon for an explanation of their existence, for the good reason that every good citizen as well as the historian should "look to the future as well as the past and the present," for the past will have lost all its lessons unless the dangers to be avoided are frequently called to mind.

It is quite true, however, that many of these societies are only now awakening to the importance of their existence, many having been merely social organizations in the past.

The ideals of our early history are apt to be lost sight of by being taken for granted. In this age of emigration they can not be too often recited, "lest we forget," or these new additions to our body politic be allowed to remain in ignorance of them. I am certain that many of these people look to us for something more than the mere

¹ The Illinois society Daughters of the Revolution, in its report to the general convention, May 9, 1911, says: "We have a class in United States history, which has proven most interesting to those faithful in attendance, with lectures on civics interspersed."

The Ohio Society of Colonial Dames says that: "A course of lectures to children on colonial history, illustrated with stereopticon pictures, was given at the public library (in Cincinnati) last winter and will be continued this winter. Same course to be given by a member of the society in Toledo, stereopticon pictures to be sent there from the history." (Letter and report of Eliza Carson Faran, recording secretary, Dec. 3, 1911).

² Statement of William Allen Wood, secretary, Indiana S. O. R., Sept. 27, 1911.

privilege of existing in our midst. They have formed their own opinions of these ideals of ours, and it is our business to see that these opinions are correct. The practical question therefore arises, as to what we are going to do about it. We can either help them to be good citizens or await the chilling effect of disillusionment, when they realize that our selfishness has shut our own eyes to their value.

They have come to a land which is not the "land of the free" as much as it formerly was. They are dictated to by the political boss, the capitalist boss, or the labor boss, until they are in a position to ask some very pointed questions about our boasted freedom. Is it any wonder that they sometimes take their own way in disgust, and antagonize our institutions. The present spirit of unrest in our public life is significant of a crisis in such things, and it remains for the real Americans to throw the balance on the right side.

Therefore the subject assigned to me, that is, the relation of the patriotic societies to educational institutions, is an important one. In view of what has already been said, these societies may be said to be of importance merely of themselves. It is no mean object to bring together the descendants of ancestors of our heroic days, but that should not be all—the work should not end here. They must use their influence upon the rising generation, and where can this be done better than in our educational institutions. Just how it can best be done is a matter for more mature consideration, by committee or by conference.

I am beginning to fear that in the secularizing of our schemes of education, we are crowding out of it many elements of power possessed by our ancestors. No matter how much they differed in their theological ideas, and we know that they differed very widely, they all believed in a God and a moral law, and did not hesitate to assign to this belief an important place in their educational system. But we, by crowding out of our curricula the discussion of these extrahuman laws, are distinctly weakening the force of our education. Look at it as we will, we are doubtless subject to many laws which are not man-made, and which man can not unmake. Gravitation is one of these; if we obey it we reap the benefit of its aid, if we disobey we are punished. This is one of the laws of the natural world, but the same is true of social and moral laws. We are trifling with them at the present time, and the penalty is sure, and with the fate of the nations who have done the same things before us, we could easily be convicted of criminal negligence.

The great difficulty, it seems to me, is as usual the practical one. How is the desired result to be brought about? A great deal of inertia is to be overcome—inertia on the part of our societies and inertia on the part of our citizens, both young and old. The rising generation must be taught more respect for law, more respect for

home, more respect for good morals, and more respect for the flag. This work must be begun in the schools and continued until that disrespect for authority of all sorts, which is the greatest crime of the present day, has been eradicated forever. This work must be made a matter of character building, and I believe that the old ideals of our Nation, which we have been neglecting, must be made our guide once more.

We may be said to be at one of the turning points in our history, and while the perils and problems of the present time are not the same as those of the past, they must be met in the same faith and spirit. So that the Americans of to-day may be as worthy of respect as the Americans of the days of the Revolution, as capable of dealing honestly with the vital problems of to-day as their ancestors dealt with those of their day. The results of that early struggle for political freedom were a success; shall we be less worthy than our fathers, where honor, in the maintenance of the standards they set up, is concerned?

The practical suggestion that I would offer is this: We have reached a point where cooperation will be most useful. The historians of our country and the historical societies know the facts and the needs of the present day; on the other hand, we have an organization with branches all over the Union. There is therefore an interesting opportunity for work on both sides which shall be constructive and profitable. By all pulling together we can do much for the good of our Nation.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Barlow Cumberland, president of the Ontario Historical Society, who spoke on

THE PRODUCTIVE WORK OF THE HEREDITARY PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES
OF AMERICA CONSIDERED FROM A CANADIAN POINT OF VIEW.

The special periods of the work of these societies considered in the main paper by Mr. H. B. Mackoy are those of the colonial, the Revolutionary, and the War of 1812 periods. These, it has been asked, are to be considered by myself as from a Canadian point of view, and also that some indications might be given of work done by parallel societies in Canada.

It is impossible at this moment, without having had a larger opportunity for collection of statistics, to go into such magnificent detail as is given in the main paper.

I am sure that it is a revelation to many on learning of the number and widespread area of these societies in the United States, their varied methods and particular ideals in investigations, which by the paper are made known, and now for the first time brought into immediate relation to one another. The work of these separated societies being thus placed under review in the general campaign of their effort can not fail to stimulate each into far more strenuous action and cause experience to be gleaned from this effective narrative of their exploits.

In Canada we have no such long-established societies. Our energies have been more engaged in the struggle to emerge from primitive conditions, to establish means of livelihood among our people, and in the constitutional amalgamation of our previously separated provinces into one organic union. Canada now in the forty-fifth year from her first establishment as a united dominion, beginning then with four provinces (or states) which have now

wn to become nine, numbers to-day only the same population as I the thirteen states of the United States when they broke from ir 200 years of allegiance and ceased to be British dominions. nada is thus just on the threshold of her expansion. Her labors we been mostly material; the age of historic reminiscence requirg leisure and settled conditions among her residents, is only fairly begun. We can not therefore relate such numerous and widespread anters of enthusiasm as the past 100 years have produced among the people of that portion of the Northern Continent of America which has of late appropriated the generic name of the whole continent to itself. Our nationality, remaining as it does in the same allegiance as was yours prior to the rupture, is as equally "American," and as Germans and French retain their identity in European associations, so we of Canada may appropriately retain ours and present our themes as in American environment.

With such premise, in making report of those of our Canadian societies in America by which most work in historical research and cord has be duced, the fullest meed and praise requires, first, to be given to the French-speaking portions of our Dominion. The literary work of our brothers in the province of Quebec far antedates and greatly exceeds that which has been, and is being, done in our more modern Provinces of Ontario and the West. As the beginnings of Canadian history are in the exploits, adventures, and tragedies of their pioneers, so the materials for historical and vivid narrative are mostly with them. Canadian history with Quebec includes well-nigh a century and a half of annals additional to those of the later occupied portion of our territory. The literary societies among the cultivated French Canadians, the prelates, and in the seminaries of the Roman Catholic organization are numerous and active, issuing many publications of interest each year. So, too, with the English-speaking natives. The oldest and one of the most active historical societies in Canada is the "Literary and Historical Society of Quebec," founded in 1824, and whose continuous publications during this long series of years are a mine of information upon early French and British conditions.

Our maritime Provinces, whose first beginnings are colored with the events of British-American colonial history, the contests of the New England colonies with the French and the final supremacy in them of the British, have devoted themselves to the records of those early days, and, populated as they later were by men of the United Empire Loyalists migration driven to new homes under the "Old" Flag after the time of the colonial Revolution, their descendants maintain a vivid interest in the memories and in the trials and tests of loyalty under which their new environments were created. The Nova Scotia Historical Society is most energetic in placing historical tablets and issuing publications.

In the Province of Ontario, whose confines spread westward along the Upper Lake district from the River Ottawa, which divides it from Quebec, the "United Empire Loyalist" societies have kept alive the lamp of history illuminating the incoming of their forefathers and the beginnings of "Upper Canada," as the Province was termed before confederation in 1867. As all descendants of those who were received into the country and registered as participants in the colonial wars of the Revolution and of 1812 were authorized to bear the distinctive letters of "U. E. L." (United Empire Loyalist) after their names, much has been done in the way of biographical narrative and in hereditary research. A centennial celebration and reunion of descendants in Ontario was held in 1884 and a very interesting centennial volume is among its publications. A handsome memorial church within which are tablets recording the names of all the first United Empire Loyalists was erected at Adolphustown to take the place of the first church erected by them.

The "Daughters of the Empire" is an activity of some 10 years of growth, with a Dominion Council and local provincial councils, and chapters in almost every principal locality from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It cultivates patriotic essays in the public schools, distributes prizes, celebrates national anniversaries, and in its social meetings inculcates the duties and memories of patriotism.

In the Province of Ontario the principal historical organization is the "Ontario Historical Society," which I have the honor to represent. This is the central organization in which are collected in union the other historical societies. Beginning in 1888 as the "Pioneers Association of Ontario," largely under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Scadding, the historian of the beginnings of Toronto, from whose enthusiasm in research and record of early days it arose, it was reorganized in 1898 under its present constitution by a special act of the Ontario Parliament. Under this act the then existing and since arising societies are affiliated and given incorporation and entitled to hold properties. It is connected with the education department of the Province under the minister of education, who is its honorary

president, and receives assistance in the form of a small annual grant. Thirty-four societies in the Province are affiliated in this central authority. These are spread in all parts of the Province representing the counties in which they are situated. Among them is the York Pioneer and Historical Society of Toronto, which, instituted 41 years ago, antedates all others, and the "Six Nations Society" of the Brant Reserve, composed of the Indians in the reservations in the district of the Grand River and Brantford, where lands were given to the members of the Indian tribes in recompense for their lands in the State of New York, which they had lost by reason of their fidelity to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution. The other societies are mainly centered in the principal towns of each county. The motive of the Ontario Society is to bring these outlying societies more into union, to stimulate them in their enthusiasm, and to assist in their publications. The annual meeting is held in succession in the different parts of the Province, alternating east and west and north and south, so that historical work may be encouraged in each locality. The annual report contains the reports of the affiliated societies as well as that of the society itself, and in this way is of assistance in record and comparison. The periodical volume of Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, containing the principal papers read at each annual meeting, is also published. Nine volumes have been issued and the tenth will shortly be completed.

To the local societies is committed the duty of research into the annals of their own immediate locality, the collection of early data, and letters, biographies, and reminiscences of early men and early times. In addition to this are read papers upon historical subjects at the meetings of each society, held monthly during the winter, covering the larger conditions of wider British history. Publications are annually issued by many of these societies; particularly should we mention those of the "Niagara Historical Society," "Lundy's Lane Historical Society," "Ottawa Ladies' Historical Society," and the "Lennox and Addington Society," all of whose many publications set standards to which others may be induced with energy to attain.

Much work has been done in Canada in cultivating and erecting memorials of historical progress, yet little in comparison with the activity narrated in the paper just read. It is not possible for me to mention all, suffice it to mention some. The most notable has been the acquiring of the battle-fields of the plains of Abraham and St. Foy to form the national memorial of the tercentenary in 1908 of the founding of Canada. Monuments to the fallen have been erected at Chrysler's Farm and Lundy's Lane. The unveiling of a monument at Queenstown Heights to Laura Second, a courageous woman of 1812, was the center of a happy international gathering. Monu-

ments have been erected to Brant, the noble and valorous Indian chief in the defense of Canada in 1812; to the memory of the militia of the Fenian raid, 1866; the Northwest Rebellion, 1885; and to the Canadians who gave their lives to the Empire in the recent South African campaign.

Tablets marking historical places and houses have been erected by the historical societies of Quebec and Montreal, the Canadian Club in Toronto, and the Niagara Historical Society in Niagara-on-the-Lake, where also, under the energy of Miss Janet Carnochan, an excellent public museum has been opened containing literature and memorials of the times and men of the early settlement. The first landing place of the United Empire Loyalists on the shore of the Bay of Quinte, a place as revered by Canadians as is the landing place of the Mayflower by Americans of the United States, has been secured as a public memorial and a monument erected by the Lennox and Addington Historical Society of Napanee, where the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society will be held in 1912.

Such is some of the work which has been done by the Canadian societies in similar directions to those noted in the main paper as among United States societies.

This question is asked: "What has been the productive work of the hereditary patriotic societies of America?"

We have seen somewhat of their work in its visible performance, particularly during the closing quarter of the past century, in which it has been shown in the paper that they have attained to their greatest activity. In considering their work in its resultant spirit, may we not say that, in the best sense, they have been largely productive in the direction of amity, and that they have led little by little toward the prevailing sentiment of rejoicing that a century of peace between the main nations on this continent has almost been reached, and the prevalent hope that such may be continued forever? It may by some have been thought requisite in the earliest period that a "new" nationality would be best welded by recrudence of antagonism and conflict. In reading the early educational books of the United States it is acknowledged on all hands that events are narrated in a manner which was highly colored and graced somewhat with invention. So, too, with the historical narratives published in those early days. A reference to the publications of the later, and particularly the more immediately present, period evidences a growing saneness and temperate method of treatment which evidences a willingness to state the real conditions, and a larger mindedness showing capability of being fair toward others. It appears to me that, without doubt, this amelioration has largely come from the spread of better knowledge among the general people through the medium of these historical and patriotic societies. May we not say that the teaching which was given in the early periods of the growth of the United States

tended to the creating of a flamboyant loyalty which revelled in excessive statement, and culminated in the exuberance of Fourth of July orations? The American nation to-day is big enough to be sane, honorable enough to be truthful, proud enough to be modest.

There used to be, and there still remains, the flickering of a tendency to appropriate whatever was energetic, virile, and forceful in the actions of men of early days as being a purely "American" product; something specially attaching to a revolutionary soil and without giving the slightest credit to the original parentage or earlier national training from which they had emanated. A tendency which represented the Pilgrim Fathers as resentful patriots, fleeing from a tyrannical dynasty, and as republicans seeking untrammeled liberty. Not quite so much mention was made of the fact that when landing at Plymouth they declared themselevs to be "loyal subjects of their Sovereign Lord King James," and recorded that their impelling motive was "to spread the blessings of Christianity in a new land." So also, in the beginnings of the strife which culminated in the breaking up of the connection which for two centuries had existed between the English in the old land and their colonists in America. Not so much stress is laid upon its origin having been from a request on the part of their brothers in England that the English in America contribute toward the expenses of the warfare with the French and the Indians which had been conducted by the home armies at the expense of the home peoples for the protection of the colonists and their possessions. Much more is stated, that the separation arose from a vindictive and unjustifiable demand for an unreasonable taxation. The method of the demand has been made to overshadow the reasons for the request. It is more generally understood now that in those first oppositions the British colonists in America were, as they themselves declared, "Englishmen seeking their rights of Englishmen," and that the large part of the English people favored their contention. When the forces of the colonies were first mustered together as one army under his command, Washington placed the British Union Jack in the upper portion of his continental ensign to show that they were loyal partiots in arms, not against their mother nation but against the rulings and methods of an impracticable cabinet for the time being in political power. Unhappily all these reasonable conditions were lost in the inflammatory outbreaks of those who drifted into a policy of separation rather than of repair.

So again in the War of 1812, more attention is now drawn to the fact that the larger portions of the United States, and particularly those on its northern borders, were not favorable to the opening of hostilities in which afterwards they did not show exceeding zeal, but all this was merged in the partizan impulses of a presidential election. War was not acclaimed with rapture, nor conducted with satisfaction, and peace was gladly hailed. So also on our Canadian side. History,

dwelling in the acidity of controversies, has been ameliorated. The origin and long continuing impression that the award of the boundary line between Maine and Canada, known as the Ashburton Treaty, was unjust to Canada, has disappeared under a more accurate inquiry, and that ancient stone of stumbling been removed. The sense of injustice at the loss of territory by the position of the southern boundary in the central prairies has been absorbed by the discovery that the greatest wheat lands of the continent lie to its north in Canada.

The creation of a Canadian spirit by the union of all Canada in one dominion, and patriotic education in its possibilities and its past, have solidified and temporized the racial element so as to become superior to and even to be amused at the United States rebuff. Resentment has been merged in the self-confidence of national manhood. These and many others, which time would not permit to quote, appear vivid evidences of the "Productive Work of the Hereditary Patriotic Societies." If it is true, as indeed it is, that "Democracy means government by means of public opinion" then the spread of sane and credible historical knowledge becomes all the more important. By their study of the past, these societies bring news and incidents of patriotism, honor, and respect for public duty, as evidenced in the earlier days; a time when men were not so all absorbed in accretions of money and wealth; a time of self-sacrifice for others, both for those among whom they lived, and for the welfare of the descendants who were to follow them. No greater productive work can be done for the welfare of the State than the spread of the sentiment that its greatness is not to be measured by millions, in acres, or of wealth, nor by volume of trade, but that in honesty toward each other, and in fair and honorable dealings with other nations is the greatest height of renown which can be achieved by any nation. That probity is the real measure of progress.

This is the field in which the historical societies on both sides of the line have been working, the field in which their future work lies. Judging by the past may we not hope for still continued progress in the days that are yet to come?

On behalf of our Canadian societies I beg to express their thanks for the invitation to take part in the program of your historical association.

Following Mr. Cumberland's remarks, Mrs. Bassett, historian general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, voiced the desire of that body to cooperate with the American Historical Association in carrying on historical work. At the close of the discussion the conference voted that the council of the American Historical Association be requested to appoint a committee to consider the historical activities of hereditary and patriotic societies.

At 5.15 the conference adjourned.

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1911.1

CALIFORNIA.

Historical Society of Southern California (Los Angeles).—President, George F. Bovard; secretary, J. M. Guinn. Membership, 80; increase, 15. Income composed of dues. A \$300,000 Museum of History, Science, and Art nearly completed, one wing of which is to be occupied by the Historical Society. Published: Parts 1 and 2 of Vol. VIII, 140 pp. Collections: 5,000 books, increase, 150; notable acquisition of Spanish MSS.

DELAWARE.

Historical Society of Delaware (Wilmington).—President, Rev. Joseph B. Turner; secretary, D. M. Bates. Membership, 346. Invested funds, \$8,133.18; annual income, \$1,833.38; annual appropriation from the State, \$300. Funds are being raised for a permanent building. Publications: The Journal and Order Book of Capt. Robert Kirkwood, ed. Rev. Joseph B. Turner; Barrett's Chapel and Methodism in Delaware, by Hon. Norris S. Barrett.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Washington).—President, Mrs. Matthew T. Scott; secretary, Mrs. William F. Dennis. Membership, 68,026, increase, 7,592. Memorial Continental Hall completed and furnished. Publications: American Monthly Magazine; Lineage Book, two volumes annually; Report of N. S. D. A. R. to the Smithsonian Institution; Directory of the members of the society. Collections: 5,700 books, increase, 400; notable acquisitions, three volumes of unpublished records of Maryland; compilation of records of 2,000 Revolutionary soldiers of Litchfield Co., Conn.; 14 volumes of typewritten abstracts of original Revolutionary pension applications; several volumes of family and court records taken from original MSS.; collection of Revolutionary relics in the National Museum, Washington, D. C., and in the museum of Memorial Continental Hall.

FLORIDA.

St. Augustine Institute of Science and Historical Society (St. Augustine).—President, De Witt Webb; secretary, A. H. Perkins. Membership, 153.

HAWAII.

Hawaiian Historical Society (Honolulu).—President, George R. Carter; secretary, Howard M. Ballou. Membership, 148; increase, 4. Invested funds, \$2,000; on hand, \$462.08. Has room in the new Carnegie Library of Hawaii. Published 18th annual report.

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¹In accordance with the usual custom, requests were sent to about 425 historical societies in the United States and Canada to furnish information designed to show the present status, activities, and progress during the year, under the general heads of membership, funds, equipment, collections, new enterprises, organization, and relations with state, county, or town. The returns made by the 96 societies responding to the request are here summarized.

ILLINOIS.

- Will County Pioneer Association (Joliet).—President, Hon Dorrence Dibell; secretary, William W. Stevens. Membership, 408; increase, 11. Income composed of dues.
- Whiteside County Historical Society (Sterling).—President, L. C. Thorne; secretary, W. W. Davis.
- Champaign County Historical Society (Urbana).—President, J. O. Cunningham; secretary, E. B. Greene.

INDIANA.

- Monroe County Historical Society (Bloomington).—President, James A. Woodburn; secretary, Frank Duncan. Membership, 27; increase, 5. Income composed of dues. Has room in the county courthouse.
- Indiana Historical Society (Indianapolis).—President, D. W. Howe; secretary, J. P. Dunn. Membership, 64; decrease, 3. Invested funds, \$3,000; annual appropriation from the State, \$300. Publications: Indianapolis and the Civil War, by John H. Holliday (No. 9 of Vol. IV of Publications); Lincoln's Body Guard, by Judge Robert McBride (No. 1 of Vol. V).
- Grant County Historical Society (Marion).—President, I. M. Miller; secretary, R. L. Whitson. Membership, 30. Income composed of dues. Housed in the city library. Materials are being collected for a county history.
- Northern Indiana Historical Society (South Bend).—President, Timothy E. Howard; secretary, George A. Baker. Membership, 86; increase, 7. Income composed of dues. Fire-proof building completed and furnished. Collections: 9,243 books, bound and unbound; increase, 316; 482 MSS.; increase, 72; 17,000 museum objects; increase, 600; recent acquisitions: Colfax Collection (antislavery, Mormanism, Lincoln pamphlets), the Coe Alamson Huston MSS., 92 framed portraits, an unpublished portrait of Lincoln.

Iowa.

Historical Society of Linn County (Cedar Rapids).—President, B. L. Wick; secretary, Luther A. Brewer. Membership, 100. Published A History of Linn County, Iowa, by B. L. Wick.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans).—Celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of steam navigation on the Ohio and the Mississippi.

MAINE.

- Bangor Historical Society (Bangor).—President, Hon. Henry Lord; secretary, E. M. Blanding. During the year the home and the collections of the Bangor Historical Society were destroyed by fire. The society will be housed in the public library when it is completed.
- Maine Genealogical Society (Portland).—President, Frederick O. Conant; secretary, George S. Hobbs. Membership, 326. Funds, \$2,950.82. Has room in the public library. Collections: 6,332 books; increase, 152.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston).—President, Charles Francis Adams; socretary, Henry W. Haynes. Membership, 160. Total funds, \$417,892.91. Publications: Proceedings, Vol. XLIII; Diary of Cotton Mather, Vol. I.

- Brookline Historical Society (Brookline).—President, Charles Henry Stearns; secretary, Charles F. White. Membership, 209; increase, 44. Funds, \$1,000; income composed of dues of \$2 each. Published volume of Proceedings. Collections: 200 books; recent acquisitions: Journal of Benjamin Goddard, 1812–1854. Cemetery records of Brookline burying ground, 1717–1900, to be issued in 1912.
- Shepard Historical Society (Cambridge).—President, Frank Gaylord Cook; secretary, Miss Marian F. Lansing. Membership, 50. Funds, \$100. Collections: 400 books.
- Dedham Historical Society (Dedham).—President, Julius Herbert Tuttle; secretary, Charles E. Mills. Membership, 160; increase, 7. Invested funds, \$1,200; income consists of dues at \$2 and interest. Collections: 6,000 books; increase, 150; several hundred MSS.; recent acquisitions: Papers of the old Norfolk and Bristol Turnpike Corporation, 1804–1830.
- Fitchberg Historical Society (Fitchberg).—President, Hon. Erza S. Stearns; secretary, Ebenezer Bailey. Membership, 92; increase, 28. A \$25,000 building is being erected. Collections: 1,367 books; increase, 67; 2,428 pamphlets; increase, 228; 782 MSS.; increase, 37.
- Marblehead Historical Society (Marblehead).—President, deceased; secretary, Richard Tutt. Membership, 400. Income composed of dues, gifts, and admission fees. Housed in the Lee Mansion, built in 1763.
- Medford Historical Society (Medford).—President, W. C. Eddy; secretary, George S. T. Fuller. Membership, 250. Income composed of dues. Published Medford Historical Register, Vol. XIV. Collections: 800 books; 500 MSS.; 200 museum objects.
- Roxbury Historical Society (Roxbury).—President, Dependence S. Waterman; secretary, Walter R. Meins.
- Essex Institute (Salem).—President, Gen. Francis Henry Appleton; secretary, George Francis Dow. Membership, 620; decrease, 21. Invested funds, \$192,064.49; buildings, \$120,863.29; income, \$17,391.56. Publications: Historical Collections, vol. 47; Annual Report; Vital Records of Newbury, Newburyport, and Ipswich, 6 vols.; Diary of Rev. William Bentley. Collections: 106,520 books; increase, 2,406; 366,693 pamphlets; increase, 9,118. Publication of Records and Files of the Essex County Courts, beginning in 1636, has been undertaken.
- Sharon Historical Society (Sharon).—President, Almon J. Dyer; secretary, George N. Whittemore. Membership, 75.
- Quinabaug Historical Society (Southbridge).—President, Calvin D. Paige; secretary, Miss Mary E. Clemence. Membership, 100; increase, 10. Trust fund, \$889.23; general fund, \$238.19. Publications: Leaflet, Vol. 2.
- Connecticut Valley Historical Society (Springfield).—President, William F. Adams; secretary, Henry A. Booth. Membership, 344; increase, 50. Received conditionally a house. Has published: Publications; History of Springfield, Mass.
- Topsfield Historical Society (Topsfield).—President, Charles J. Peabody; secretary, George Francis Dow. Membership, 252; decrease, 2. Building fund, \$813.36; general fund, \$142.72; received by bequest, about \$4,000. Published Historical Collections, Vol. 14.
- Bay State Historical League (Waltham).—President, Charles G. Chick; secretary, Alexander Starbuck. Membership, 40 societies; increase, 2.
- Medway Historical Society (West Medway).—President, Horbert N. Hixon; secretary, Orion T. Mason. Membership, 48; increase, 4 Income composed of dues. Collections: Books, increase, 25; MSS., increase, 17; museum objects, increase, 20.

- American Antiquarian Society (Worcester) President, Waldo Lincoln; secretary, George P. Winship; librarian, Clarence S. Brigham. Membership, 175. Invested funds, \$300,000. Publications: Proceedings, Vol. XXI; Royal Proclamations concerning America (Vol. XII of Transactions). Collections: 150,000 books; 35,000 MSS.
- Worcester Society of Antiquity (Worcester).—President, James Green; secretary, Walter Davidson. Membership, 215; increase, 20. Invested funds, \$17,470; building valued at \$21,700. Collections: 24,779 books; increase, 319, 343 newspapers; increase, 2; 1,519 pamphlets and miscellaneous papers; 6,000 museum objects; increase, 73. Has completed a card catalogue of the town histories, family genealogies, and vital statistics in the library.

MICHIGAN.

Historical Society of Grand Rapids (Grand Rapids).—Published: The Overland Journey of John Ball in 1832, by his daughter.

MINNESOTA.

- Minnesota Historical Society (St Paul).—President, William H. Lightner; secretary, Warren Upham. Membership, 420. Invested funds, \$89,000; real estate, \$60,000; annual State appropriation for maintenance of library, museum, etc., \$20,000. Housed in the capitol. Published: The Aborigines of Minnesota, material collected by the late Hon. J. V. Braver, the late Alfred J. Hill, and Theodore H. Lewis, compiled by Newton H. Winchell. Collections 102,175 books; increase, 8,956 volumes of newspapers; about 5,000 MSS; large number of museum objects. Is compiling derivation, date, and meaning of all geographical names in the State, and a volume of Minnesota biographies.
- Minnesota Territorial Pioneer Association (St. Paul).—President, Enoch F. Berrisford; secretary, George H. Hazzard. Membership, 3,000. Income composed of fees and dues. Collections: A large "pioneer" library; 1,200 framed pictures of pioneers. Has a log cabin on the State fair grounds, open in September each year.

MISSOURI.

- State Historical Society of Missouri (Columbia).—President, William Southern, jr.; secretary, F. A. Sampson. Membership, 323; increase, 53. Income, biennial appropriation by the legislature of \$8,000. Occupies 13 rooms in Academic Hall of State University. Publishes quarterly: Missouri Historical Review. Collections: 19,286 books; increase, 1,091; many unbound books and pamphlets. Trustee for the State.
- Pike County Missouri Historical Society (Louisiana).—President, Hon. Jefferson D. Hostetter; secretary, Dr. Clayton Keith. Membership, 100; increase, 25. Housed in the public library. Has published articles in the Press Journal. Monument to the soldiers of the Civil War placed in the cemetery. Is a part of the Louisiana Library Association.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska State Historical Society (Lincoln).—President, John L. Webster; secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 900; increase, 75. Biennial appropriation by the legislature of \$19,720. Publications: Collections, Vol. XVI in press; Duty of the State in Relation to its History, by John L. Webster, reprint; Evolution of Nebraska, by Albert Watkins, reprint. Collections: 36,400 books; increase, 2,150; 145 MSS.; increase, 9; recent acquisitions: A collection of Nebraska fauna, and a collection of woman's wearing apparel, dating back to 1835. Is a State institution.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

- New Hampshire Historical Society (Concord).—President, Daniel Hall; secretary, Henry A. Kimball. Membership, 291; increase, 92. A new fireproof building was dedicated November 23. Collections: 18,000 books; increase, 455. Receives annual appropriation from the State of \$500.
- New Hampshire Genealogical Society (Dover).—President, Hon. Arthur G. Whittemore; secretary, Fred. E. Quimby. Membership, 102; increase, 3. Income composed of dues. Has room in the public library building. Published one number of the New Hampshire Genealogical Record. Collections: 7,000 books and pamphlets, in addition about 3,000 duplicates; increase, 500; 25 MSS.; 165 museum objects, value \$1,345, recently acquired.
- Manchester Historic Association (Manchester).—President, William P. Farmer; secretary, Frank W. Sargeant; librarian, Fred W. Lamb. Membership, 225. Publications: Collections, pt. 3 of Vol. IV; Vol. XII; Proceedings of the Centennial Celebrations of the Naming of Manchester, June 13, 1910. Collections: 675 books; increase, 75. The society has erected a bronze marker at the early home of John Stark.

NEW JERSEY.

- Bergen County Historical Society (Hackensack).—President, Howard B. Hackensack; secretary, Burton H. Albee. Membership, 157. Income composed of dues. Publications: Yearbook, No. IV; History of the Bergen County Courts, by Hon. W. M. Johnson. Collections: 400 books; increase, 25; 500 museum objects. Society is mapping the county and designating historic points and has catalogued its collections.
- Princeton Historical Association (Princeton).—President, M. Taylor Pyne; secretary, E. C. Richardson. Membership, 20. The society is a publishing association, each publication financed by a special guarantee.
- Monmouth County Historical Association (Red Bank).—President, John S. Applegate; corresponding secretary, Viola E. Patterson; recording secretary, Edward S. Atwood. Membership, 250; increase, 30. Invested funds, \$1,000; general fund, \$1,600. Collections: 220 books, pamphlets, and newspapers. Notable acquisitions: Original MS. of the Life-Saving Service, written by its founder, Gov. William S. Newell; minutes of the township clerk of Middletown Township, 1699–1843.
- Salem County Historical Society (Salem) —President, Dr. Edward S. Sharpe; secretary, George W. Price. Membership, 69, decrease, 2. Income composed of dues. Collections: 600 books; increase, 45; 300 MSS.; increase, 2; 200 museum objects; increase, 6. The society contributed to the loan exhibition of the Burlington County Historical Society, Moorestown, Nov. 23, 24.
- Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society (Vineland).—President, Rev. William M. Gilbert; secretary, Frank D. Andrews. Membership, 37. Received from the Charles K. Landis bequest, \$3,800. New \$12,000 building completed. Has published Annual Report. Collections: 8,000 books; increase, 500.
- Gloucester County Historical Society (Woodbury).—President, John G. Whitall; secretary, Dr. T. E. Parker. Membership, 250; increase, 49. Publications: Memoirs of Capt. George W. Hughes, W. H. McCullough, S. Louisa Maris, deceased members; Woodbury, 1871-1911; Tanneries and Tannery Business of South Jersey; Fifty-Odd Years King's Highway; Seventy Years of the Business of Bateman Manufacturing Co., Grenloch, N. J.; Revolutionary Incidents about the Battle of Red Bank, N. J.; Chevaux de Frise in the Delaware; Life Work of Gen. Samuel G. French.

NEW YORK.

- Montgomery County Historical Society (Amsterdam).—President, Robert M. Hartley; secretary, Charles E. French. Membership, 225. Endowment fund, \$10,000; dues, \$2 each. Improvements on property valued at \$1,200. Has published Yearbook. Small collection of books; valuable collection of historical relics.
- Buffalo Historical Society (Buffalo).—President, Henry W. Hill; secretary, Frank H. Severance. Membership, 700. Income from dues, sale of publications, invested funds, and city appropriation of \$5,000 annually. Publications: Studies of the Niagara Frontier, by Frank H. Severance. Collections: 32,744 books; increase, 795; large collection of MSS. and museum objects. The society gives each year a series of lectures. It is planning the erection of tablets to Fillmore and Cleveland, the celebration of its fiftieth birthday, April 15, 1912.
- New York State Historical Association (Glens Falls).—President, Hon. James A. Roberts; secretary, Frederick B. Richards. Membership, 722; increase, 100. Invested fund, \$400. Published Proceedings, Vol. X. Collections: 500 books; increase, 100. Society is planning to mark the grave of Maj Duncan Campbell.
- Chautauqua Society of History and Natural Science (Jamestown).—President, Hon. Obed Edson; secretary, Abner Hazeltine Membership, 290; increase, 16. Income composed of gifts from the members. Housed in a new county building.
- Johnstown Historical Society (Johnstown).—President, Lucius L. Streeter; secretary, Alonzo M. Young. Membership, 100. Income composed of dues and interest on a small memorial fund. Collections: Small number of books; 3,000 museum objects. The society is restoring the Sir William Johnson mansion, of which it is the legal custodian. For this purpose the State makes an annual appropriation.
- American Jewish Historical Society (New York City).—President, Cyrus Adler; secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg Membership, 337; increase, 25. Has publication fund of \$5,150 and general assets of \$3,250. Has a room in the Jewish Theological Seminary. Has published Publication, No. 20. Collections: 1,200 books An index to the Publications and Volume I of the Lyons collection of MSS. will soon appear.
- American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society (New York City).—President, Dr. George Frederick Kunz; secretary, Edward Hagaman Hall Membership, 600. Permanent funds, \$60,000; funds for special purposes, \$15,000; general income about \$4,000; State appropriations for the care of special reservations. Has published the Annual Report. Collections: A library and museum at Litchworth Park and a special depository in the New York Public Library As legal custodian of four State properties the library is accountable annually to the State.
- New York Genealogical and Biographical Society (New York City).—President, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen; secretary, Henry Russell Drowne. Membership, 613; increase, 20. Publications: New York Genealogical and Biographical Record; quarterly. Collections: 1,500 books; increase, 200; 200 MSS. A department of registration of pedigrees is to be established.
- Pennsylvania Society (New York City).—President, Robert Means Thompson; secretary, Barr Ferree. Membership, 1,400. Income, \$20,000 Library installed in new rooms, 249 West Thirteenth Street. Publications: Yearbook; Report on the William Penn Memorial in London. Society erected tablet to Penn in Allhallows Barking, London.
- Schenectady County Historical Society (Schenectady).—President, Henry G. Reish; secretary, De Lancy W. Watkins. Membership, 300. Housed in the Public Library. Has published a Yearbook Collections: 500 books; increase, 125.
- Onondaga Historical Association (Syracuse).—President, Hon. A. Judd Northrup; secretary, Franklin H. Chase. Membership, 227; increase, 7. Has repaired its building. Has published a catalogue of the museum. Collections: 200 books;

- 100 museum objects. The society is conducting, under the direction of Rev. William M. Beauchamp, a search for the graves of Revolutionary soldiers in all the burial grounds of the county.
- Waterloo Library and Historical Society (Waterloo).—President, James E. Batsford; secretary, Rev Henry E. Hubbard. Membership, 100; increase, 1. Endowment, \$10,000; town grants annually \$400.

Ощо.

- Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Cincinnati).—President, Joseph Wilby; secretary, Charles T. Greve. Membership,103; decrease, 1. Funds, about \$68,000. Has published Volume VI of Quarterly Publications. Collections: 24,427 books; increase, 295; about 69,000 pamphlets; many MSS.; few museum objects.
- Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland).—President, Wallace Hugh Cathcart; curator, Albion Morris Dyer. Collections: 31,230 books, pamphlets, bound newspapers; increase, 2,389; MSS., unclassified; notable accessions: Shaker Society publications; Baptist Association minutes of Ohio local associations; bound volumes of newspapers for counties in the Western Reserve; Shaker Society MSS.; Col. John May papers; Elisha Whittlesey papers, 1804–1865, consisting of War of 1812 muster rolls, pay rolls, subsistence reports, Liberia Colonization Society correspondence, United States Comptroller of the Currency correspondence. The society has in preparation a check list of Ohio Session Laws; bibliography notes of Ohio newspapers; reclassification of Connecticut Land Company MSS., and a catalogue of the entire collection.
- Sandusky County (Ohio) Pioneer and Historical Association (Fremont).—President, Isador H. Burgoon; secretary, Basil Meek. Membership, 200. Has the use of Birchard Library.

OKLAHOMA.

- Oklahoma Historical Society (Oklahoma City).—President, Jasper Sipes; secretary, Frank D. Northrup.

 OREGON.
- Oregon Historical Society (Eugene).—President, Frederick V. Holman; secretary, F. G. Young. Membership, 715; decrease, 16. Biennial appropriation from the legislature, \$8,000; from members, \$1,045.50; from sale of publications, \$105.07. Has published Volume XII of Quarterly. Collections: 12,070 books, increase, 147; 33,118 MSS.; increase, 1,885; 1,939 museum objects; increase, 186.

PENNSYLVANIA.

- Lehigh County Historical Society (Allentown) —President, Dr. George T E. Ettinger; secretary, Charles R. Roberts. Membership, 170; increase, 6. Appropriation from the county commissioners, \$200. Collections: 520 books; increase, 30; 25 museum objects. Society is planning to celebrate the founding of Allentown and the erection of Lehigh County.
- Pennsylvania German Society (Allentown) President, H. M. M. Richards, secretary, Dr. George T. Ettinger. Membership, 512; increase, 12. Has published Proceedings, Vol. XIX. Plans the publication of a complete bibliography of Pennsylvania-German literature.
- Delaware County Historical Society (Chester).—President, A. Lewis Smith; secretary, H. G. Ashmead. Membership, 109. Collections: 214 books; increase, about 50.
- Bucks County Historical Society (Doylestown).—President, Henry C. Mercer; secretary, C. D. Hotchkiss. Membership, 784; increase, 48. Funds of \$3,506. Collections: 2,760 books; increase, 65; MSS. not counted; 5,000 museum objects; in-

- crease, 47. The society has purchased land covering site of the grave of the Indian sachem, Tamanend, intending to erect a memorial.
- Eric County Historical Society (Erie).—President, Hon. Henry A. Clark; secretary, John Miller. Membership, 193; increase, 90. Invested fund, \$200; income composed of dues. Room in public library. Collections: 77 books; 30 MSS. Sites of the shipyards where the vessels of Perry's fleet were built and the terminus of the old portage road are to be marked.
- Site and Relic Society of Germantown (Germantown).—President, Charles F. Jenkins; secretary, William E. Chapman. Membership, 638. Endowment fund, \$1,000; receipts for the year, \$1,479. The society maintains a museum in Vernon Park in the Wister Mansion, owned by the city. Publications: The Early Physicians of Germantown, by I. Pearson Willitts; Travels near Home, by Harrison S. Morris; The Cricket Grounds of Germantown, by George M. Newhall. Collections: 805 books, increase, 171; 83 MSS., increase, 17. A catalogue of the museum objects is being prepared.
- Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies (Harrisburg).—President, Gilbert Cope; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 32 societies. Income consists of dues, with aid from the State occasionally. Has published its Acts and Proceedings.
- Lebanon County Historical Society (Heilman Dale).—President, Dr. William M. Guilford; secretary, Dr. S. P. Heilman. Membership, 190; increase, 28. Income composed of members' fees and dues, sale of publications, and an appropriation of \$200 from the county commissioners. Has room in county courthouse. Publications: Annual; The Humberger School Association and its School, by Cyrus Boger. Collections: 5,000 books, MSS., and museum objects.
- Lancaster County Historical Society (Lancaster).—President, George Steinman; secretary, Charles B. Hollinger. Membership, 250; increase, 25. Income composed of dues, returns from the sale of pamphlets, and county appropriations. Has room in the public library. Has published 11 pamphlets this year, one giving an account of the Christmas riot of 1851. Collections: 2,166 books; increase, 196. The library has been reorganized and classified.
- Susquehanna County Historical Society and Free Library Association (Montrose).—
 President, H. A. Denny; secretary, C. F. Pross. Membership, 150. Endowment, about \$32,000. Has room in the public library. Collections: 1,070 books, MSS. and museum objects. Plans the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the settling of Susquehanna County.
- Historical Society of Montgomery County (Norristown).—President, Joseph Fornance; secretary, Mrs. A Conrad Jones. Membership, 390; increase, 28. Income composed of entrance fees and dues, rental of rooms in the society's building, and an annual appropriation from the county of \$200. Building valued at \$10,000. Is publishing Volume IV of the papers read before the society. Collections: about 1,000 books; increase, about 50; about 200 museum objects. The society cares for the tomb of Gen. Winfield Scott; plans to mark the site of the encampment of the American Army in Pollsgrove Township; and is preparing a bibliography of Montgomery County.
- German-American Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, Dr. A. Bernheim; secretary, Dr E. M. Gogel. Membership, 72; decrease, 1. Has published German-American Annals, ed., M. D. Learned. It plans German-American relations on the basis of German archives.
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).—President, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker; secretary, John B. McMaster. Membership, 2,300. Funds, \$252,300; real estate valued at \$170,000; some small funds in addition. Housed in an excellent fireproof building. Publishes quarterly Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Collections: 100,000 books, 285,000 MSS., increase, 9,285; 200,000

pamphlets, increase selected, 3,800. Copy of muster rolls of the Loyalist regiments of the Revolution is being made.

Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, Rev. Henry C. McCook; corresponding secretary, Rev. Charles R. Waken; recording secretary, Rev. Walter A. Brooks. Membership, 233; increase, 4. Endowment, \$11,726.75; income composed of interest on this and dues. Has published quarterly journal. Collections: Increase of books, 592; increase of museum objects, 115; notable acquisitions, oil portraits, silver communion plate, 1,755. Society has corresponded with synods and presbyteries in regard to marking local historic sites, and has held an exhibit of Bibles commemorative of the three-hundredth anniversary of the King James version.

Washington County Historical Society (Washington).—President, Boyd Crumrine; secretary, M. R. Allen. Membership, 399; increase, 4. Income composed of dues. Has a room in the courthouse. Collections: A number of MSS.; 238 museum objects; increase, 12.

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association (Providence).—President, Thomas W. Bicknell; secretary, Mrs. Caroline A. P. Weeden. Membership, 342; increase, 23. Plans for a home and a library and museum in the coming year.

Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence).—President, Wilfred H. Munro; librarian, Frank Greene Bates. Membership, 365; increase, 65. Invested funds, \$52,813.80; income, \$4,959.63. Has published Proceedings, 1910. Collections: 50,000 books, 109,000 MSS. Work on transcript of records of the town of Warwick, R. I., 1647-1668, nearing completion; work begun on papers of Gabriel Bemon, a Huguenot refugee. Receives \$1,500 from the State for the care of the State newspaper collections.

TEXAS.

Texas State Historical Association (Austin).—President, A. W. Terrell; secretary, Charles W. Ramsdell. Membership, 1,700. Invested fund, about \$2,000; cash on hand, about \$800. Has room in a building of the University of Texas. Publishes a quarterly. The library is merged with the university library. The society plans for 1912 the publication of transcripts of correspondence from the British Public Record office, concerning the Republic of Texas, 1837–1846.

VERMONT.

Vermont Antiquarian Society (Burlington).—President, W J. Van Patten; secretary, G. H. Perkins. The society is at present inactive.

Virginia.

Virginia Historical Society (Richmond).—President, W. Gordon McCabe; secretary, W. G. Stanard Membership, 755; increase, 6. Endowment fund, \$11,100; an increase of \$500 made from the regular income of the society. Has published Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XIX. Collections: Increase of books, 450; recent acquisitions, 60 maps of Virginia counties made in 1863-64; oil portrait of Zachary Taylor.

WISCONSIN.

Sauk County Historical Society (Baraboo).—President, H. E. Cole; secretary, H. K.
Page. Membership, 50. Income: County funds, \$50; dues, \$15; exhibition,
\$15. Rooms in the courthouse. Has published papers in the local newspapers
Collections: 50 books; increase, 5; 100 museum objects; recent acquisition, I. A.
Lapham's field notes of a trip to Sauk County. The society gave a loan exhibit.

- Walworth County Historical Society (Elkhorn).—President, Albert Clayton Beckworth; secretary, John Henry Snyder, jr. Membership, 33; increase, 4. Income composed of dues. The society is gathering vital statistics of the county. Is auxiliary to the Wisconsin State Historical Society.
- Wisconsin Archaeological Society (Madison).—President, O. L. Hollister; secretary, Charles E. Brown. Membership, 370. Publications: The use of Tobacco and the Calumet by Wiscon.
- Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison).—President, Lucius C. Colman; secretary, Reuben G. Thwaites. Membership, 814; increase, 20. Endowment, \$66,000; increase, \$2,600. Is building bookstack wing, for which the legislature appropriated \$162,000. Publications: Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX; bulletins of information, Nos. 55-58. Collections: 341,206 books; increase, 9,639; 2,000 volumes of MSS., about 250 MSS. to a volume; number of museum objects uncertain; increase, 4,000. Publications nearly ready for press: Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XX, and index to Vols. I to XX; Frontier Defence on the Upper Ohio; Annotated Newspaper Catalogue (new ed.); several volumes on the Civil War for the Wisconsin History Commission. Legislative appropriation, \$36,000 per year; a second one of \$5,000; printing, postage, telegrams, and expressage are received from the State; trustee for the State; new printing law makes the society the chief agency for the exchange of State documents.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Nova Scotia Historical Society (Halifax).—President, Ven. Archdeacon W. J. Armitage; corresponding secretary, Harry Piers; recording secretary, William L. Payzart Membership, 195; increase, 38. Income composed of dues and a small legislative grant. Has published collections, Vols. XIV and XV. Collections: 8,000 books. Numerous historic sites have been marked. The provincial government assists in special publications in addition to the annual grant.

ONTARIO.

- Champlain Society (Toronto).—President, Sir Edmund Walker; secretary, G. M. Wrong. Membership, 400. Income composed of dues. Has published Hearne's Journey from the Prince of Wales Fort to the Northern Ocean, ed. J. B. Tyrrell.
- Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute (St. Thomas).—President, James H. Coyne; secretary, Herbert S Wegg. Membership, 130. Cash on hand, \$184.10. Has published Reminiscences of Early Settlers. Collections: Books, MSS., museum objects, same as in former years; notable acquisitions, the Talbot Papers; Reminiscences of the late George Munro. Annual grant of \$100 from the provincial legislature.
- Huron Institute (Collingwood).—President, M. Gariller; secretary, David Williams. Membership, 65. Collections: 4,000 museum objects. Affiliated with the Ontario Historical Society. Annual appropriation of \$100 from the Ontario provincial government.
- Niagara Historical Society (Niagara-on-the-Lake).—President, Miss Carnochan; secretary, John Eckersley. Membership, 200; increase, 20. Income composed of fees, sale of pamphlets and catalogues, contribution box, and grants from the provincial government and the county council; amount on hand, \$189. Publications: No. XX, a series of reminiscences and a translation of Thomas de Boucherville's journal; No. XXI, reprint of No. 7. Collections: 824 books, increase, 31; 315 MSS., increase, 38; 5,283 museum objects. Catalogue completed; some historic sites marked.

Ontario Historical Society (Toronto).—President, David Williams; secretary, Clarkson W. James. Held its thirteenth annual meeting.

OTTAWA.

Woman's Canadian Historical Society (Ottawa).—President, Thomas Ahearn; secretary, Braddish Billings. Membership, 198, increase, 30. Income composed of dues, sale of publications, and a government grant. Publications: Annual Report; Transactions. Collections. 60 books; 22 pamphlets. Notable acquisitions: Talbot papers; Winslow papers.

DELEGATES ACCREDITED TO CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.¹

DELAWARE.

Historical Society of Delaware.—Rev. Joseph Brown Turner.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.—Mrs. Charles Wesley Bassett, Mrs. William F. Dennis.

INDIANA.

Monroe County Historical Society.—James A. Woodburn. Indiana Historical Society.—James A. Woodburn.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Massachusetts Historical Society.—Worthington C Ford. American Antiquarian Society.—Clarence S. Brigham.

MISSOURI.

State Historical Society of Missouri.—F. A. Sampson.

Pike County Historical Society.—Thomas J. C. Fagg, Robert A. Campell, and Miss Elizabeth Whittaker.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska State Historical Society.—Clarence S. Paine.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen County Historical Society.—Howard C. Goetschinom, Burton H. Allbee. Princeton Historical Association.—E. C. Richardson.

NEW YORK.

New York State Historical Association.—Frank H. Severance, Grenville M. Ingalsbee. New York Historical Society.—Clarence W. Bowen.

American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society.—Robert L. Fryer, Charles M. Dow, L. H. Bailey.

New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.—Clarence W. Bowen. Schenectady County Historical Society.—Charles L. Davis.

Omo.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.—Joseph Wilby.

Sandusky County (Ohio) Pioneer and Historical Association.—Isadore H. Burgoon, Basil Meek.

¹ This is the list of delegates appointed; not all attended.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—John W. Jordan.

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island Historical Society.—Frank G. Bates.

TEXAS.

Texas State Historical Association.—Eugene C. Barker.

WISCONSIN.

Walworth County Historical Society.—Jay Wright Page, Grant Dean Harrington. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.—Reuben G. Thwaites. Wisconsin Archæological Society.—Charles A. Hayden, Alvin H. Dewey.

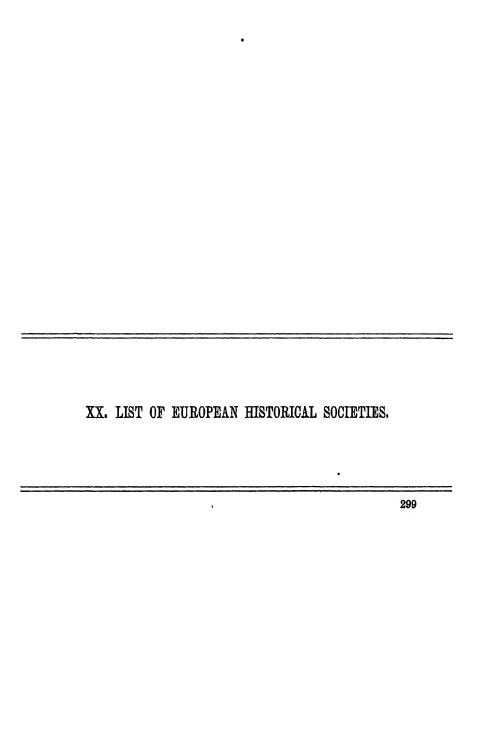
CANADA.

Huron Institute (Collingwood).—David Williams.

Niagara Historical Society.—Miss Carnochan.

Woman's Canadian Historical Society (Ottawa).—Mrs. J. B. Simpson, Mrs. George Bayly.

Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute (St. Thomas).—James H. Coyne.



LIST OF EUROPEAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

At the sixth annual conference of historical societies, held in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York in December, 1909, it was voted to request the council of the association to take into consideration the desirability of preparing a report on the work of European historical societies. The council appointed a committee, consisting of Dr. J. F. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of Northwestern University, and Prof. E. C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, to consider the matter. The committee made its final report to the council in November, 1911, and the council directed that the list herewith presented should be printed.

The committee is of the opinion that a list of historical societies outside of America, both living and extinct, prepared with the needs of American students and libraries especially in view, is a desidera-Such a list should contain succinct information respecting the origin, history, and object of each society, its income, relations with the State, its officers, meetings, library and other collections, its historical activities of all sorts, and especially bibliographical data respecting its publications, serial or other, with indications showing in which American libraries the publications may be found. a list would undeniably be of great service, but the expense of preparing it would be so considerable that it is out of the question for the American Historical Association to undertake the task alone. might very properly be accomplished as a cooperative undertaking by university and learned libraries, and such institutions would undoubtedly save more than the cost of preparing such a list and of keeping it current, through the economy that would be effected by its use in the reference and bibliographical departments, and in cataloguing.

Until the preparation of such a handbook shall be undertaken, however, it seems worth while to indicate briefly certain sources of information respecting the historical societies outside of America, and to present a list of the more important ones.

An introductory knowledge of the work of the most active societies can be obtained from the second part of the well-known volume by Prof. Charles Langlois, Manuel de Bibliographie Historique. General surveys of the societies of certain countries are presented in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1909: "What we can learn from the publishing activities of European

societies," by Henry E. Bourne (dealing mainly with France and Germany); "Histroical societies in Great Britain," by George W. Prothero; "The work of Dutch historical societies," by H. T. Colenbrander; "The historical societies of France," by Camille Enlart; and "The work of historical societies in Spain," by Rafael Altamira. The Minerva-Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt (Strassburg, Trübner) includes the most important historical societies of all countries, and gives brief data (not bibliographical) respecting each. The third volume of the Minerva-Handbuch der Gelehrten Welt, now in preparation, will contain a list of learned societies, with much of the data, especially relating to publications, that should be included in a handbook for American use. For the societies of Great Britain and Ireland there is the Yearbook of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland (London, Griffin). The first volume of this publication, issued in 1884, contained a review of the history, organization, and conditions of membership of the various societies. The annual volumes contain, in addition to data respecting officers. meetings, dues, etc., a list of the papers read during the year. Bibliographies of the publications of French societies are that by Lasteyrie, Bibliographie Générale des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques publiés par les Sociétés Savantes de la France, a huge work in several volumes, and that by Lefèvre-Pontalis, Bibliographie des Sociétés Savantes de la France. For Germany there is J. Müller: Die wissenschaftlichen Vereine und Gesellschaften Deutschlands.

The accompanying list is drawn from the English yearbook, mentioned above, and from the Minerva-Jahrbuch, vol. XXI, pp. lxii-lxxxviii, where is printed, in anticipation of the third volume of Minerva-Handbuch, a "Systematisches Verzeichnis der gelehrten Gesellschaften." Especial acknowledgement is due to the publisher of Minerva, Mr. Karl J. Trübner, of Strassburg, for permission to reprint those portions of the "Systematisches Verzeichnis" needful for the present purpose.

ENGLAND.

Aylesbury.—Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham.¹ Bishop's Stortford.—East Herts Archæological Society.¹

Bradford.—Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.1

Brighton.—Brighton and Hove Archæological Club.1

Burton-on-Trent.—Natural History and Archæological Society.

Bury St. Edmunds -Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.

Cambridge.—Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

Carlisle.—Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archeological Society.

Clifton.—Clifton Antiquarian Club.1

Colchester.—Essex Archæological Society.

Derby.—Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

¹ Societies thus marked are listed in the Official Year-Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland.

Devizes.—Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

Gloucester.—Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.1

Guildford .- Surrey Archæological Society.

Hawick.—Hawick Archæological Society.1

Leeds.-Thoresby Society.1

Yorkshire Archæological Society.

Leicester.—Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society.1

Lewes .- Sussex Archeological Society.

Sussex Record Society.1

Liverpool.—Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

London.—British Archæological Association.

British Record Society.1

Cambrian Archæological Association.

Canterbury and York Society.

Dorset Records.1

Egypt Exploration Fund.

Egyptian Research Students' Association.1

Genealogical and Biographical Society.1

Harleian Society.1

"Historic London" Club.

Home Counties Archæological Society.1

Huguenot Society of London.

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

London Topographical Society.1

Navy Records Society.1

Palestine Exploration Fund.

Parish Register Society.1

Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Royal Historical Society.

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.1

Selden Society.1

Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.1

Society of Antiquaries of London.

Society of Biblical Archæology.

Surrey Parish Register Society.1

Viking Club, Society for Northern Research.1

Wyclif Society.1

Manchester.—Chetham Society.1

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society

Manchester Egyptian Association.1

Newcastle-upon-Tyne. -- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Northampton.—Architectural and Archæological Society for the Archdeaconries of Northampton and Oakham.¹

Norwich.—Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.

Nottingham.—Thoroton Society.1

Oxford.—Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.1

Oxford Historical Society.

Oxfordshire Archæological Society.

Oxford University Antiquarian Society.1

Reading.—Berkshire Archæological and Architectural Society.1

St. Albans.—St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archeological Society.
Salisbury.—Wilts Record Society.

Shrewsbury.—Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society.¹ Shropshire Parish Register Society.¹

Southampton.—Hampshire Field Club and Archeological Society 1

Stafford.—William Salt Archeological Society, Stafford.1

Sunderland.—Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society.1

Taunton.—Somersetshire Archeological and Natural History Society.

Wigan.—Lancashire Parish Register Society.1

Worcester.—Worcester Diocesan, Architectural, and Archæological Society.¹
Worcestershire Historical Society.¹

Yeovil.—Somerset Record Society.1

Yorkshire.—Yorkshire Parish Register Society.1

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen.—New Spalding Club.

Edinburgh.—Scottish History Society.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Glasgow.—Glasgow Archæological Society.

Stirling.—Stirling Natural History and Archæological Society.

IRELAND.

Cork.—Cork Historical and Archæological Society.

Dublin.—College Historical Society.1

Irish Archæological and Celtic Society.

Parish Register Society of Dublin.1

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

Kildare.—Kildare Archæological Society. 1

FRANCE.

Alençon.—Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Orne.

Amiens.—Société des Antiquaires de Picardie.

Angoulème.—Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente.

Auch.-Société Archéologique du Gers.

Société Historique de Gascogne.

Auxerre.—Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne.

Beaune.—Société d'Archéologie, d'Histoire, et de Littérature.

Béziers.—Société Archéologique, Scientifique, et Littéraire.

Bordeaux.—Société Archéologique.

Société des Archives Historiques de la Gironde.

Bourges.—Société des Antiquaires du Centre.

Société Historique et Littéraire du Cher.

Brive - Société Scientifique, Historique, et Archéologique.

Caen.—Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.

Société Française d'Archéologie.

Châlon-sur-Saône.—Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie.

Chambéry.—Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie.

Chartres.—Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir.

Châteaudun.—Société Dunoise: Archéologie, Histoire, Sciences, et Arts.

Château-Thierry.—Société Historique et Archéologique.

Châtillon-sur-Seine. -- Société Archéologique et Historique du Châtillonais.

Chaumont.—Société d'Histoire, d'Archéologie, et des Beaux-Arts.

Clermont-Ferrand.—Académie de Clermont.

Compiègne.—Société Historique.

Draguignan.—Société d'Études Scientifiques et Archéologiques.

Dunkirk.—Union Faulconnier: Société Historique de Dunkerque.

Épinal.—Société d'Émulation des Vosges.

Évreux.—Société Normande d'Études Préhistoriques

Fontainebleau.—Société Historique et Archéologique du Gatinais.

Guéret.—Société des Sciences Naturelles et Archéologiques

Langres.-Société Historique et Archéologique.

Le Mans.-Société des Archives Historiques du Maine.

Société Historique et Archéologique du Maine.

Lille.—Commission Historique du Nord.

Société d'Études de la Province de Cambrai.

Limoges.—Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin.

Société des Archives Historiques du Limousin.

Lyons.—Société Littéraire, Historique, et Archéologique.

Montauban.—Société Archéologique de Tarn et Garonne

Montbéliard.—Société d'Émulation de Montbéliard

Montbrison.-La Diana, Société Historique et Archéologique.

Montpellier.—Société Archéologique.

Nancy.—Société d'Archéologie Lorraine et du Musée Historique Lorrain.

Nantes.—Société Archéologique.

Narbonne.—Commission Archéologique.

Orléans.—Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Orléanais.

Paris.—Société Asiatique.

Société de l'École des Chartes.

Société de l'Histoire de France.

Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française.

Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France.

Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.

Société de l'Histoire du Théâtre.

Société des Américanistes de Paris.

Société des Études Historiques.

Société des Études Juives.

Société d'Études Italiennes.

Société d'Histoire Contemporaine.

Société d'Histoire Diplomatique.

Société d'Histoire Moderne.

Société Française des Fouilles Archéologiques.

Société "La Sabretache."

Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.

Périgueux —Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord.

Poitiers.—Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.

Société des Archives Historiques du Poitou.

Quimper.—Société Archéologique du Finistère.

Rennes.—Société Archéologique.

Rouen.-Société de l'Histoire de Normandie.

Saintes.—Commission des Arts et Monuments Historiques de la Charente.

Société des Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis.

Saint-Omer.—Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie.

Sedan.—Société d'Études Ardennaises.

Sens.—Société Archéologique.

Soissons.—Société Archéologique, Historique, et Scientifique.

Toulouse.—Société Archéologique du Midi de la France.

Tours.—Société Archéologique de Touraine.

Valence.—Société d'Archéologie et de Statistique.

Vendôme.-Société Archéologique du Vendômois.

SPAIN.

Barcelona.—Institut d'Estudis Catalans. (Section I for Archeology and History.)

Madrid.—Real Academia de la Historia.

PORTUGAL.

Figueira da Foz.—Sociedade Archeologica Santos Rocha.

Guimarães.—Sociedade Martins Sarmento.

Lisbon.—Associação dos Archeologos Portuguezes.

ITALY.

Assisi.—Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani.

Catania.—Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale.

Florence.-Società Asiatica Italiana.

Società Colombaria.

Genoa.-Società Ligure di Storia Patria.

Milan.—Società Storica Lombarda.

Naples.—Società Napoletana di Storia Patria.

Palermo - Società Siciliana di Storia Patria.

Rome.—Comité de Patronage pour la nouvelle Édition des "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores."

Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria.

Torre Pellice - Société d'Histoire Vaudoise.

Turin.-Società Storica Subalpina.

BELGIUM.

Antwerp.—Académie Royal d'Archéologie de Belgique.

Arlon.—Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg.

Bruges — Société d'Émulation pour l'Étude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre.

Brussels.—Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.

Ghent.—Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand.

Liège.—Institut Archéologique Liègeois.

Mons.—Cercle Archéologique de Mons.

Namur.—Société Archéologique et Musée de Namur.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Amsterdam.—Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap.

Middelburg.—Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen.

Utrecht.—Historisch Genootschap.

Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap.

Vereeniging Lot Uitgave der Bronnen van het oude Vaterlandsche Recht.

GERMANY.

Aachen.-Aachener Geschichtsverein.

Altenburg.—Geschichts- und Altertumsforschende Gesellschaft.

Ansbach.—Historischer Verein für Mittelfranken.

Arolsen.—Geschichtsverein fur Waldeck und Pyrmont.

Augsburg.—Historischer Verein für Schwaben und Neuburg.

Bamberg.—Historischer Verein.

Berlin.—Archäologische Gesellschaft

Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte.

Deutsch-Asiatische Gesellschaft.

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Vorgeschichte.

Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft.

Gesamtverein der Deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine.

Gesellschaft für Palastina-Forschung.

Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums.

Historische Gesellschaft.

Orient-Komitee.

Verein für die Geschichte Berlins.

Verein für die Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg.

Verein für Reformationsgeschichte.

Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft.

Bernburg.—Verein fur Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Bielefeld.—Historischer Verein für die Grafschaft Ravensberg

Birkenfeld.—Verein für Altertumskunde im Fürstentum Birkenfeld.

Bonn.—Verein von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinland.

Brandenburg.—Historischer Verein.

Bremen.—Historische Gesellschaft des Künstlervereins.

Breslau.—Schlesische Gesellschaft für Vaterlandische Kultur.

Schlesischer Altertumsverein.

Verein für Geschichte Schlesiens.

Brunswick.—Geschichtsverein für das Herzogtum Braunschweig.

Cologne.—Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde.

Historischer Verein für den Niederrhein.

Danzig.—Westpreussischer Geschichtsverein.

Darmstadt.-Historischer Verein für das Grossherzogtum Hessen.

Dessau.—Verein für Anhaltische Geschichte-und Altertumskunde.

Dillingen.—Historischer Verein.

Donauwörth.—Historischer Verein für Donauwörth und Umgegend.

Dortmund.—Historischer Verein für Dortmund und die Grafschaft Mark.

Dresden.-Königlicher Sächsischer Altertumsverein.

Verein für Geschichte Dresdens.

Düsseldorf.—Düsseldorfer Geschichtsverein.

Eichstätt.—Historischer Verein

Eisleben.—Verein für Geschichte und Altertümer der Grafschaft Mansfeld

Elberfeld.—Bergischer Geschichtsverein.

Essen.—Historischer Verein für Stadt und Stift Essen.

Frankfort-on-the-Main.—Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Frauenburg.—Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands.

Freiburg i. Br.—Gesellschaft für Beförderung der Geschichts-, Altertums-, und Volksunde von Freiburg, dem Breisgau, und den Angrenzenden Landschaften.

Friedberg.—Friedberger Geschichte und Altertumsverein.

Friedrichshafen.—Verein für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung.

Giessen.—Oberhessischer Geschichtsverein.

Greifswald.—Rügisch-Pommerscher Geschichtsverein.

Halle.—Thüringisch-Sächsischer Verein für Erforschung des Vaterländischen Altertums und Erhaltung seiner Denkmaler.

Hamburg.—Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte.

Hanauer Geschichtsverein.

Hannover.—Historischer Verein für Niedersachsen.

Heidelberg .- Historisch-Philosophischer Verein.

Hildburghausen.-Verein für Sachsen-Meiningische Geschichte und Landeskunde.

Homburg-on-the-Höhe.—Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Jena.-Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Kassel.—Verein für Hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde.

Kiel.—Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte.

Verein für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte.

Verent in Denieswig-Houstenbene izitetengeschiente.

Koblenz.—Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalspflege und Heimatschutz

Kolmar.—Gesellschaft für die Geschichte der Israeliten in Elsass-Lothringen.

Königsberg.—Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia.

Verein für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreussen.

Landsberg-on-the-Warthe.—Verein für Geschichte der Neumark.

Landshut.-Historischer Verein für Niederbayern.

Leipzig.—Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Erforschung Vaterländischer Sprache und Altertümer.

Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas.

Verein für die Geschichte Leipzigs.

Lübeck — Hansischer Geschichtsverein.

Verein für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Magdeburg.—Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde des Herzogtums und Erzstifts Magdeburg.

Verein für Kirchengeschichte in der Provinz Sachsen.

Verein zur Erhaltung der Denkmaler der Provinz Sachsen.

Mainz.-Verein zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Altertümer.

Mannheim.-Mannheimer Altertumsverein.

Marienwerder.-Historischer Verein für Marienwerder.

Meiningen.-Hennebergische Altertumsforschender Verein.

Metz.—Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Minster.—Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens.

Munich.—Historischer Verein von Ober-Bavern.

Munchener Orientalische Gesellschaft.

Neuburg-on-the-Danube.—Historicher Verein.

Nuremberg.—Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg.

Oldenburg.-Oldenburger Verein fur Altertumskunde und Landesgeschichte.

Osnabrück.--Verein für Geschichte und Landeskunde von Osnabrück.

Posen.—Historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen.

Regensburg.—Historischer Verein von Oberpfalz und Regensburg.

Rostock.-Verein für Rostocker Altertümer.

Saarbrücken.-Historischer Verein für die Saargegend.

Schmalkalden.—Hennebergischer Geschichtsverein.

Schwerin.-Verein für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Sigmaringen.—Verein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde in Hohenzollern.

Spires.—Historischer Verein der Pfalz.

Historisches Musuem der Pfalz.

Stettin.—Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Strassburg.—Gesellschaft für Erhaltung der Geschichtlichen Denkmaler des Elsass.

Stuttgart.—Württembergischer Geschichts- und Altertums-Verein.

Ulm.—Kunst- und Altertumsverein für Ulm und Oberschwaben.

Wernigerode.—Harzverein für Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

Wiesbaden.—Verein für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung,

Würzburg.—Historischer Verein von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg.

AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

Budapest.—Gesellschaft für Ungarische Geschichte.

Landes-Gesellschaft für Archäologie und Anthropologie.

Gratz.—Historischer Verein für Steiermark

Hermannstadt.—Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde.

Krakua.—Historischer Verein.

Lemberg.—Historische Gesellschaft.

Prague.-Historischer Klub.

Verein für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen.

Vienna.—Altertumsverein.

Gesellschaft für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs.

Gesellschaft für Sammlung und Konservierung von Kunst- und Historischen Denkmälern des Judentums.

Verein für Heimatkunde.

Verein für Landeskunde von Nieder-Österreich.

SWITZERLAND.

Basel.—Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft.

Bern.—Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz.

Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern.

Freiburg.—Deutscher Geschichtsforschender Verein des Kantons Freiburg.

Société d'Histoire du Canton Fribourg.

Geneva.—Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie.

Lausanne.—Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande.

Société Vaudoise d'Histoire et d'Archéologie.

Lucerne.—Historischer Verein.

Sankt Gallen.-Historischer Verein.

Zürich.—Antiquarische Gesellschaft in Zürich.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen.—Konglige Danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie og Sprog. Konglige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

Christiania.—Norske Historiske Forening.

Forening til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring.

Gothenburg.—Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnesforeningen.

Stockholm.—Svenska Historiska Förening.

Kongliges Samfund för Utgifvande af Handskrifter rorande Skandinaviens Historia.

Svenska Fornminnesförening.

Upsala.—Kyrkohistoriska Förening.

ICELAND.

Reykjavik.—Hid Islenzka Fornleifafélag.

Hid Islenzka Sögnfélag.

RUSSIA.

 \rad{Abo} .—Society for the Publication of Contributions to the History of \rad{Abo} .

Helsingsfors.—Finnish Historical Society.

Finska Fornminnesförening.

Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Kazan.—Archeological, Historical, and Ethnological Society.

Kharkov.—Historical and Philological Society.

Kiev .- Historical Society.

Society for Church History and Archæology.

Moscow.—Archæological Society.

Historical and Antiquarian Society.

Historical Society.

Odessa.—Historical and Philological Society.

Royal Society for History and Antiquities.

Riga.—Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands.

St. Petersburg.—Historical Society.

Society for Knowledge of the Orient.

Imperial Russian Archæological Society.

Imperial Russian Historical Society.

Warsaw.—Society of the Lovers of History.

Warsaw Polish Society.

GREECE.

Athens.—Archæological Society.

Historical and Ethnological Society.

ASIA.

Bangkok.—Siam Society.

Bombay.—Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Calcutta.—Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Seoul.-Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Shanghai.—North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Singapore.—Royal Asiatic Society.

Tokyo.—Asiatic Society of Japan.

AFRICA.

Alexandria. - Archæological Society.

Algiers.—Société Historique Algérienne.

Bona.—Académie d'Hippone.

Constantine.—Société Archéologique.

XXI. TWELFTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION. WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 29, 1911.

HERMAN V. AMES, University of Pennsylvania.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS, Yale University.

DUNBAR ROWLAND,

Department of Archives and History, Mississippi.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, New York City.

ROBERT D. W. CONNOR, North Carolina Historical Commission.

GAILLARD HUNT, Library of Congress.

JONAS VILES, University of Missouri.

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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 29, 1911.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association herewith submits the following report of its work for the year 1911:

The following persons have been appointed adjunct members of the commission:

California.—Prof. H. W. Edwards, Berkeley.

Louisiana.—Prof. William O. Scroggs, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

Montana.—Paul C. Phillips, A. M., University of Montana, Missoula. Wyoming.—Prof. James F. Willard, University of Colorado, Boulder.

The commission has found it increasingly difficult to secure reports upon the archives of the States not already reported upon. Only one report is ready for presentation at this time, namely, an additional report upon the State archives of Colorado, prepared by Prof. James F. Willard of the University of Colorado. This report supplements that prepared by Prof. Frederic L. Paxson and presented in the report for 1903.

A brief summary of what has been done in past years in connection with this phase of the commission's activity, and a short statement of the present status may be helpful to an understanding of the problem. Including the 1910 report, not yet published, 46 different reports upon the archives of 32 States, 2 cities (New York and Philadelphia), and a brief report on the archives of the Philippines have been presented. Of the published reports upon the archives of 32 States, 6 States have been only briefly treated, namely, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Mississippi. In the case, however, of two of these, Iowa and Mississippi, State archive departments have been in existence for some years and several reports have been published by these departments. There would seem, therefore, to be no call for our commission to publish extended reports upon the archives of those States, unless possibly to give wider currency to the information already contained in the State publications. The same may be said of West Virginia, although no report has been published under our auspices. The archives department of that State has already issued two reports in the regular State publications.

There remain 14 States for which no reports have been published; 3 of these lie east of the Mississippi, namely, New Hampshire, Vermont, and South Carolina; 11 west of the Mississippi. Of the latter, the oldest States are Louisiana, Minnesota, and California. The rest are the newer States of the far West or Rocky Mountain district. There remain some 10 States that have either not been reported upon adequately or have not been reported upon at all, from which it is desirable that reports should be received. Efforts have been made in all of these States to this end, and in most of them promises of cooperation, which up to the present time have not been fulfilled, have been secured from individuals. It is hoped that reports will soon be ready from the 4 States mentioned above in which adjunct members have recently been appointed.

The situation, therefore, has been reached which was foreseen; namely, the commission has accomplished nearly all that can be reasonably expected in the line of securing reports upon State archives, and its activities in the future must necessarily be directed to different phases of the work.

Greater success has attended other lines of the commission's activities during the year now closing. As announced last year, the commission's plan to supplement the list of Journals and Acts of the Councils and Assemblies of the Thirteen Colonies and the Floridas in America, preserved in the Public Record Office, which was included in the report for 1908, by the printing of two further lists. The first of these is presented in connection with this report. It consists of a list, as nearly complete as possible, of the commissions, instructions, and additional instructions issued to the royal governors and others in America. It has been compiled and edited by Prof. Charles M. Andrews of Yale University, a member of the commission. A second list of the reports and representations of the Board of Trade to the King in Council, Parliament, Secretary of State, and other departments, relating to America, is in preparation, and it is hoped that it will be ready for publication in the commission's report for 1912.

The work of transcribing documents for the collection of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress is now nearly finished, as far as the British Museum is concerned, the only documents remaining to be dealt with being the Newcastle Papers, from which excerpts are being selected. Work at the Public Record Office will be continued, and a new field will be added by taking up the transcribing of material at Lambeth, Fulham, and the office of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. At the same time a beginning will be made in the French archives under the direction of Mr. W. G. Leland.

Among the new lines of work to which the commission might direct its attention, two are receiving serious consideration. First, the possibility of preparing a manual for the use of American archivists, and second, reports upon certain classes of Federal archives located outside of the District of Columbia. A special committee will prepare a plan on the character and scope of the proposed manual. It is hoped that a substantial report of progress will be ready by another year. The best means of securing a report upon the Federal archives above referred to, will also receive serious consideration.

Another important function of the commission, which has engaged its attention from the very first, has been the effort to foster and develop public opinion in regard to the importance of the preservation and custody of public archives.

To further this mission and to disseminate information in regard to the administration of archives, arrangements were made for holding a third conference of archivists in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association at Buffalo. The following program was arranged and carried out:

Introductory remarks by Herman V. Ames, chairman.

- I. The lesson of the catastrophes in the capitols of New York and of Missouri. Arnold J. F. van Laer, archivist, State Library, Albany; Jonas Viles, University of Missouri.
- II. The Canadian archives.

The Dominion archives, D. N. McArthur, the Archives Branch, Ottawa. The archives of Ontario. Alexander Fraser, provincial archivist, Toronto. Discussion.

These papers and abstracts of the discussion are incorporated in one of the accompanying appendixes.

The attention of archivists and governmental officials is especially directed to the papers presented in connection with the first of these topics, and to the practical suggestions to be learned from the recent catastrophes in the capitols of New York and Missouri.

A number of important acts have been passed during the year relating to the preservation and custody of archives, as also a number of minor measures relating to the publication of archive material. All of the acts noted were passed in States that had previously by law made provision for the care of archives. The majority of these measures were either amendments to previous laws or acts supplementary thereto. The State that has shown the most activity in legislation in this matter during the past year is New York. Reference has been made in previous reports to the several attempts to secure legislation providing for more adequate supervision of the local records, both the measures proposed by Prof. Herbert L. Osgood in 1901 and 1902, and also those more recently favored in 1909 and

1910 by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, the former State historian, a member of this commission, and supported by many others. It has been previously noted that these measures were defeated. In their place, the recent legislature adopted an act, supported by the education department, which created the office of the supervisor of public records, and placed this office and that of the existing office of State historian in the education department. The text of this act follows: 1

Laws of New York, 1911. Chap. 380.

An act relating to public records and historical documents, creating the office of supervisor of public records, and transferring said office and the office of State historian to the education department.

Became a law June 21, 1911, with the approval of the governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

Sec. 1. Office of supervisor of public records created.—The office of supervisor of public records is hereby created. Within ten days after this act takes effect, the governor shall appoint a person to fill such office.

- Sec. 2. Duties.—The supervisor of public records shall examine into the condition of the records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps, and papers kept, filed, or recorded, or hereafter to be kept, filed, or recorded in the several public offices of the counties, cities, towns, villages, or other political divisions of the State, and all other public records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps, and papers heretofore or hereafter required by law to be kept by any public body, board, institution, or society, created under any law of the State in said counties, cities, towns, villages, or other political divisions of the State, except where the same conflicts with the present duties and office of the commissioner of records in the county of Kings and the commissioner of records in the county of New York.
- Sec. 3. Division of public records and division of history in the education department.—1. On the first day of October, nineteen hundred and eleven, the regents shall organize in the education department a division of public records and also a division of history. The supervisor of public records shall become the chief of the division of public records and the State historian shall become the chief of the division of history. The clerks and employees in such offices shall become clerks and employees in their respective divisions in the education department. Such divisions and the employees thereof shall be subject to the same provisions of law and rules as the other divisions and employees of the education department.

 2. All books, pamphlets, papers, records, correspondence, letters, files, archives, maps, manuscripts, and other documents and property belonging to or pertaining to the office of the State historian or the office of the supervisor of public records shall on the first day of October, nineteen hundred and eleven, be transferred to the education department.
- Sec. 4. Functions of the division of history.—It shall be the function of the division of history, subject to the regulations of the regents, to collect, collate, compile, edit, and prepare for publication all official records, memoranda, and data relative to the colonial wars, War of the Revolution, War of Eighteen hundred and twelve, Mexican War, and War of the Rebellion, together with all official records, memoranda, and statistics affecting the relations between this Commonweath and foreign powers, between this State and other States, and between this State and the United States.
- Sec. 5. Powers of regents.—1. The education department, pursuant to the education law, shall, on and after October first, nineteen hundred and eleven, have general and exclusive supervision, care, custody, and control of all public records, books,

pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps, and papers of any public office. body, board, institution, or society now extinct, or hereafter becoming extinct, the supervision, care, custody, and control of which are not already or shall not hereafter be otherwise provided for by law. 2. Such department shall take such action as may be necessary to put the records hereinabove specified, except as aforesaid, in the custody and condition contemplated by the various laws relating thereto and shall provide for their restoration and preservation, and cause copies thereof to be made whenever by reason of age, use, exposure, or any casualty such copies shall in their judgment be necessary. Whenever such a copy is made, and after it has been compared with the original, it shall be certified by the official, person, board, or officer having the legal custody and control of said original, and shall thereafter be considered and accepted as evidence and, for all other purposes, the same as the original could be; provided that the original shall be thereafter cared for and preserved, the same as if no such copy had been made, for such examination as may be directed by an order of court in any action or proceeding in which the accuracy of the copy is questioned 3. The officers of any county, city, town, or village or other political division of the State, or of any institution or society created under any law of the State, may transfer to the regents records, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, archives, maps, papers, and other documents which are not in general use, and it shall be the duty of the regents to receive the same and to provide for their custody and preservation. It shall also be unlawful for an officer of such political division, institution, or society to destroy any such records, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, archives, maps, papers, or other documents.

Sec. 6. Expenditure of unappropriated moneys.—All money heretofore appropriated and unexpended on the first day of October, nineteen hundred and eleven, for the salaries and expenses of the State historian and the supervisor of public records, for the salaries of the clerks and employees in such offices and for the expenses incurred or to be incurred in the performance of their official duties and the maintenance of their offices shall be expended under the direction of the board of regents and the commissioner of education in the same manner as other like expenditures for the education department.

Sec. 7. Repeal.—All acts or parts of acts inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Sec. 8. This act shall take effect immediately.

Appropriations were passed providing for a salary of \$4,500 for the chief of the history division with \$3,480 for three assistants. A similar salary was provided for the chief of the public record division with an allowance of \$1,000 for traveling and \$1,480 for clerical assistance.

Additional acts were passed, probably suggested by the fire in the State capitol at Albany on March 29. Two of these relate to the papers connected with the office of the clerk of the county of New York. The first of these provides for an amendment to an act of 1906 providing for the better care of the records and documents in the office of the clerk of the county of New York, making provision for the restoration, preservation, and convenient reference of records in this office, and for precautionary measures against fire. The second act also amended the law of 1906, referred to above, by adding new sections which related chiefly to the purchase,

¹ Chap. 291, Approved June 7, 1911. Laws of New York, 1911, I, 693-695.

restoration, and preservation of books, papers, newspaper files, and manuscripts of historical value, and fixed a limit to the amount that might annually be expended for this purpose.1 The third act provided for the better arrangement, indexing, and preservation of the records, documents, and papers deposited in the office of the surrogate's court of the county of New York.2

As a result of a resolution passed by the General Assembly of South Carolina, the Legislature of New York passed a special act providing for the return of certain documents and records which formerly had been in the custody of the State of South Carolina.2 This act was passed after the Albany catastrophe and the documents were salvaged from the fire, though somewhat burned.

It is of interest to note that the temporary office of the examiner of public records in Connecticut, which was established in 1903, but discontinued in 1909, has been revived as a permanent office under the direction of the State librarian. The text of this act follows:

Chapter 58.

An act concerning the appointment and duties of an examiner of public records

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives in general assembly convened:

Sec. 1. The State librarian shall, with the approval of the State library committee, on or before the first day of July, 1911, appoint an assistant to such librarian. which assistant shall be an examiner of public records. Said assistant may be removed by said State librarian at any time and his successor appointed in like manner.

Sec. 2. Said assistant, as such examiner of public records, shall cause such action to be taken by the persons having the care and custody of public records as may be necessary to put said records in the custody and condition required by the laws relating to such records and to secure their safety and preservation, and shall submit a biennial report to the State librarian.

Sec. 3. The annual salary of said assistant shall be one thousand dollars, with an allowance not to exceed one thousand dollars, annually, for necessary expenses, to be paid by the State on presentation of vouchers approved by the State librarian.

The establishment of this office, as well as that of the supervisor of public records in New York State, now brings the number of States making provision for the supervision of local records up to four, inasmuch as in Massachusetts and Rhode Island the office of the commissioner of public records has been in existence for several years.

In Pennsylvania an act was passed amending in two important particulars the law of 1903, establishing the division of public records.

employed by the State of South Carolina from Dec. 20, 1777, to Jan. 4, 1780, and an engrossed copy of the minutes of the commissioner of the navy board of South Carolina to Mar. 1, 1779.

Chap. 58, Approved May 18, 1911. Public Acts of the State of Connecticut for 1911, p. 1315.

First, it abolished the original provision restricting the jurisdiction of the division of public records to such papers as were of a date prior to 1750. This restriction had not been observed in practice and was regarded as altogether undesirable.

The second authorized county and municipal officials to turn over to the division of public records such of their records as they did not wish to retain. The text of this act follows: 1

No. 92.

An act to amend the fifth section of an act, approved the fourteenth day of April, anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and three, entitled "An act for the creation and government of a division of the State library for the preservation of public records," by permitting the various State departments to deposit with the division all papers not needed, and authorizing county officers to turn over records to the division, and providing for their repair.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted, etc., That the fifth section of an act, approved the fourteenth day of April, anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and three, entitled "An act for the creation and government of a division of the State library for the preservation of public records," which reads as follows:

"Sec. 5. That the heads of the various departments of the State government shall deposit all papers relating to their departments with this division, beginning with the earliest records to the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, which are not needed by the departments for business purposes," is hereby amended so as to read:

Sec. 5. That the heads of the various departments of the State government shall deposit all papers relating to their departments with this division, beginning with the earliest records which are not needed by the departments for business purpose.

The various county and municipal officials of this Commonwealth may turn over to said division, with the approval of the said division, such of their records as they shall not wish to retain. Upon receipt of them the said division may repair such of said records as shall need repairing, and, in the judgment of the said division, are worthy of it.

An additional act authorized the custodian of public records in the State library to charge a small fee for furnishing certified copies of papers placed in his charge.²

In Delaware the act of 1905 for the better preservation of certain public records was amended by changing the name of the commission in charge of the public records from division of public records to that of the public archives commission, and increasing the powers and duties of this commission, as will be seen by the text of the act which follows:

An act to amend an act entitled "An act for the better preservation of certain public records," approved March 16, A. D. 1965, being chapter 77, volume 23, Laws of Delaware, relative to a commission of public archives, its powers and duties.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of Delaware, in general assembly met:

Sec. I. That the act entitled "An act for the better preservation of certain public records," approved March 16, A. D. 1905, being chapter 77, volume 23, Laws of Delaware, be, and the same is hereby, amended as follows:

1. By striking out the words "Division of Public Records" in section 1 of said act and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Public Archives Commission;"

¹ Laws of Pennsylvania for 1811, page 100. Approved Apr. 27, 1911.

² Laws of Pennsylvania for 1911, act 275. Approved, June 7, 1911.

- 2. By striking out the words "Division of Public Records" in section 2 of said act and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Public Archives Commission;"
- 3. By striking out all of Section 3 of said act and inserting in lieu thereof the following:
- Sec. 3. That the public archives commission so appointed as aforesaid shall have charge of all books, records, documents, and papers of historic or public interest in all State and county offices bearing date prior to 1850, and not in current use, and shall make and enforce all reasonable rules and regulations concerning the care of the same. The commission may cause to be classified and catalogued for reference all books, records, documents, and papers aforesaid, and shall from time to time cause to be published such of said records as said commission shall deem of sufficient importance to warrant said publication. In the case of any such publications the said commission shall submit specifications therefor to the State board of supplies, which board shall thereupon act in regard thereto as is now by law provided with regard to supplies for State officers and boards by chapter 82, volume 23, Laws of Delaware, as amended. The said publications of the commission shall be placed in the care of the State librarian, and shall be sold by him to any persons applying to him for the same, at such price as shall be fixed by the commission The commission shall from time to time certify to the State treasurer the number of volumes delivered to the State librarian as aforesaid and the price per volume fixed by said commission for the same, and the said State treasurer shall thereupon charge the said librarian with said volumes. The said State librarian shall account to the State treasurer at least annually for all moneys received by him from the sale of any such volumes and the bond of the State librarian shall be deemed and taken to embrace and include proper accounting for all such moneys and for the delivery to his successor in office of any of the volumes aforesaid remaining in his possession unsold. The said commission shall make report biennially to the governor of its acts and doings and of any legislation which it deems right and essential for the furtherance of its work "
- 4. That section 4 of said act be amended by striking out the word "division" in the third line of said section and inserting in lieu thereof the word "commission." That section 4 be further amended by adding between the word "hundred" and the word "four" in the seventh line of said section, the words "and fifty."
- 5. That section 5 of the act aforesaid be amended by striking out the words "division of public records" in the third line of said section and inserting in lieu thereof the words "public archives commission."
- 6. That the aforesaid be further amended by adding to said act a new section as follows:
- "Sec. 7. The commission aforesaid is hereby authorized and empowered to employ such agent or agents as it may deem needful for the purpose of sorting, cataloguing, indexing, and arranging any books, records, documents, or papers of public or historic interest, bearing date prior to 1850, and for such other work as is necessitated by the powers and duties imposed upon it by this act, and is hereby authorized and empowered to expend annually for these purposes, and for the necessary expenses of its members incurred in the performance of their duties under this act and for stationery and supplies, a sum not exceeding in the aggregate five hundred dollars (\$500) annually. The said sum of five hundred dollars (\$500) is hereby appropriated annually for the use of said commission for the purposes aforesaid and the State treasurer is hereby authorized and directed to honor the warrants of the president of said commission in each year hereafter to an amount not exceeding in any year the amount aforesaid."

Approved March 14, 1911.

In addition to the sum of \$500 annually provided by the act, \$2,000 was appropriated for the years 1911 and 1912, respectively, to aid the commission in defraying the expense of the publication of certain records that it had recommended. Two volumes of the first series of Delaware archives are now in press. It is planned to publish four additional volumes in this series, which relates to the colonial and revolutionary military and naval service. In addition, a second series is planned which will relate to the civil service. Much of this material has been collected through the efforts of the archives commission. In addition, a fireproof room has been set apart in the new portion of the statehouse at Dover for the use of the archives commission.

In Arkansas, the act of May 31, 1909, creating the Arkansas History Commission, was amended by changing section 6, so that it provided for the printing of the publications of the Arkansas Historical Association by the public printer and for the payment of the same out of the general printing fund, and by adding a new section repealing all laws in conflict with this act.² By another act an appropriation of \$5,000 was made.

The Texas Legislature appropriated the sum of \$1,500 to aid in the publication of a series of Texas archives, edited by the Texas Library and Historical Commission, which was constituted a separate department by the act of March, 1909.³

In North Carolina an important step, providing for the housing of public records, was that taken by the legislature in passing an act to appoint a State building commission and instructing them to provide for the erection of an administrative building in the city of Raleigh. The preamble of this act would apply equally well to the situation in many other States. It reads as follows:

Whereas the buildings now provided by the State for the various departments of its government are inadequate for the economical and efficient administration of its affairs; whereas valuable reports, priceless manuscripts, historic relics, many records, and much property are housed in many separate and unfit buildings, exposed to constant danger from fire; and whereas it is imperatively necessary that larger and safer quarters be provided for the same and that a fireproof building, adequate for the purposes intended and required, should be erected, etc.

The act furthermore authorized the commission to issue bonds up to the amount of \$25,000 for the erection of the proposed building. It is expected that this fireproof building will provide for the housing of the historical commission, the State library, the hall of history, the supreme court and its library and records.

In two other States, commissions have been appointed for the purpose of investigating the subject of erecting buildings somewhat

¹ Ibid., pp. 44, 45, 56.

² Act 355, Approved May 30, 1911. Public Acts of Arkansas, 1911, pp. 326-330.

^{*} General and special laws of Texas for the called session of 1911.

Chap. 66, Approved Mar. 2, 1911. Public Laws and Resolutions of North Cerolins, 1911, pp. 220-222.

similar in character to that provided for by North Carolina. By act of March 1, 1911, in Indiana, a centennial commission was authorized to formulate plans for the celebration of the centennial of the admission of Indiana into the Union by the erection of a State building to be known, at its dedication in 1916, as the Indiana Educational Building, and to provide for the proper housing of the State library, museum, the public library commission, and the educational and scientific interests of the State. It has been suggested that separate quarters should be set apart for the State archives.1 Similarly, in Illinois an act was passed which provided for the appointment of a commission to procure plans and specifications for a suitable State building "where all the property pertaining to history, science, literature, education, and patriotism, now housed in different departments of the State, may be placed." An appropriation of \$5,000 was made to insure the carrying out of this investigation. It has been suggested also in this case that provision should be made in the building for rooms for the housing of all the archives of the State not in current use.2

In addition to the usual appropriation of \$6,500, made by the legislature of Illinois for the State Historical Library, a special appropriation of \$5,000 was made for the purpose of procuring and preserving documentary material relating to the Northwest and the State of Illinois and for the publication of the same, the money to be expended by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library with the sanction of the governor.³

Reference is made in passing to the resolutions adopted by the American Historical Association at its annual meetings, both in 1910 and 1911, in favor of the erection of a national archives building in the District of Columbia, for the preservation and custody of archives in the various departments not in current use. A special committee of the council was appointed in 1910 to further this project. The resolutions will be found in the printed minutes of the business session of the association. It is earnestly hoped that the necessary legis-

UNSATISFACTORY CONDITIONS.

¹ Laws of Indiana, 1911, chap. 65, pp. 99-101.

Laws of Illinois, 1911, p. 63.

³ Laws of Illinois, 1911, p. 56.

⁴ A memorial sent by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, a member of this commission, and also director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and Thomas M. Owen, director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, which was presented to Congress in support of this movement, is appended:

To the Congress of the United States:

We respectfully memorialize the Congress to provide for the concentration, care, preservation, and classification of the historical records of the National Government which are now stored in more than 100 inadequate and unsuitable repositories in the city of Washington, where they can properly be used neither for administrative nor historical purposes. These records are the muniments of our national life; they contain the story of our achievements as a people, and their preservation now for the use of future generations is a duty which the Nation owes to its history.

lation may be secured to insure the erection of such a national archives building.

The information collected by the committee on public archives of the National Association of State Libraries, in response to the circular

originated; no provision has been made for the overflow which has been flooding the departments for more than a half century, and public archives of great historical value have been stuffed away in dusty garrets and damp cellars. When such places would hold no more, buildings were rented and records stored in them. It has been reliably stated that there are at present in the city of Washington at least 100 buildings which are used as archive repositories, and it has been estimated that the Government is paying \$50,000 a year for storage of the national archives. The rented buildings, in nearly every instance, are not fireproof, and are entirely unsuited for archive repositories.

DESTRUCTION OF RECORDS.

The overcrowding of the departments with the national archives has been the cause of the destruction of valuable records simply for the reason that there was no place to put them, and destruction was the easiest solution of the difficulty. In addition to deliberate destruction, the public archives have often been destroyed by fire on account of the failure to provide fireproof buildings for their preservation. While losses from these causes have been great, the damage and disintegration which have come about from overcrowding in garrets, cellars, and other out-of-the-way places, have been far greater. Indeed, the extent of the loss from dust, moths, and mildew can not be estimated. That it has been very great there can be no doubt. Manuscripts when folded, boxed, and packed away, where the air and sunlight can not get to them, deteriorate very rapidly, and when we remember that the national archives of the United States have been treated in that way for a century, it may be readily imagined how great the destruction has been.

REMEDY FOR EXISTING EVILS.

The archive evils now existing in the United States, traceable to early neglect, continue because of the failure to concentrate the nation's archives in one suitable building, planned and constructed for a national archive repository. Other nations have cured the evils from which we are now suffering, and the remedy has always been the same—that is, the concentration of all the national archives not necessary for administrative purposes in one suitable building located at the seat of government. England has had such a system in operation since 1856; France, Holland, and Austria have adopted it; Saxony, one of the German kingdoms, is about to erect one of the completest archive buildings in the world; and there are no nations in Europe which are not, in archive preservation, far in advance of our own. The experience of many years has demonstrated to European countries the wisdom of concentrating the national archives in a central repository.

ADVANTAGES OF CONCENTRATION.

The plan of concentrating the public records in a national archives building is very desirable from an administrative as well as from an historical standpoint. Under existing conditions long and laborious searches are frequently necessary in the daily administration of public affairs on account of crowded conditions and defective classification. A scientific system of preservation in a suitable archives building has these advantages:

- (1) It promotes the orderly and expeditious administration of public affairs.
- (2) It affords an opportunity of grasping the archive problem as a whole and brings expert knowledge to its solution.
- (3) It gives notice to students and historians that in one well-arranged repository the entire documentary history of the Nation may be found.
- (4) It emphasizes the importance of the national archives as historical sources and encourages and stimulates the writing of accurate history.
- (5) It promotes uniformity of administration, provides for a logical and systematic classification of historical material, and makes easier the study of any question or problem.
- (6) It gives notice to the world that our country is regardful of the higher things in the conservation of its history.

In view of the foregoing facts, we respectfully petition the Senate to take the necessary steps for the erection of a national archives building at the seat of government.

Most respectfully submitted.

MISSISSIPPI STATE DEPARTMENT OF
ARCHIVES AND HISTORY,

By Dunbar Rowland, Director.

ALABAMA STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY, By THOMAS M. OWEN Director. sent out by that committee and referred to in our report of last year, was published in the proceedings of the National Association of State Libraries for 1911. It is a valuable summary of the existing legislation of the several States in the care of archives.

Respectfully submitted.

HERMAN V. AMES.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS.
DUNBAR ROWLAND.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.
ROBERT D. W. CONNER.
GAILLARD HUNT.
JONAS VILES.

¹ Proceedings Fourteenth Convention Nat. Assoc. State Libraries, 1911, pp. 24-36.

APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The third annual conference of archivists was held in the Hotel Statler, at Buffalo, on Thursday morning, December 28, 1911. The chairman of the Public Archives Commission presided, and in opening the conference made the following remarks:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN.

When, two years ago, the first of these conferences was inaugurated in New York City, it was believed that interest in the care of archives had been sufficiently aroused in this country to justify the holding of a conference of archivists for the consideration of problems which were of vital importance to them in their work. The interest evinced in that conference, as well as in the one held last year, has led the Public Archives Commission to invite you here to-day. While the attendance of archivists has not been all that was to be desired, and the name of this conference perhaps might more truthfully be changed from conference of archivists to an archives conference, the value derived from these meetings, it is believed, has not been confined to those in attendance only; as the papers are published and reach a wider circle than is gathered at any of these annual meetings, they will extend their influence.

Although it was recognized and pointed out at the first conference that we in America, in comparison with the work that has been done in European countries, are but in the infancy of archive administration, some of us were perhaps too optimistic in our belief that the time was ripe for the consideration in detail of some of the problems connected with the internal economy of archive administration, such as, for example, the questions of classification, filing, repairing, mounting, and other similar problems. If so, the catastrophies of the past year in the two State capitols have served to bring us back to first principles, to the question of fundamental importance, namely, the safety of archives. For what purpose should we strive to centralize archives, gather great collections of historic documents, if it be to bring them into greater jeopardy of destruction by housing them in such a way that they are in constant danger from fire? Of what value is it to expend time and public funds in the classification, preparation, and mounting of documents if all this work is liable to go up in smoke through such collections being deposited in nonfireproof structures? We are brought back, therefore, to the consideration of the primary question, the problem of material equipment.

To-day we invite your attention, and not only yours, but through you and the printed page that of all those who in any way have any responsibility, however remote, for the care of public documents, whether Federal, State, or local, to the lessons to be learned from the fires in the capitol buildings at Albany and Jefferson City.

The first paper on the program, by Mr. Arnold J. F. van Laer, archivist of the State Library at Albany, was, in his absence, read by Mr. W. G. Leland. The full text of the paper follows.

THE LESSONS OF THE CATASTROPHE IN THE NEW YORK STATE CAPITOL AT ALBANY ON MARCH 29, 1911.

By Arnold J. F. van Laer.

The fire which on March 29, 1911, swept the western section of the New York State capitol at Albany and in the space of a few hours destroyed not only the vast collection of printed books but a large part of the important archives which were deposited in the State library demonstrates more clearly than anything else that has happened to American archives within recent years the folly of our practice of trusting to administrative buildings for the safe keeping of public records.

The circumstances of the catastrophe have been so fully reported by the press that they may be assumed to be familiar to every one present and that it is sufficient to state here that the fire was discovered at 2 a.m., less than an hour after the adjournment of a political caucus, in the assembly library on the third floor of the capitol; that from there it swept through an adjoining room and a glass partition into the law section at the north end of the State library, and thence spread with surprising rapidity over the entire library, ultimately reaching the manuscripts room, which was located on the south side of the building.

The conditions which made such wholesale destruction possible were such as are likely to prevail to-day in almost every capitol in the United States, and may be traced directly to the three main sources of danger to the contents of nearly all our administrative buildings, namely, (a) carelessness and neglect, due to partisan control, which puts the buildings in charge of inefficient persons who have no regard for the priceless treasures intrusted to their care; (b) overcrowding, due to the demands on space made by the ever-increasing public business; and (c) the difficulty of making an absolutely fireproof structure out of a building which from the nature of its destination must have many connecting rooms of large dimension and which must be provided with elevator shafts, heating and ventilating ducts, and all other modern conveniences which render it impossible to segregate a fire the moment it gets started.

That the State library was exposed to all these evils has long been known to those who were familiar with the building. Assigned

to quarters which were never intended for its use and which from the first were wholly inadequate to its needs, the State library was soon compelled to resort to various schemes to provide additional room for its fast growing collections. First, corridors were converted into rooms by means of partitions, then storage room was sought in the basement and the attic, and finally, when no more space was available, recourse was had to the dangerous expedient of crowding the aisles and every nook and corner with temporary shelving made of cheap and inflammable pine. In 1897, less than eight years after the library was moved into the new capitol, conditions had become so intolerable that the librarian was forced to recommend the erection of a separate and fireproof building, and year after year, until the legislature finally took action, the plea was repeated and the danger and false economy of the situation pointed out. Most glaring of all was the danger from fire which threatened the important body of archives which, for supposed greater security and convenience of consultation, had at different times been transferred from the offices of the secretary of state, the legislature, the comptroller, and other State departments, and which for lack of better facilities were crowded into a narrow room on a mezzanine floor in what was originally the end of a corridor, immediately over and next to rooms which during legislative sessions were occupied by senate committees and in which smoking was allowed. In regard to the danger to which these archives were exposed, the director of the State library wrote in the annual report for 1899 as follows:

The capitol walls are so massive that we have no fear of fire except as it might burn out individual rooms finished in wood. Hundreds of thousands of feet of oak have been used in shelving and interior finish, and in spite of careful installation of electric wires, we can not avoid the fear that some day this woodwork in some room will be accidentally set on fire and priceless material destroyed. The scientific explanation of how the fire occurred may be perfect, but the fact that rats or mice gnawed off insulation or that workmen accidentally broke it with their saws (as has happened a score of times in the past dozen years) might tell how it happened but would not replace our lost treasures. Till we have a fireproof building, free from this danger, we must take the chances with ordinary books; but we have various treasures so costly that their destruction would cause serious criticism of the regents as trustees for not insisting on better protection than is now available. . . . In our manuscript room are collections which have cost the State vast sums and which money could not replace, yet there is no place to keep them except in a room honeycombed with oak and interlaced with electric wires.

There are two solutions for adequate protection till the new building is ready: We may buy a large iron safe for the smallest and most costly collections, or, better, take some small room, possibly in the basement if dampness can be thoroughly protected against (as it can by making double walls with ventilation), and make a room strictly fireproof, without electric wires, and large enough to hold all the rarities. A basement room would practically shut them off from public inspection, though they could be reached for occasional use. In the northwest pavilion it would be possible to make at comparatively small cost a fireproof room with ample daylight, open to visitors

and yet safe from fire. From year to year other pressing needs have led us to defer this request, but we ought not to go longer without a large fireproof safe or a fireproof room. For lack of it we are liable to lose valuable gifts that would be put in our custody except for fear of fire.

Without stopping to consider what would have happened to those rarities if the director's suggestion had been carried out and, as actually occurred during the fire in another corner of the building, the entire pavilion had fallen down, it is interesting to note that the difficulty of finding suitable accommodation for even a small part of the manuscripts incidentally illustrates the danger of the present tendency to secure legislation for the transfer of administrative papers to State libraries without making ample provision for their safe-keeping. Libraries, at best, are not very satisfactory places in which to keep public records, for the reason that they are generally too much in need of space for their own growing collections to afford suitable room for the vast mass of material which would come to them under a proper system of concentration of archives, and for the further reason that the needs of readers and the facility of library administration require an arrangement of rooms and form of construction which are hardly compatible with absolute safety from destruction. European countries have long since recognized this fact and undertaken the erection of special archive depositories on the plan of the familiar safety-deposit building, composed of small stack compartments with solid decks and iron doors and equipped with all modern appliances for fire protection. It is in such buildings alone, and not in large. monumental structures, whether libraries or administrative buildings, that the future safety of our records lies.

Coming now to the discussion of the more specific lessons which may be drawn from the effects of the fire, we must note in the first place the absolute fallacy of fireproof construction in connection with buildings that are filled with combustible material. The exterior of such buildings may be fireproof, but the contents will burn like fuel in a furnace and nothing can prevent the flames from sweeping from one end of the building to the other if once the fire gets under way. The only safeguard in such cases lies in constant supervision. The State library relied for its safety on a night watchman who made his rounds at every hour of the night, and but for the fact that fire swept into the library from an adjoining room when it was beyond the control of a single man, it is not likely that any serious damage could have been done. The weak point lay in the incomplete isolation of the library from administrative offices over which it had no control, and now that the fire has occurred it seems incomprehensible that no one ever had sufficient wisdom to realize that the glass partitions between the library and legislative quarters were the most dangerous feature of the whole arrangement.

Another lesson taught by the fire is that elevator shafts, book lifts, heating and ventilating flues, and all other passages leading from one floor or room to another play a serious part in spreading the conflagration and should, as much as possible, be avoided. The effect of such flues was particularly noticeable in the manuscripts room, where everything in their immediate vicinity was totally destroyed and where more than 48 hours after the outbreak of the fire the draft from a hot-air register so fanned the flames in a smoldering pile of débris that it was repeatedly necessary to apply the hose. Except for such flues and a wooden partition with glass door the construction of the manuscripts room proved to be as good as that of a vault; as it was, it would have availed nothing to replace the wooden partition by a brick wall, for the flames would have entered through the flues.

As to the relative advantages of steel and wooden shelving, it may be stated that while wood undoubtedly helps to feed the flames and to spread the fire, it is in the case of a very serious fire, such as occurred in the State library, preferable to steel for the reason that it burns away and allows the books to fall in a heap, where the upper ones protect those underneath, whereas, in the case of steel, everything burns on the shelves. In the manuscripts room thousands upon thousands of legislative papers fell from a wooden gallery which burned away and helped to save many early records which were kept below. In general it may be said that, since the flames have a tendency to go up, the lower shelves are safer than those above and that therefore the most valuable manuscripts should be placed on the bottom shelf, unless the greater exposure to dust or other circumstances make a different arrangement desirable.

As to the different methods of preserving manuscripts, whether in bound volumes, in file cases, or in packages, the fire has shown that bound volumes with large mounts, extending two inches or more beyond the edges of the manuscripts, afford by far the best protection. Indeed, it was due to the fact that most of our colonial manuscripts were mounted and bound in that way, that thousands of valuable documents were saved in almost perfect condition, whereas in the case of papers that were folded and tied up in packages every document was seriously injured by being burned along the folds. In mounting manuscripts, care should be taken to put not more than three or four documents on the same mount, since a larger number of papers has a tendency to make the volume spread open and to let in the flames. For the same reason volumes should be packed closely on the shelves and be as much as possible of the same height; a single tall volume standing between two volumes of smaller size is liable to be seriously damaged at the top. Filing boxes, which are apt to be but partly filled, offer no particular protection except

against smoke, and in fact are rather dangerous on account of the many open spaces which they provide.

As regards the effects of the fire on different qualities of paper and ink, it may be said that the superior hand-made paper of colonial days shows great advantages over the poorer stock of modern times, in that it hangs together even after being badly burned and in the subsequent process of restoration can be soaked and washed and made to appear almost as fresh as new. Modern pulp paper will stand no such treatment, and by exposure to heat becomes so brittle that it falls apart the moment it is touched. Similar differences may be noticed in the qualities of ink; whereas the old ink suffers very little from water, the modern ink is apt to blur and to fade away. Parchment was found to have shrunk in some cases to almost half its original size, and under the action of water to become gluey and slimy and subject to rapid decay. Just what is the best method of treating such skins has not yet been determined.

In regard to the question of salvage, it should be impressed upon all who may ever be called upon to assist in such work that the most important thing is to begin the rescuing at the earliest possible moment. Paper burns slowly, and much may be saved in the first hours after the fire that if left to smolder and to be exposed to the action of water is liable to be damaged beyond repair. The drying of thousands of sheets of paper is no small problem, and if manuscripts can be taken out before they have had a chance to become wet much labor will be saved. Many people have a notion that this drying must be done at once and that the best plan would be to send the manuscripts to the drying room of a steam laundry or some other place where they could be dried quickly by means of artificial heat. As a matter of fact this would in most cases spell their complete ruination, since they would shrivel and curl and become so brittle as to make further handling almost impossible. Experience has shown that manuscripts can stay wet for days and even for weeks without being injured, as long as they are kept compactly together and not exposed to the light and air. Under these circumstances it is far better to keep the manuscripts flat and in convenient shape for future restoration by drying them between blotting paper. On the advice of Mr. Berwick, of the Library of Congress, the State library bought thousands of sheets of blotting paper and for weeks kept a large force at work taking the manuscript volumes apart and pressing the individual documents or sheets of writing, first between newspapers and then between blotting paper, till they were thoroughly dry. The results have been excellent; hardly a single manuscript has suffered from mold and all the documents are flat and ready to be mended.

As to the process of restoration, it is at present not practicable to go into details. It is a large and complicated subject which requires treatment by itself. Suffice it to say here that in the main we have followed the methods which Mr. Berwick employs in the Library of Congress, that we hinge our manuscripts on separate sheets of paper of sufficient size to obviate the necessity of folding, and that we carefully preserve all burned edges by covering the manuscripts on both sides with crepeline.

As a final warning, suggested by the experience of the fire, I would urge all libraries and archive depots to prepare for emergencies by holding regular fire drills and devising a scheme whereby the night watchman or other person in charge may immediately put himself in touch with the persons who are most familiar with the location of valuable material and responsible for its keeping, with a view of obviating the necessity of an improvised organization which may entail fatal delay. In the case of the Albany catastrophe neither the director of the State library nor the archivist were notified of the fire until several hours after its discovery, and while it is possible that the fire department would not have allowed either one to enter the building, it is probable that by timely action and proper direction much valuable material could have been saved.

Mr. van Laer's paper was followed by one by Prof. Jonas Viles, of the University of Missouri.

LESSONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE FIRE IN THE STATE CAPITOL, JEFFERSON CITY.

By Jonas Viles.

Let me hasten to admit at the outset that the fire at the State capitol at Jefferson City did not compare with the recent conflagration at Albany in respect to damage to the archives or in striking lessons for the future. But the conditions which prevailed in Missouri are unhappily not uncommon, and the lessons if somewhat elementary apply quite generally in the South and Southwest.

We have just listened with interest and regret to an illuminating account of the lessons to be drawn from a conflagration in a modern capitol building, in a city with an apparently adequate fire department. I invite your attention to a building of composite construction in a small town with very insufficient fire protection. As the details of the fire at Jefferson City were not given a wide publicity in the press, and as the points I wish to make depend somewhat on local conditions, I ask your indulgence for a brief description of the building and of the fire.

The original capitol building of the State of Missouri was burned in 1837, with the records of the secretary of state and, presumably, the territorial papers. The second building, erected immediately afterwards, was the core of the building destroyed last February. This older portion in ground plan consisted of three circular sections. placed on one axis, and short wings on either side. One circular section formed an impressive portico with lofty pillars, the next or central circle, a rotunda, topped with a low dome, while the third and the wings were given over to the halls of the legislature and to The outside of the old building was faced with cut stone, but much of the interior construction was a curious conglomerate of small stones, a sort of rubble work. The roofs of the wings were of wood, framed with a wilderness of great beams and joists. floors were of wood also. Almost from the first the space in the old building was inadequate. Conditions finally became so unbearable that in 1887 the innate conservatism of the Missourian was forced to yield and the capitol was enlarged. Two new wings were added, doubling the available space, and the dome was carried up and topped with a wooden lantern, sheathed with metal. The new wings

were somewhat higher than the old, so there the roofs were carried clear to the central dome, completely covering the wooden roofs of the older wings. While the floors of the newer portion were fireproof and the construction in general good, the corridors were continuous throughout the building and the second stories of the newer wings were open halls for the legislature. With the rotunda to act as a great chimney, with such a composite construction, and so much kiln-dried timber, it is evident that the capitol was a very poor risk.

Jefferson City is served by a direct-pressure water system, with a small water tower as a reserve. The fire department is of the type common to the town of 10,000 inhabitants in the middle west; the members assemble after the alarm is given; the equipment consists of hose. The Jefferson City firemen acquitted themselves with credit during the fire, making a determined and intelligent fight against overwhelming odds.

The fire had several unusual and interesting features. In its origin it would have appealed to our New England forebears as a striking example of the special Providence. A thunderstorm in February and a bolt of lightning striking the building in the one inaccessible spot formed a somewhat unusual combination. The fire was discovered soon after 7 o'clock on the evening of Sunday, February 5, an apparently insignificant flame at the very top of the dome. When the firemen reached the building they found that the ladder reaching to the top of the dome was too weak to carry a fireman with the heavy hose, and that the water pressure was insufficient for an attack on the fire from outside. For some time, perhaps more than an hour, the fire gained very slowly and the hope arose that it might confine itself to the dome and be extinguished when it worked down in range of the water. But the outside casings of the dome peeled off and crashed through the new roofs on the original wings, setting fire to the older inaccessible wooden roofs; the wooden floors in the central section were carried away by débris falling from above; the rotunda became a great chimney and soon all the older portion of the capitol and the second floors of the newer portion were in flames. The fireproof second floor in the new wings held well, however; the great volume of water thrown on the burning building was beginning to make an impression, and the fire was almost under control, when the water main burst under the tremendous pressure. At this time, about 4 o'clock Monday morning, the first floor of the new wings and the larger part of the basement were intact. For 24 hours the firemen were helpless. All day Monday and Monday night the fire ate its way along the basement into the wings, although at any time it might have been easily checked with a little water. do not remember any more exasperating experience than watching at short range this little fire eating its way leisurely from room to

room and destroying records and printed material. The walls of the old capitol were so unsafe that salvage work except in the wings was impossible. When the repairs on the water main were completed on Tuesday morning the fire was drowned out very quickly. The damage to the building was therefore rather curious. The original building was gutted; the contents of basement rooms were destroyed; but the first floor of the newer wings was almost uninjured except by water.

It will be impossible to give a complete statement of the loss to the State archives until the collections are reassembled. At present the series not required for the routine work of the various departments are scattered in temporary quarters. It may safely be said, however, that the loss of really valuable material was surprisingly small. The more important State offices were located on the first floor of the new wings, and suffered very little. The auditor had one room in the old capitol and lost its contents, a small portion of the collection of warrants and vouchers. This series was one of the longest and most complete among the State archives, but its historical value was relatively slight. The secretary of state also occupied one room in the older building, filled with exceedingly valuable and interesting land records. These were all removed from the capitol or placed in the vault. The loss in this series, if any, resulted from the haste and confusion in moving. But the secretary of state had long since been forced by lack of working space to store most of his dead records, those seldom or never referred to in current business, in the basement. Here occurred the really serious loss. One large room near the center of the building was crowded with the papers of the legislature and the conventions since 1838. When I reached Jefferson City at noon on Monday the fire was just reaching this room, the débris from above starting a fire in the original journals of the legislature piled up in the center. The walls above were in such a dangerous condition that it was impossible to remove the papers. With a very scanty stream from the water tower for some hours we kept the fire from the shelves along the walls. But even this tantalizing trickle of water soon failed, and by Tuesday morning a large part of the documents was gone. Then several trusties from the penitentiary, at grave personal risk, rescued what was left. Before we could remove them from the ground outside, the walls began to fall, and it was several days before we finally put them in a place of safety. These papers, water soaked, frozen, and covered with dirt, the secretary of state permitted me to transfer to the State Historical Society at Columbia to be dried, cleaned, and sorted. They have turned out to be perhaps the most valuable in the series, including most of the convention records and a mass of legislative documents of the forties and sixties. The society already had a very

complete file of such papers as were printed. With all these alleviations the loss remains a most serious one. To the historian these legislative documents were rivaled in importance only by the land series. In the basement also there was destroyed a number of large boxes of unclassified papers, including the accounts, contracts, etc., of the United States land survey, a number of very interesting assessment lists of an early date, and some correspondence of the earlier governors. Several of the minor offices of the State were burned out completely, but they were of recent creation and contained very little beyond current files of correspondence. The loss of printed material, early laws, legislative journals, and the like, was very great.

LESSONS.

The first lesson perhaps is that nothing but a grinding necessity will wring a new capitol building from a reluctant people. The unsatisfactory and dangerous character of the old capitol was well known to the leaders in the State; several attempts have been made to secure a new one, culminating last year in a State-wide campaign for a constitutional amendment authorizing the necessary loan. It failed, although it met no open organized opposition. The same situation prevails in more than one State, where there is little hope for a modern fireproof structure until the older building is destroyed. No doubt the losses at Albany and Jefferson City will be somewhat compensated for by the stimulus they give to new construction. But in any case for several years to come the archives of more than one State will be housed in buildings no better than Missouri's old capitol. So I am going to emphasize this point, that much of a practical nature can be done without great expense or radical change, to render more secure the state archives in capitol buildings of poor fire-resisting construction in towns with inadequate fire departments. I am well aware that this may seem to carry with it some danger of obscuring the ideal of fireproof construction and furnishings, of lulling the local authorities into a false sense of security, but it is a situation and not a theory that confronts us. Moreover, a recognition by the State authorities that existing conditions demand unusual precautions is a confession that existing conditions are unsatisfactory—which is half the battle.

Of these practical lessons—not scientific, but strictly practical—the first is the need that the official in general charge of the capitol building should be a permanent appointee chosen with some regard for his qualifications for the post. In Missouri, and I believe it is generally true, the commissioner of the permanent seat of government is appointed entirely for political reasons and changes with each administration. It should be the duty of such a permanent

official to familiarize himself thoroughly with the details of construction of the building and with the location and general character of the records. He would then be in a position to judge quickly and accurately of the chances of checking any fire that might start, and to take charge of the removal of the records with intelligence and authority. At Jefferson City the peculiar construction of the roofs that made the destruction inevitable was unknown to the State officials, or was, at any rate, six years ago, when I explored the lofts searching for papers. Apparently no attempt was made to remove any papers from the building for at least two hours after the fire was discovered, because no one realized the danger. The legislative documents were overlooked in the confusion; they were almost never referred to in current business, so were naturally forgotten. An official of sound common sense and thorough knowledge of the building would have ordered the removal of documents long before.

These considerations might be used with equal force as arguments for the creation of a department of archives, or at least of a scientifically-trained superintendent of records, but I am assuming that public opinion is not sufficiently educated for so great an advance.

In the second place, under the conditions assumed, the State should cooperate with the town in the matter of fire protection. This may take the form of a contribution toward the cost of maintaining a permanent, well-trained department and the purchase of apparatus, or the installation of a supplementary high-pressure system for the State buildings, to be connected with the town system as a reserve. Something may be said for both; perhaps the second would be easier to procure from the legislature; either would be of great advantage. Either would have saved the basement rooms at Jefferson City.

It is with considerable personal diffidence that I present such unscientific and commonplace suggestions before you; it is distinctly humiliating that conditions exist in this country that permit the presentation of a paper such as this to the archives commission of the American Historical Association. Yet it was recognized at Indianapolis last year that the time for trained archivists and really scientific work in the archives in this country was not yet. At present, perhaps, we can do no better service for the future than in considering and solving these very elementary problems.

In discussion of the paper on the fires at Albany and Jefferson City, Mr. Bernard R. Green, the Superintendent of the Library of Congress, pointed out that instead of being surprised at the fires which have taken place in the past, we may properly wonder that there have not been more of them, with a far greater destruction of records. Not only, he said, must archives be placed in buildings that are actually fireproof, but they must, furthermore, receive such an arrangement within the building that they can not readily take fire even though

they are exposed to the flames. The great and continuous heat developed during a large fire will, however, destroy anything subjected to it, and it is more important to prevent the fire from starting than it is to be able to extinguish it after it has run its course. Persons of intelligence should always be in charge of buildings where valuable collections are stored, and careful supervision is always necessary to supplement even the best work of the architect and constructor.

The second part of the program was devoted to two papers on the Canadian archives, the full texts of which are here given.

THE DOMINION ARCHIVES.

By D. N. McARTHUR.

A nation's career determines the character of its archives. four hundred years of Canada's youth abound with a wealth and variety of human interest. A great world awakening, the herald of a new civilization, gave her birth. With a dauntless courage and a jealous loyalty to their sovereigns, rival seamen explored her shores and revealed the wealth of her lands. An heroic faith in her future inspired her first colonists with a persistent perseverance. sionaries, in piercing the wilderness and suffering the tortures of native savagery, set new limits to human endurance. The adventurous zeal of her explorers opened the lands where now two nations The waters of the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Illinois revealed to them their secrets. Nor is the less romantic task of settlement and colonization devoid of interest. The transplanting of the institutions of France in a crude new-world soil was a work worthy of the genius of a Richelieu and of a Colbert. And then the crisis came. In the great drama of the eighteenth century Canada played a leading rôle. On the Plains of Abraham the destiny alike of the new world and of the old was fixed. Henceforth Canada's course followed new channels. Her institutions changed; a new race sought shelter on her shores; and two peoples, till now inveterate foes, united for the development of her vast resources. Settlement advanced; new institutions were designed to meet the ever-changing needs. realization of the dangers of separation induced the British colonies to form a closer union. A federation was completed combining a regard for the cherished interests of the individual colonies with provision for the larger concerns of public advantage to Canada. federation expanded and was made to extend from coast to coast. And now a two-fold problem has arisen: The fostering and directing of a national spirit in which the differences of race, of creed, of political tradition may blend harmoniously, and, in concert with the other members of the family, the evolution of a new and vaster scheme of government which may unify and organize the nations of the British Empire. These are the conditions which determine the character of Canada's archives.

THE HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES.

While as early as 1731 the preservation of the records of the colony had been considered by the Government, it was not until 1872 that the movement which resulted in the present archives establishment had its origin. As the result of a petition presented to Parliament setting forth the disadvantages under which authors and literary inquirers labored in not having access to historical records, a sum of money was granted for the purpose of making a preliminary investigation into the extent and state of preservation of the public records. Mr. Douglas Brymner was selected to conduct the inquiry and during the first year confined his attention to the records already within the country. In 1873 his investigations were extended to Canadian archives stored in various British repositories. Reports were made on the records of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Tower of London, the War Office, the Public Record Office, and the British Museum. the following year these searches were continued by the Abbé Verreault and were extended to include the more important sources in France and on the Continent such as the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the National Archives, the Departments of Marine and of Foreign Affairs of France and the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

This survey completed, the work of collecting the records began. Under directions from the Secretary for War of Great Britain, a most important series of original military documents was transferred from Halifax to Ottawa. From 1883 to 1887 further investigations were conducted into the French sources by Mr. Joseph Marmette. Calendars were prepared by Mr. Marmette and these, when published, served as an index to the Canadian material in the French archives and as a guide for the work of transcription. In 1884 Mr. Brymner began the publication of the calendars of the Haldimand papers—a work which revealed to the public the extent and importance of the documents being collected in the archives. The acquisition of historical records already within the country was not neglected. From various sources, public and private, very valuable papers were In 1886 new series of papers were opened in London and the transcription commenced of the military correspondence of the period of the Seven Years' War and of the colonial correspondence in the Public Record Office, London. This series of colonial office records is one of the most important single series in the Canadian archives and the calendars of its contents occupy the annual reports of the Dominion archivist for the years 1890 to 1902. The State Papers relating to the other British colonies, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island were likewise transcribed and their calendars published. A step of far-reaching importance in the history of the Dominion archives was taken in 1897

when a departmental commission examined the records belonging to the various departments and reported on their character and state of preservation. They recommended the concentration of public documents, prior to the federation of the Provinces, under the custody of the Dominion archivist and indicated the classes of papers which should be transferred to the central office. In 1897 the examination of the documents in France was resumed by Mr. Edouard Richard and the results of his investigations were embodied in a special report published in 1899. The work of the Archives suffered a most severe loss in the death of Dr. Brymner in 1902. During the 30 years of his connection with its work, a broad and solid foundation had been laid for the establishment of a national archives.

A successor to Dr. Brymner was not selected until 1904 when Dr. Doughty, the present Dominion archivist, was appointed to that office. Dr. Doughty's first report outlines the policy which has since been pursued. A thorough examination of the records within the Dominion was recommended in order to avoid duplication in transcription, and the erection of a suitable building was urged as an essential step before the Government would be justified in attempting to centralize its records. Through the generous and sympathetic support of the honorable Sydney Fisher, the minister then in charge of the branch, the building which is now occupied by the Archives was erected in 1906. The work of collecting records was then pursued with vigor. Through the influence of Lord Minto the Archives received from the office of the governor general a valuable series of papers, consisting of the originals of the dispatches from the colonial office to the governments of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Prince Edward Island, Vancouver, and British Columbia. Following the suggestion of the records commission of 1897, documents from the privy council office, from the department of the secretary of state, from the militia department, and from the department of the interior were transferred to the Dominion Archives. The work of investigation and transcription abroad was placed in charge of Mr. H. P. Biggar, whose research in the field of early Canadian history made him familiar with the European sources. So great has been the acquisition of new material that the Archives have already outgrown their building and the work is now seriously impaired through the lack of proper accommodation.

THE CONTENTS OF THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES.

The manuscript material at present in the Archives falls into two main divisions—the records of the French period and the records of the British period.

The French correspondence is contained chiefly in the Series F of the Canadian archives. The Canadian Series F includes the

Series B, C,11 D, F, and G of the colonial archives of France. The French Series B contains the ministerial correspondence and orders and dispatches of the King to the governors and other officers of the several colonies in North America. It covers the period from 1663 to 1789, and up to the present transcripts have been made from the beginning to 1733. The Series C 11 is composed of the letters sent to Versailles from the governors, intendants, and other officers of the colonies. It contains five subdivisions. The first contains the correspondence from the officials of Canada, in which the story is told of the adversities and conquests, the hopes and fears of the infant colony. The second relates to Acadia. The third contains documents concerning the boundaries of the French and English colonies in America and the relations between Canada and the United States for the period from 1651 to 1818. The fourth relates to He Royale and He St. Jean, and the fifth to the colony of Plaisance in Newfoundland. These two series compose the Correspondence Générale and are mutually complementary. The French Series D contains correspondence relating to the colonial troops, while in Series G are found the census returns of Canada, Acadia, Tereneuve, Ile Royale, Ile St. Jean, and Miquelon, as well as the church registers of marriages, baptisms, and burials at Louisburg and on Ile St. Jean under the French régime. The French Series F, known as the "Moreau St. Méry Collection," contains miscellaneous correspondence relating to the various North American Colonies. It includes documents relating to Louisiana, the voyages of La Salle, and the discovery of the Mississippi.

More recently transcripts have been made in the archives of the Affaires Etrangères, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Archives Nationales. In addition to these larger collections, there are several smaller series of great value, such as the correspondence between Mgr. Laval and the Prefect of the Propaganda at Rome, the correspondence of the Marquis de Montcalm, and the journal of Bougainville's expedition of 1756.

The chief series of documents for the British period consists of the correspondence between the colonial office and the representatives of the Crown in the colonies. A distinct series exists for each colony. For the Province of Quebec, which until 1791 included what is now Ontario, the dispatches received and sent by the governor have been copied from the originals in the Public Record Office. In some cases contemporary copies of the letters out and the letters in are preserved in the letter books of the governor in chief. Supplementary to this series are the Murray papers, the Haldimand papers, and the Bouquet papers, containing a more complete correspondence of their particular period than is afforded by the colonial office records. The letters received and the letters sent by the

governors or lieutenant governors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton have been copied from the originals in London and constitute separate subseries. The original dispatches from the colonial office to the governors of the Province of Lower Canada and to the lieutenant governors of the Province of Upper Canada have been secured from the office of the governor general. The dispatches from the colonial governors to the colonial office are represented by transcripts from the originals in London. though at the present time a series of the original duplicates is being received. For the period of United Canada the archives possess the originals of the dispatches in and the original drafts of the dispatches out. In addition, the letter books of the governors supply a duplicate series both of the dispatches sent and the dispatches received. Copies have been secured of the State Papers of the Hudson's Bay Co. for the years 1673 to 1759, and the minutes of the company have been copied for the years 1671 to 1767. Eighty volumes of Selkirk papers, copied from the originals in Scotland, supply most important information on the history of the Middle West. For the colony of Vancouver Island the originals of the dispatches to the governor have been preserved for the years 1847 to 1867 and of the dispatches from the governor for the years 1858 to Likewise for British Columbia there are the original dispatches to the governor for the years 1858 to 1871 and to the colonial office for the years 1864 to 1871.

The value of these series of correspondence can not be overestimated. The dispatches from the colonial office contain the directions under which the government of the colonies was conducted. They indicate the development from the absolute power of the governor to the granting of responsible government and colonial autonomy. Likewise the correspondence of the governors holds the mirror before the growing colonies and reflects, with greater or less fidelity, the varying phases of the life of the colonies, the conflict of opposing opinions, and the gradual evolution of a distinct Canadian sentiment.

Of a similar character and equally important is the original correspondence between the British ambassador at Washington and the governors of the various colonies. Here may be found a record of international relations essential to a knowledge of the history alike of the United States and of Canada. In the same connection may be mentioned the very extensive correspondence relating to the boundary investigations made under the treaty of Ghent.

Ranking in the same class as the colonial correspondence are the several series of the personal letters of the various governors. The Murray papers have been mentioned. The Durham papers contain important correspondence relating to that most critical period of Canada's history with which Lord Durham was connected. The

Bagot papers deal with the difficulties involved in introducing a system of responsible government. The Grey-Elgin correspondence discusses at length such important questions as the rebellion-losses bill, the annexation movement, and the negotiations leading up to the reciprocity treaty of 1854.

Forming a distinct series of very great value are the military papers secured from Halifax in 1873 and in 1904. These papers constitute a series of over 4,000 volumes of original correspondence. They throw valuable light on the military transactions of 1812–1814 and on the rebellion of 1837. The control of Indian affairs, the building of roads and canals, and the general improvement of transportation came within the jurisdiction of the military authorities, so that on these subjects important information is afforded by the military correspondence.

The papers mentioned have been connected with the office of the governor general. The records of the other branches of Government have likewise been preserved. The original minute books of the privy council and legislative council of the Province of Quebec, the minute books of the executive councils of Lower Canada and of Upper Canada have been obtained from the office of the privy council. In the same series are the land books containing the records of the executive councils relating to the appropriation of the lands of the Crown. The correspondence of the civil secretary to the governor throws much light on the internal operations of Government. The remainder of the manuscript material consists chiefly of the official records transferred from various Federal departments.

Maps, plans, and charts constitute a most important section of Canada's historical records. The collection in the archives numbers over 8,000 and consists of the plans of exploration, military plans, land surveys, boundary surveys, transportation and postal maps and the regular topographical maps. Mention may be made of a rare copy of the Juan de la Cosa map of 1500, of Maj. Mackellar's "Plan of the Town of Quebec" made in 1757 and from which Wolfe formed his plan of compaign, of Montcalm's plan of Lake St. Sacrement, of the Murray survey of the St. Lawrence Valley, with its elaborate census of all the parishes in the district, of the Dorchester survey of Lower Canada, and of Simcoe's plan of the Province of Upper Canada.

In the collection of records illustrative of Canada's development special attention has been paid to historical paintings, engravings, and prints. The pictorial representation of scenes or events has often afforded most important historical evidence. For the purpose of illustrating works on Canadian history these prints have been used extensively. The collection consists of some 7,000 pictures. The most valuable of the historical paintings is West's "Death of

Simon Fraser," presented to the archives by Lord Lovat, the distinguished head of the Fraser clan. Copley's "Wolfe at Quebec," Erskine's view of Niagara, and the special series prepared by Craig and Reid in connection with the tercentenary celebration at Quebec are among the more important original paintings.

THE ACQUISITION OF ARCHIVES.

The administration of the archives may be considered under the acquisition and utilization of records. The acquisition of archives depends on conditions peculiar to each particular state. For Canada there are three chief sources from which public documents may be obtained—the public departments of France, of Great Britain, and the Federal departments of Canada. The complicated character of the organization of the system of colonial government of France has resulted in the division of the colonial records among several of the departments. This has increased the difficulties of locating the records relating to Canada. While the British public offices may not contain the abundance of material found in France, their records are in such form as to make them more readily accessible. The transcribing of records is of necessity a slow and tedious process. The limited space available for copyists and the restrictions regarding office hours have not relieved the situation. It would seem that it is in the photographic process that assistance must be sought. At present the chief objections to the use of photography for transcription arise from the dangers involved in the use of chemicals for the process of developing and from the absence of a photographic paper which is suitable for a permanent record. In spite of these imperfections it is proposed to employ photography to facilitate the work of transcription. Photographic copies can be made of the records in Paris and in London and from these copies transcripts can be made in the offices of the archives at Ottawa. A larger and a more competent staff can be employed than would be possible in Europe and the work can be done under more favorable conditions than at present.

The acquisition of public records from the various departments of the Federal Government is at present regulated by an order in council of 1903 which directed that documents in the public departments, prior to 1867, and which were not required for the current business of the office should be transferred to the custody of the archivist. In many cases the Canadian departments are very jealous of their records but the public interest demands that the public records should be preserved in a place where their safety is guaranteed.

From the standpoint of historical value the private and semiofficial correspondence of the men who have been active in the public life of the country is of greater importance than the official records. An attempt is being made to secure the correspondence of the various Canadian governors. Already the papers of Gen. Murray, Lord Durham, of Sir Charles Bagot, and of Lord Elgin have been acquired. In this connection too much can not be said in praise of the public spirit manifested by the representatives of the families of the early governors in placing at the disposal of the Canadian people the valuable records of their ancestors. They have come to regard themselves not as the owners of these documents, but rather as the custodians. holding them for the benefit of the colony and the Empire which their family served. Conditions in Canada in this respect are different. Her youth and the democratic spirit inevitable to a colonial society have not permitted the development of magnificent family traditions based on long records of public service. The preservation of family papers can not be viewed in the same light as it is in Britain. Nevertheless, the archives has been fortunate in securing such private collections as the Neilson papers, the Rolph papers, the Claus papers. and the Askin papers.

THE UTILIZATION OF ARCHIVES.

Archives may be used in conducting current business as the record of past transactions, or they may be consulted by the historian in his endeavor to interpret the life of the past. A command of their contents is necessary before records can be used for one purpose or the other. The preparation of adequate indexes therefore becomes a matter of great importance. The Canadian Archives is attempting the preparation of two indexes, the one (which is not to be published), a minute detailed key to the contents of the records for the purpose of aiding investigations conducted within the office, the other, which is to be published, a general guide designed to indicate to the students the extent and character of the material on various historical subjects. Unfortunately the preparation of indexes has been unable to keep pace with the rapid accumulation of records.

Nevertheless, the records in the Archives have proved of inestimable value in determining rights to property both public and private. The interpretation of treaties would be impossible without reference to the correspondence connected with their formation. In the determination of boundary lines, watercourses, and other matters of international interest both the documents and the maps have afforded valuable assistance. Similarly, in case of private litigation, resort is continually being made to the records in the Archives to establish the validity and extent of claims to property.

But it is for the purpose of historical research that most frequent use is made of the Dominion Archives. It has been the policy of the branch not only to permit students to have access to the documents but, as far as possible, to publish faithful copies of the texts of the more important series of documents. The publication of annual calendars has been discontinued for the reason that in many cases the documents calendared had not been transcribed by the Archives. and in others, calendars could not be made of all the documents constituting the series. Under the present policy two classes of reports are issued—the annual report of the Dominion archivist and special publications of the Archives. The annual report, to a large degree, fulfills the purpose served by the former calendars in that it gives a summary of all the material secured by the Archives during the period which it covers. In the special publications of the archives the text is given of important documents, journals, or series of documents. In accordance with this policy a volume of documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada was published in 1907. A second volume, a continuation of the first, will be issued during the course of a few months. The Journal of Larocque, Murray's Journal of the Yukon, and documents relating to the pre-Cartier voyages have likewise been published in this series. 'In this manner it is hoped that in time the more important documents relating to Canadian history may be made accessible not only to students but to the general public throughout the Dominion.

The work of publication has acted as a powerful stimulus to the pursuit of historical research. Students and authors have realized that the history of Canada requires to be rewritten in the light of the original sources and in consequence have availed themselves of the records in the Archives. Every encouragement possible has been given to historical research at the Archives building. The need has not arisen for the adoption of the stringent regulations regarding access to documents and hours for working which European records' offices have found necessary to enforce. The result has been that the Archives is developing into the Mecca of the students of Canadian history.

As much assistance as possible is rendered students who are unable to come to Ottawa to consult the original sources. Searches are made and, where conditions require it, photographic copies of documents are furnished to inquirers. In this respect photography has been of great value in combining expedition with accuracy of transcription.

For the further encouragement of historical research, an important departure was made during the past year. According to the division of jurisdiction between the federal and provincial Governments, education falls within the sphere of the provinces and consequently the Dominion was unable to encourage historical education to the full extent which its possession of rich historical records would otherwise have permitted. Nevertheless a step was taken toward bringing the study of history in the universities into more intimate relation with original research in the Archives. The Dominion Govern-

ment established scholarships of the value of \$50 per month for students nominated by each of the Canadian universities who should spend a part of the summer vacation in conducting historical studies at the Dominion Archives. In the selection of a subject the previous training of the students and the prospect of pursuing further research were important considerations. The character of the material relating to the subject was discussed with the student and directions were given regarding the use of the various classes of sources. The students were then left, as much as possible, to rely on their own resources. Seven men spent the summer at the Archives and the results of their research have amply justified the experiment. Through its publications, through its replies to inquiries, through its contact with authors, and through its connection with the educational institutions of the Dominion, the Canadian Archives are endeavouring to disseminate the information which its records contain and, by turning a clearer light on the conflicts, the failures, and the achievements of vesterday, to make some slight contribution to the solution of the national problems of to-day and to-morrow.

THE ONTARIO ARCHIVES.

By Alexander Fraser, Provincial Archivist.

The line of demarcation between the Canadian or Dominion archives and the Ontario or other provincial archives is somewhat similar to that between the Federal and State archives in the United States. It consists with the scope of the jurisdiction of the Dominion or major commonwealth, and the narrower or minor jurisdiction of the Province. This constitutes a clearly defined boundary within which both work without conflict or overlapping of interests. Our public charter is an imperial statute entitled the British North America act, and to-day, when there are nine fully constituted, autonomous Provinces within the Dominion of Canada, it is interesting to recall that when the British North America act became law in 1867 the subtitle set forth that it was "An act for the union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the government thereof; and for purposes connected therewith."

This act provides for the government of Ontario a lieutenantgovernor, who represents the Crown; an executive council of ministers of state and a legislature composed of duly elected representatives of the people. To this body the act secures exclusive legislative powers in Ontario and Quebec, in the matter of Crown lands, forests and mines; education, from the public common school to the university; municipal government, institutions and laws; incorporation of chartered companies—commercial, financial, professional, or social; solemnization of marriage, involving family history, vital statistics, etc.; property and civil rights; administration of justice, embracing both civil and criminal jurisdiction; agriculture and immigratiom, under which municipal, industrial, and agricultural statistics are collected, tabulated, and published; the founding and maintenance of provincial institutions such as hospitals, asylums, reformatories, prisons, and institutions for the instruction of the deaf and dumb and the blind; offices for the local registration of deeds, titles to land; the licensing of shops, taverns, hotels, auctioneers, etc.; the erection of local public works; the authorization and regulation of transportation not interprovincial.

In short the Provincial Government gets close to the life of the people and touches its business and social sides intimately. As at present constituted the ministry comprises the departments of: The attorney general, dealing with the administration of law; the provincial secretary, controlling registration, and the public insti-

tutions; the provincial treasurer, dealing with the public accounts; agriculture; lands, forests, and mines; public works; and education. The prime minister is statutorily president of the council and head of the ministry. Besides these and exercising semi-ministerial or departmental functions are two commissions, the hydro-electric commission and the Government railway commission. These, with the legislature itself, are the departments of government in which our archives originate.

Archives we have defined as the records, the business papers, of the province having a permanent value. All archives need not be of historical value in the narrow sense. Public documents may have a business or record value apart from history, yet it would be hard to say that any given document might not be found useful in some way in connection with history. The main value of a document is as an evidence of truth. Every document does not contain truth, yet even such a document may, in effect, be a fact in history, and training and experience lead to a reasonably true interpretation.

The Ontario Bureau of Archives, organized in 1903, is equally related and attached to all the Government departments, and receives all papers and documents of record value or of historical interest, not in current use, from all branches of the public service. When possible, these documents are classified, calendared, and indexed.

The archives originating in the legislative assembly are: The Scroll of Parliament—the documents known by that title being the notes and memoranda made by the clerk, of the routine proceedings of the house during its sessions; the original signatures of the members of the legislative assembly subscribed to the oath of allegiance when "sworn in" as members of the assembly, the signatures being written on parchment; copies of the statutes in the form in which they have been assented to and signed by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor. These copies are printed on good paper, and after having been assented to become the originals of the statutes in force; and the original copy pertaining to the consolidated statutes.

Among the assembly archives are the manuscripts of all sessional papers not printed (a sessional paper is a return called for by order of the house, whether printed or not, and the reports of departments and all branches of the public service presented to the house); the originals of all petitions presented to the house (these are not printed); the originals of bills in the form in which they are presented to the house; and copies of bills amended during their passage through the house. The original copy of sessional papers which are printed is returned with the proof sheets to the department or officer issuing the same.

Naturally next in importance to the records of the legislature are those of the executive council or Government. All matters requiring executive action are brought before the council upon the recommendation or report of the minister having the subject matter in charge. The recommendation or report is addressed to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor in Council. The reports of the committee of council are signed by the prime minister as president, are countersigned by the clerk and submitted to the lieutenant governor for approval, after which the document becomes and is known as an order of His Honor the Lieutanant Governor in Council. is given to orders in council affecting the general public by the promulgation of them in the Ontario Gazette; otherwise by the transmission of certified copies to the departments or persons concerned. The original orders (together with the recommendations, reports, and papers upon which they are based), after being registered in special journals, become most valuable records and much in request.

Through the department of the attorney general access is obtained to the voluminous records, rich in personal history and jurisprudence, arising from the administration of justice, in its vast ramifications and details, reaching from the policeman and justice of the peace to the high courts and court of appeal; from the homely minutes of the quarter sessions of early times, to the record of the recent cause célèbre which influenced the legislation of the country, or settled questions of constitutional import.

With the office of the provincial secretary the provincial archivist necessarily has very close relations. The office of the secretary is the medium of communication, through the lieutenant governor, between the provincial, dominion, and imperial governments. such correspondence is registered and copies of the dispatches are All commissions bearing the great seal of the Province are issued by the secretary, and are registered in his office, as are also all appointments made by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor in Council requiring the issuance of a commission. Charters of incorporation, licenses for extra-provincial companies doing business in Ontario, and marriage licenses are issued here under the direction of the secretary; here also are made records of all Crown land patents (the earliest record being 1795), the records of all mining leases and deeds and leases relating to the public lands, etc. In the secretary's office are kept the vital statistics of the Province. From the organization of the Province in 1792 until 1849 marriages were recorded in the parish and congregational registers kept by clergymen, in the minute books of the quarter sessions of the peace, and in the memorandum books of justices of the peace. In addition to this, fairly complete records of births were made in the baptismal registers, and of deaths in the journals of clergymen, who recorded the deaths of

parishioners for congregational purposes. Many of these old books. however, have been either lost or destroyed, or their disposition is not known. In 1849 the municipalities were enabled to make provision by by-law for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths. and advantage was taken of that statute to a very considerable From the passing of the law of 1849 until 1874 all records of marriages in the Province were returned to the city and county registrars, who became their official custodians. In 1869 the office of the registrar general was established and compulsory registration of births, marriages, and deaths introduced. Until 1874 the returns were still sent to the county and city registrars, but since 1874 they have been sent direct to the registrar general's office. The work of transcribing these returns and preserving them in proper form has been proceeding for years; and the documents, books, and statistical papers of the office, which are in safe keeping, form an invaluable collection of archives.

In addition to the original vouchers of the public accounts, the treasury department contains the papers of the succession duty office, including affidavits made by the applicants on all applications for letters probate or letters of administration in the Province showing the value, as at the date of the death of a deceased person, of such person's estate, with a general statement of the distribution thereof; including copies of wills, affidavits of value, bonds, and other documents which in particular cases have been furnished in order that the amount of succession duty payable, in cases liable to payment, might be ascertained. These documents are not generally accessible to the public, as they relate to the private concerns not only of deceased but of living persons, but they are a valuable addition to the surrogate courts' records which are a mine of genealogical information.

The great staple enterprises of Ontario are agriculture, industrial production, lumbering, mining, and in general, trade and commerce. Of these agriculture is the greatest, and the records of its growth and development have a special value to the student of economics. The statistical branch, formed in 1882, issues annual reports dealing with agricultural and municipal interests—assessment figures, population, areas assessed, taxes imposed, annual receipts and expenditures, assets and liabilities, chattel mortgages, proving of value to municipal debenture holders and the public generally.

Of all our departments, the bureau of archives has drawn most largely on the documentary treasures of the department of Crown lands. The material of historical interest here is exceedingly varied and valuable, embracing the records of the surveys of the Province; the original maps, field notes, and diaries relating to the survey of all the townships dating back to 1784, and reports of all the explorations made within the limits of the Province since that date; reports show-

ing the planning out and surveys of the old military roads, such as Dundas Street, Yonge Street, the Penetanguishene and Kingston Roads, and the papers in connection with the surveys of the Talbot Road, the Huron Road, the Garafraxa Road, the Toronto and Sydenham Road (Owen Sound). There is much valuable information in the notes concerning the pioneer settlements. This branch also contains plans of all the old Indian reserves of the Province and reports indicating the early condition of the Indian settlements on these reserves; also of the ordnance surveys in the Province pertaining to land grants to old settlers; plans of the military reserves and plans showing the location and groundwork of the early forts. Besides these there are the original surveys of all the lands acquired by the Canada company and of those granted to King's College. A collection of much importance already transferred to the archives vaults is that embracing the diaries or journals of David Thompson, the astronomer royal, covering a period of 66 years, from 1784 to 1850, and making about 50 volumes. Thompson's famous map showing the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from a little south of the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay, is carefully preserved in the collection. Thompson's journals and map have furnished interesting material to students of our early history. They have been used by Mr. Coues in his work entitled "New Light on the Great North-West." and have been found useful in connection with editions of Henry's and Thompson's journals. Competent authorities regard Thompson's work as most valuable to the State, especially in the fixing of boundary lines; but of little less importance are the field notes and diaries of many of the early surveyors, not merely for topographical reasons but on account of the detailed information given. In a separate vault are many other valuable and interesting documents, including the United Empire Loyalists' lists, the records of land grants to immigrants, to discharged soldiers, and the militia grants of warrants to discharged troops, to United Empire Loyalists, volumes of land board certificates, returns of locations compiled for the quartermaster general, fiat and warrant books, domesday books, containing original entries of every lot that is patented, and extending to 26 large volumes, descriptions and terms or references on which patents and leases are issued, patents for Crown lands, mining lands, free grant lands, and mining leases. There are also a series of maps of the townships of the Province as surveyed, which have the names of the original holders and settlers entered on each lot or block of land. These maps show among other things the grant made to King's College, and the lands allotted to the Canada Land Co. The historical value of these records is inestimable, for without them the settlement of the Province could not be traced or shown.

The most interesting archives emanating from the public-works department are the records of the early colonization roads—arteries of settlement and trade routes—and the title deeds, plans and specifications, contracts, maps, and documents relating to Crown property, buildings, and institutions, a finely conditioned collection.

I have thus, at considerable length, described the field in which the archivist of Ontario labors and out of which he is gradually building up his storehouse of archives. The main purpose of the bureau is that of a record office of State papers, primarily for their proper preservation and for the greater convenience of the public service. This is in the nature of things. A central office, in which papers from all departments of the Government are lodged after they have passed out of current use, examined, classified, and filed by a staff familiar with their contents, need only be brought into use to become indispensably serviceable in the carrying on of public business; but in addition, the archivist, knowing the contents of the documents in his custody, is able to direct and help in a manner that can not otherwise be done, that portion of the public interested in the information contained in the Government archives.

Notwithstanding the completeness and compactness of the field I have briefly sketched as a logical and correct one for the purposes of a State record office, it is nevertheless equally obvious that Government records alone do not nor can embrace all the archives properly so called of a State or Province. When, therefore, I was asked, eight years ago, to organize a bureau of archives for Ontario, I laid out a much wider plan than that I have referred to, with, however, the State record office always as the central idea. The bureau is therefore double barreled; it draws from the pigeonholes of the departments, and it collects outside material that may throw light on the settlement and development of the Province of Ontario, the source of which is often far afield. For instance, the Province of Quebec (including Ontario), up to 1774 included all to the south and west as far as St. Louis and the Mississippi, and of course, what became in 1791 Upper Canada. The British régime is touched by the French and the French by the Indian.

In carrying out this plan the bureau aims at the collection of documents having, in the widest sense, a bearing upon the political or social history of Ontario, and upon its agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial development; the collection of municipal, school, and church records; the collection and preservation of pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, regimental muster rolls, etc., bearing on its past or present history; the collection and preservation of facts illustrative of the early settlements, pioneer experience, customs, mode of living, prices, wages, boundaries, areas cultivated, homes, etc.; the collection and preservation of correspondence,

letters from and to settlers, documents in private hands pertaining to public and social affairs, etc., reports of local events and historic incidents in the family or public life; the rescuing from oblivion of the memory of the pioneer settlers, the obtaining and preserving narratives of their early exploits, and of the part they took in opening up the country for occupation; and the bureau cooperates with the historical societies of Ontario and societies kindred to them, helping to consolidate and classify their work, and as far as practicable to direct local effort on given lines.

Within this scope the following plan of work has been adopted: To divide the history of Ontario until the confederation of the Provinces in 1867 into its political periods, arranging the material secured in chronological order, and giving each period a series of reports. Thus the work has been carried on in all the divisions simultaneously, and when sufficient material has accumulated in any one of them, it has been utilized by the publication of documents without undue delay. From confederation onward, the larger quantity of material to be dealt with, and the probable absence of sweeping constitutional changes to mark eras, suggested a chronological rather than a political basis of division. The periods are:

- 1. To the close of the French régime, or the period of French discovery, 1763.
 - 2. To the organization of the Province of Upper Canada, 1791.
 - 3. To the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada, 1841.
 - 4. To confederation, 1867.
 - 5. To the end of the nineteenth century, 1900.

In each of these divisions there is much work to do. Each has its own distinctive features, and there is abundance of minor incident.

Material of special interest to Ontario bearing on the French régime is contained in the "Correspondance Générale," in the papers of the "Collection de Moreau St. Méry," which have been transcribed from the Paris archives for the Canadian archives, most of which has never been published in printed form. There is also valuable Ontario material in the "Haldimand Collection of papers," the "Bouquet Papers," and the Colonial Office records bearing on this period. It is intended to collect and publish these papers, accompanied by an adequate translation, when not written in English, and adding extracts in chronological order from the publications of Perrot, La Potherie, La Harpe, Charlevoix, De Kalm, the Jesuit Relations, papers by Margry, and a portion of the "Mémoire pour Messire François Bigot," which contains what seems to be an excellent summary of the commerce and condition of all the western trading posts at the time of the conquest. Other sources of material for publication have also been considered in connection with this early period.

Aboriginal or Indian history presents many interesting features to us, and some attention has been given to the subject, including an inquiry as to the original savage occupants of Ontario, their origin, migrations, traffic, and intercourse; their language, topographical nomenclature, folklore, and literature; the origin and development of their clan, tribal, and national organization; the history and results of European contact; their present condition, capabilities, and tendencies.

This period of Ontario history, that of the French régime, will be our heroic age, as "distance lends enchantment to the view." Here will be found the adventurous coureurs de bois, many of the great routes and trading posts, the headquarters of which in later times was Fort William, on Thunder Bay. Here the Huron and Iroquois met in deadly conflict; here also the French missionaries of the Cross endured untold sufferings with ecstatic heroism, and receiving the martyr's crown left a record of Christian zeal and fortitude not surpassed, if at all equaled, in the history of the world. Events which stirred the imagination and fascinated the finely poised mind of a Parkman will yet furnish the material for Canada's great, unwritten epic poem.

The Ontario bureau of archives has made a beginning in this field by publishing a volume on the "Identification of the Huron Village Sites," where those missionaries labored and fell, prepared by the venerable and scholarly archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, the Rev. Father Jones, S. J., a contribution, I believe, of undoubted value. It may be taken as significant of our attitude that a work of such erudite research has been treated as a public document and issued free to the people at the expense of the Government. It will soon be followed by the writings of Father Potier, a work of far-reaching importance and interest, which is in process of preparation for the press. The three volumes of manuscript have been photographed page by page and a zincograph facsimile of the original will be placed before scholars, a work the casual announcement of which has already whetted the appetites of not a few antiquarians.

Leaving this interesting period for the second I have mentioned, we reach the coming to Ontario of the United Empire Loyalists. These form the basis of our population and still give color to our political thought and form and fashion to our institutions. In this period we have published two volumes, one of about 1,500 pages, being the manuscript of evidence laid before a royal commission reporting on the claims for compensation for losses suffered by the United Empire Loyalists, a document now out of print and much sought for. The other volume consists of the minutes of the land board of the western district of Ontario, bordering on Lake Erie

and the Detroit River, containing particulars of grants of land before 1792, schedules, regulations, description lists of grantees, and surveys, and a mass of data connected with Indian rights and the settlement of land generally. It has been of value in land-title lawsuits, etc., and extends to more than 500 pages.

Combining this period with the succeeding one, we have collected the proclamations by the Crown from 1763 to 1840 and issued them in a volume, the necessity of which has been felt, as may be understood when it is stated that no such collection had ever been made before, though these proclamations are of public use in an endless variety of business.

Under our third division the narrower political history of our Province begins, the introduction of constitutional government the work of the legislature, some of whose early records are lost, the outbreak of the War of 1812, the progress of settlement, and the development of municipal and commercial institutions, the restiveness leading to the rising of 1837, and the concessions made to responsible government. Here a great deal of archival work has been already accomplished. The journals of the proceedings of the legislature of Upper Canada from 1792 to 1818, so far as we have been able to find them, have been published and the series will be issued to the year 1824, from which year printed copies are in existence. The journals of the legislative council concurrent with those of the legislative assembly down to 1816 have also been published, and one volume in each series, now in the press, will complete the work. These journals are simply indispensable, being the original evidence of all our legislation. Our constitutional development and the history of our legislature can not be studied or understood without them. I may be pardoned should I refer particularly to one of many interesting questions dealt with in the closing years of the eighteenth century as shown in these journals. The legislative assembly, following the rule of the Imperial House of Commons, claimed the power of the purse, and objected to their supply bill being amended by the legislative council or upper house. A deadlock ensued; neither side would budge from its position; a conference of both houses was held and the assembly won on the understanding that the question would be referred to the law officers of the Crown in Britain for future guidance. This was accordingly done and the right claimed by the assembly or lower house was conceded to it. Thus was solved amicably for Canada at the small hamlet of Newark, on the banks of the Niagara, a constitutional principle which recently shook the United Kingdom and produced a serious and radical constitutional crisis, in which once more the Commons vindicated their supremacy in questions of national finance.

The records of the first Court of Common Pleas for Upper Canada, with valuable annotations and historical notes, are being prepared for the press.

In this division we have in hand among other things the preparation of a domesday book for the Province. Our plan, which has made substantial progress, is to cover all our settlement of Crown lands from 1783 to 1900 by townships, giving each grantee a description, and, for the purpose of reference, a number. Succeeding volumes will furnish memoirs, notes, and statistical data of a special character bearing on the grantees and on their settlements. In this connection we are collecting and rapidly accumulating local material which will be drawn upon for this work. This I consider one of the biggest undertakings planned by the bureau, which occupy much time to bring it to completion, but when completed will be a work of reference of permanent use to our historical investigators.

We are also collecting papers and documents pertaining to the political history of Ontario that ought to be preserved in permanent form, which will be issued in a series of four consecutive volumes. These have been planned on lines that will bring their usefulness directly to the growing class of students of our provincial history.

Lately a genealogical branch has been included in our program and steps are being taken to obtain by legislation a change of official forms so as to help in the collecting of data. The work will be conducted on the basis of the county unit, with correspondents engaged under the direction of the bureau.

While effort has been directed on these lines, I have paid more attention to the collecting of much neglected material throughout the Province—in the hands of private individuals, public bodies, or local officials, rather than to the exact and adequate classification and indexing of outside material as it is being received. The Province has been so long entirely neglected that when I undertook to organize the department I decided that the most valuable service I could render to the public was to acquire, to collect, and safely preserve whatever material I could find, believing the day would soon come when the value of such material would be fully realized and the necessary office assistance provided to enable me to make the accumulated archives conveniently accessible to the public.

A short discussion followed the reading of the last paper. Mr. Sampson, of the Missouri State Historical Society, emphasized the importance of preserving such printed material as bills introduced into the legislature. The State Historical Society of Missouri, he said, has been able to collect about 25,000 such documents, with which now the original manuscripts which were destroyed in the capitol fire can be replaced.

The chairman asked Mr. McArthur to what date the Canadian archives are open for investigation. Mr. McArthur replied that the confidential correspondence, which is but a small part of the whole, is open to students only under certain conditions. The official correspondence, however, is accessible to 1867.

Mr. Leland called attention briefly to the serious dangers to which considerable bodies of the federal archives are constantly exposed in Washington, and expressed the hope that the effort now being made to secure the construction of an adequate archive building might be successful.

The conference adjourned at noon.

APPENDIX B.

THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF COLORADO.

By JAMES F. WILLARD, Ph. D., Professor of History in the University of Colorado.

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THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF COLORADO.

By James F. Willard, Ph. D.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903 (Vol. I, pages 415-437) Dr. F. L. Paxson gave a description of the public archives of the State of Colorado. The present report is intended to revise and supplement that of Dr. Paxson. An attempt has been made to list the manuscript territorial records wherever found and to make more specific reference to the archives of the present departments of the State. A number of new departments have been added. The reports and bulletins issued by the State officers and boards have been adequately catalogued in the "Check List of Colorado Public Documents" published by the State board of library commissioners in 1910. This publication has made it unnecessary to encumber the following report with details as to printed reports.

Since the report by Dr. Paxson no adequate provision has been made by the State government for preserving its public records. In 1911 the subbasement of the capitol building was cleaned out and provision made for storing documents, but elsewhere little has, as yet, been done. Many records are still kept in open closets exposed to fire or theft, and there seems to be a disposition in some offices to regard the records of the past as worthless. A serious fault is the failure to make accessible the archives of defunct departments. In several cases it has been found impossible to obtain any trace of the minutes or other records of boards or bureaus that have, even recently, ceased to exist. The usual reference to the subbasement is hardly satisfactory to one in search of such material. Many departments have lost a large part of their early records because of the frequent changes in their offices.

The methods of classification used by the various departments are steadily improving. A number of them have adopted the cardindex system and are making a serious attempt to render the records easily accessible. Past records are frequently in a chaotic condition, as is the case with such an office as that of the superintendent of public instruction. The office of the secretary of state, with its mass of records, is trying to bring order out of chaos. There is a real need

of a thorough overhauling of the whole system of classification and preservation of the archives of the State.

The present writer has taken every precaution that the following report shall be accurate and comprehensive. There are, however, several openings where errors may have crept in. In June, 1911, when this investigation was made, many of the departmental officers were new to their duties and had little knowledge of the contents of their offices. Since that time, moreover, changes may have been made in the systems of classification or other records discovered. The latter has been found (January, 1912) to be the case in two departments, and the report has been changed in these cases. In cases where there was no system of classification worthy of the name some records may have been overlooked. Unless there is a statement to the contrary, the information in the following report does not extend beyond June 30, 1911.

I. RECORDS OF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.

1. GOVERNOR.

The printed records of the governor's office consist of the messages of the governor and of his proclamations. Those of the territorial period are listed in the check list above noted. The description in the report by Dr. Paxson (page 417) is complete for the subsequent period. The manuscript records of the office are in excellent condition and are classified as follows:

- Executive Record. 1861 to date, 20 volumes. A collection of all executive orders.
 These records are indexed, for more ready reference, in numbers 2 to 7 below.
- Executive Record Index. 1861 to date, 2 volumes. An index to all matters that
 pass through the office. At present a number of matters are indexed separately.
- 3. Record of Executive Appointments, 1899 to date, 1 volume.
- 4. Record of Extraditions and Pardons, January, 1889, to date, 1 volume.
- 5. Record of Notaries Public, July 16, 1901, to date, 1 volume.
- 6. Record of Commutations and Pardons, July, 1901, to date, 1 volume.
- 7. Record of Paroles, 1899 to date, 1 volume.
- Executive Correspondence, February 8, 1875, to January, 1907, 51 volumes, letterpress. Since 1907 carbon copies kept in letter files.
- 9. Manuscript reports of the various State boards, institutions, and public officers. Seemingly complete.

2. SECRETARY OF STATE.

The printed records of the office consist of its biennial reports from 1876 to date; the Brand Books, a list of stock brands, issued since 1886; the series known as Corporations, being a record of the statutes relating thereto, 1889 to date; the election laws; the abstracts of votes for State officers, since 1898; the laws relating to elections; the legislative manual, only three published, 1899, 1901, 1903; the registration law, 1891–1894; and some miscellaneous matter.

The manuscript records are not as yet well classified for the early period, though a serious attempt is being made at classification; consequently this report is far from complete. They may be provisionally classified as follows:

- a. Records relating to domestic and foreign corporations:
- The annual statements of domestic and foreign corporations. The filing was begun
 December, 1901, when it was required by law to make such statements. They
 are filed by number in a vault, and a separate alphabetical index is kept.
- 2. Records of the incorporation of domestic corporations. The original articles and amendments of the same, the seal and forms of such corporations are kept. These are filed by number and an elaborate alphabetical index has been made. These records begin October 13, 1862, with the articles of incorporation of the Clear Creek and Hot Sulphur Springs Wagon Roads Co.
- 3. Records of foreign corporations conducting business in Colorado. The original articles are kept, together with copies of the laws of the State in which the company is incorporated. They are filed by number and an alphabetical index is kept. The first found are those of the Trade Dollar Silver Mining Co., April 23, 1875. Very few companies filed their papers in 1876, 1877, or 1878. Since then these records seem to be complete. The alphabetical indexes, above noted, known as Reception Books, show the name of the company, the character of the documents filed, and the amount of the fee paid.
 - b. Records of cities and towns. The incorporation articles of cities and towns are kept in this office and are filed in the vault by date. An index is kept, the Index of Cities and Towns. Seemingly little attention was paid to such records before 1885, when the index was begun, for a large part of the early papers have been lost, especially those earlier than 1880.
 - c. Records of the legislature.

Three separate series of records have been found in the vaults of the office:

- The original senate and house bills engrossed and signed. These are filed by the date of the legislature and the number of the bill. They have been preserved since 1887.
- 2. The original senate and house journals, being the daily manuscript accounts of the proceedings. These are kept in the basement vault in a steel case. It is impossible, at present, to state whether all these records have been preserved. There are drawers for the following years: 1861, 1862, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1870, 1872, 1874, 1876, 1877, 1879, and 1885 to date.
- S. Senate and house journals. It was not possible at the time of the investigation to compare this series with 2. These seem to be the full journals of the legislature as prepared for printing. Until 1901 the records are preserved in large quarto volumes; since then they are typewritten and bound. The volumes are filed by date of the legislature. The following volumes found: House journal: 1865, 1872, 1876, 1877, 1878 to date.

Senate journal:

Territorial council, 1866, 1872, 1874, 1876.

Senate journal, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883 to date.

4. Miscellaneous legislative documents:

House docket, 1874, 1876, 1879 to date.

Senate docket, 1877, 1877 (house and senate), 1879, 1881 (house and senate) to date.

There is a series of small books in the upper and inner vault not filed in the regular series.

Council and resolutions, 1867, 1868, 1872.

4. Miscellaneous legislative documents-Continued.

House and resolutions, 1867, 1868.

Council docket, 1870.

House docket, 1872.

House resolutions, 1877

Senate docket, 1876.

- d. Miscellaneous records:
- Oaths and bonds of State officials. These are filed by years from 1861 to date.
 An index, the Oath and Bond Book, has been made.
- 2. Index to notaries public, January, 1880, to date, 3 volumes.
- 3. Brand books, begun in 1885.
- Records of the canvassing boards, not classified. Volumes found for 1884, 1885, 1886, and 1890 to date.
- A large number of letter books, cash books, and other miscellaneous material as yet unclassified.
- Register of trade-marks. Trade-marks have been registered since 1877 (10 before 1880). The originals are filed. A full alphabetical index is kept.

3. AUDITOR OF STATE.

The printed records of the office consist of its biennial reports issued since 1876 and of a few publications as to receipts and expenditures.

The manuscript records for the period since 1876 are in an excellent state of preservation and are complete. The classification in Paxson's report (page 419) is complete. The territorial records are kept in a dressing room off the office of the auditor and are subject to loss by fire or mutilation at any time. These records are incomplete.

The following volumes for the territorial period were found:

Salary books, territorial officials, 1874, 1876.

Ledgers, 1862-1871. Two separate volumes covering the same period.

Ledger, 1872-1876.

Day book, 1872-1877.

Warrant book, 1861-1870.

Register of Warrants, 1861-1876.

Bond register, Jefferson County, 1868 to date of payment.

Stub book of certificates of indebtedness for militia service, 1866-1870.

4. STATE TREASURER.

The printed records of the office consist of its biennial reports issued regularly since the admission of the State.

The manuscript records consist of the various account books. These are kept in a steel vault and are complete and in excellent condition. The territorial records are incomplete, only six volumes being found.

5. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The printed reports of the office consist of a complete file of biennial reports since its beginning and of one small pamphlet on the Inheritance Tax Laws of Colorado (1909).

The manuscript records, kept in a steel vault, may be classified as follows:

- Opinion books, 1877 to date, 14 volumes. From 1877 to 1903 these volumes are indexed by name only; since then by name and subject
- Docket books, 1884 to date. A record of suits in which the attorney general's office has had a part.
- Briefs and other documents relating to cases in which the attorney general has appeared. In file cases.
- Inheritance-tax records. Correspondence and records of suits. The inheritancetax law was signed March 22, 1902, and the records are complete since that time.
- 5. Letter books and correspondence. Complete since 1876.

6. ADJUTANT GENERAL.

The printed records of the office consist of its biennial reports, which are complete for the period from 1876 to 1907, since when none have appeared. The office has also issued a number of laws and codes, rosters, orders, and other miscellaneous material.

The manuscript records include:

- The record of men in the National Guard, indexed by militia organizations. Complete for the State period in eight volumes.
- Voucher records.
- Special orders.
- 4. Correspondence.

The above (2, 3, 4), are complete since 1876. For the territorial period one volume was found.

7. STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The superintendent of public instruction is also president of the State board of education, chairman of the State board of examiners, and State librarian. As superintendent she receives annual reports from the county superintendents, makes the apportionment of the State school funds, keeps records of appeals against such decisions, keeps a record of the normal institutes, and has other minor duties.

The printed records of the office consist of the biennial reports, in which are included the reports of the State educational institutions, and which are complete since 1876; of pamphlets on Arbor Day and Flag Day; examination questions; manuals and courses of study; lists of superintendents; school laws, the latest for 1912; and a large amount of miscellaneous material of no great value.

The manuscript records of the office are kept in a vault, but they are not classified and are far from complete. Many of the original records are destroyed as soon as the summaries of the same are embodied in the biennial reports. Those that remain may be classified as follows:

 Reports of the county superintendents, in large books, the originals being pasted in or copied. Complete since 1878.

- 2 Appeal cases kept in packages and not indexed. Packages found for the following years: 1880-1895, 1893-1894, 1895-1898, and two packages undated. There is no method of ascertaining whether the packages remaining contain all the cases.
- 3. Records of the Normal Institutes, 1889 to 1895. Others not found.
- 4. Correspondence. Incoming letters were kept, before 1895, in packages and are not complete. Since then such letters are kept in letter files and are complete. A record of outgoing correspondence has been kept in press books since 1870. The following were found: 1870–1872, 1875–1876, 1877, 1883, 1887–1889, 1890–1891, and since then complete.
- Miscellaneous records.

Cash books. Following found: 1876–1885, 1889–1893, 1895–1897, 1897, 1902 to date. Various series, none complete, on the appropriation of funds, examination question reports, Annual Register.

- 6. Minutes of the board of education, 1877 to date, 3 volumes.
- 7. Minutes of the board of examiners, 1887 to date, 3 volumes.

II. LEGISLATIVE RECORDS.

8. Papers of the General Assembly.

A complete list of the publications of the legislature for the Territorial and State periods may be found in the Check List.

The manuscript records are kept in the office of the secretary of state.

III. JUDICIAL RECORDS.

9. SUPREME COURT.

The printed records of the supreme court consist of the Colorado Reports, a record of its decisions. This series consists of 47 volumes from 1872 to September, 1909. The court has also published Rules of Practice and catalogues of its library.

The manuscript records are classified as follows:

- 1. Docket, called Grand Docket, July 10, 1861, to date, 12 volumes.
- 2. Judgment book, called Orders, July 7, 1868, to date, 15 volumes.
- 3. Bankruptcy judgments, September 12, 1867-July, 1874, 1 volume.
- 4. Fee book and roll of attorneys, 1 volume.
- 5. Current cases and papers in indexed file.

10. COURT OF APPEALS.

The printed records of the court of appeals, which was created in 1891 and abolished in 1905, appeared in the twenty volumes of the Court of Appeals Reports. The court has also issued occasional Rules of Practice. By act approved June 5, 1911, the court of appeals was reconstituted by the legislature as a temporary court to assist the supreme court in clearing its docket.

The manuscript records are as follows:

- 1. Docket, April 13, 1891 to 1905, 6 volumes.
- 2. Judgment book, called Orders, April 13, 1891 to 1905, 5 volumes.

IV. RECORDS OF DEPARTMENTS, BUREAUS, AND BOARDS.

11. DEPARTMENT OF GAME AND FISH.

The history of the department is found in Paxson's report (pages 422-423). One correction is necessary: The third and fourth reports of the fish commissioner were published together in 1880. The department of fish and game has issued six biennial reports to 1908 and also a series of pamphlets on the game laws, and some miscellaneous material.

The manuscript records of the office are very incomplete. The deputy wardens make monthly reports, which have been filed since June, 1907. Applications for hunting licenses, these being also kept by the county clerks, have been preserved since August, 1903. There are also various records filed relating to violations of the game and fish laws, accounts of licenses issued, the records of the hatcheries, etc. Practically all this material is of recent date.

12. STATE BUREAU OF MINES.

Under the territorial government there was a territorial assayer whose office was created in 1868. This official made three reports, 1869, 1871, and 1875, the first two being included in the territorial officers' report. The office was abolished in 1877. The inspector of metalliferous mines, during the existence of his office (1889–1895), issued three biennial reports, 1890, 1892, and 1894. The bureau of mines since 1895 has issued three annual and six biennial reports and a number of bulletins. The commissioner is now appointed for four years.

The manuscript records of the office, though in excellent condition, are not properly protected in a fireproof vault. They may be classified as follows:

- General Record, 1895 to date, 6 volumes, folio. From 1895 to 1907 this record consists of a written account of all the business transacted in the department. Since 1907 it contains information not found in the other records.
- Inspectors' reports, 1895 to date, 11 volumes to 1909. The original reports of the inspectors, 1895-1909, are bound in large volumes. The later reports not yet bound.
- 3. Accident reports, 1895 to date, 14 volumes, folio. Original reports, bound.
- 4. Mine reports, 1899 to date, 11 volumes, folio. Original reports of the mine owners.

13. STATE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

The bureau of labor statistics was created in 1887. The secretary of state is ex officio commissioner and appoints a deputy. In 1907 a free employment office was established in connection with the bureau.

The printed records of the office consist of 10 biennial reports, those for 1897–1898 and 1905–1906 not having been printed, and of several

bulletins concerning the labor laws of Colorado. During the years 1907 and 1908 a bulletin concerning the free employment office was published by the bureau.

The manuscript records of the office include those of the department of factory inspection (see 14). These records are very incomplete. There are no known records in the office before the year 1909, and those for that year are fragmentary. The records preserved may be classified as follows:

- Manufacturing and labor statistics, from 1909. The answers to the questions sent out by the office are filed.
- 2. Reports of the free employment offices.
- Reports of factory inspection. A record of accidents in factories and recommendations for improvements in the conditions of factory labor.

14. DEPARTMENT OF FACTORY INSPECTION.

The department of factory inspection was created by an act approved April 5, 1909. The deputy labor commissioner is also the chief factory inspector. He makes his report in that of the labor bureau. The records of his office are found in the office of the bureau.

15. STATE BUREAU OF CHILD AND ANIMAL PROTECTION.

The bureau owes its origin to an act approved April 30, 1901, by which the Colorado Humane Society was constituted the State bureau of child and animal protection by the addition of the governor, attorney general, and superintendent of public instruction to its board of directors. The Humane Society retains its separate existence but works with the bureau. Both organizations have the same officers. The bureau works through paid and volunteer officers to prevent cruelty to children and animals.

The printed records of the bureau consist of five biennial reports, and, since 1901, of a number of miscellaneous pamphlets on the subject of child and animal protection.

The manuscript records are in good condition and consist of:

- Records of cases. The original reports of all cases dealt with by the paid agents are filed in the office and are complete since 1901.
- Reports of volunteer officers. These reports are made biennially and are filed. They are of little value.
- Minutes, August, 1894, to date, 3 volumes. The real work of the Humane Society was begun in 1886, but the early minutes are missing.
- 4. Correspondence. Filed and kept in this office.

16. STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

The State board of equalization of taxes consists of the governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, and attorney general. Its reports are issued by the secretary, who is appointed for four years. If the tax commission authorized by the legislature in 1911 is appointed, considerable power will be taken from this board.

The printed records of the board consist of its reports, eight in all, of three pamphlets containing orders, and one report of a committee of the county assessors for 1906.

The manuscript records of the office are kept in a fireproof vault. They are not complete. They may be classified as follows:

- 1. Annual returns of companies, 1891 to date, 26 volumes. These contain the information furnished by railroad, telegraph, telephone, and express companies as to their taxable property, bound in quarto volumes.
- Minutes of the board, April 2, 1877, to date, 4 volumes. The minutes show the decisions made by the board upon assessments, but do not show how the assessments were made.
- 3. Correspondence, 1903 to date.

17. STATE BOARD OF LAND COMMISSIONERS.

The State Board of land commissioners, created by the State constitution, had its powers defined by act of 1887. Formerly consisting of the governor, secretary of state, attorney general, superintendent of public instruction, and a secretary, it was in 1910, by a constitutional amendment, made to consist of three commissioners appointed by the governor. The board cares for all State lands, its chief duty being the care of school lands.

The board has issued 17 reports, these being made biennially since 1878, and has published a series of pamphlets dealing with the laws relating to the board of land commissioners and its rules.

The manuscript records have mainly to do with the sale or rental of the lands of which the board has the custody. These are the internal improvement, agricultural college, university, penitentiary, public building, reformatory, saline, and desert lands. The account books of these lands are kept separately. In addition to the above, there are kept plat books of the lands, records of leases and purchases, etc. The minutes of the land board, in which are to be found its decisions, are preserved in 9 folio volumes from April 2, 1877 to date.

18. STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

The State board of education, consisting of the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state, and the attorney general, owes its origin to the State constitution and its institution to an act approved March 20, 1877. Its president is the superintendent of public instruction and its secretary, her secretary. The board grants state diplomas to teachers and hears and decides cases and appeals arising under the school laws.

The reports of the board, when made, are to be found in those of the superintendent of public instruction. Its records, consisting of minutes and decisions, are kept in the office of the superintendent (see 7).

19. STATE BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

The early organization and powers of the board of examiners are described in Paxson's report (pages 425-426). The board was reorganized by an act approved April 23, 1909. It now consists of of the superintendent of public instruction and eight persons appointed by the State board of education. The board examines all applicants for State teachers' diplomas.

The board has published no report. A record of its meetings is found in the biennial report of the superintendent of public instruction. Its manuscript records are found in the office of the superintendent of public instruction (see 7).

20. STATE BOARD OF LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS.

Paxson's report (page 426), gives all the necessary information as to the origin and powers of the board. It has published two biennial reports, in 1902 and 1908, and the very useful Check List of Colorado Public Documents in 1910. No records found.

21. INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

In 1907, by an act approved April 1, the insurance department was reorganized. It is now a separate and independent department with an insurance commissioner, appointed by the governor, at its head. For the previous organization of the department see Paxson's report (page 422). The department of the act of 1907 was given control of all insurance companies Social fraternal benefit societies. Its supervisory powers were extended to Boulatter by an act approved in May, 1911.

The insurance department has published 1 special biennial, 28 annual, and 12 preliminary reports to date. It has also issued a series of pamphlets on the insurance laws of Colorado and some miscellaneous material.

The manuscript records of the department are kept in the vault of the auditor's office. They seem to be complete and consist of:

- Annual statements of the insurance companies operating in Colorado. These have been bound since 1895.
- 2. Files of company papers showing the financial condition of the company.
- 3. Requisitions for agents.
- 4. Important decisions of the department.
- 5. Stubs of the licenses issued to agents.

22. STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.

The State board of charities and corrections was created by an act approved March 19, 1891. It has issued 10 biennial reports to date and 2 bulletins, 1 in 1901 and 1 in January, 1912. Hereafter the bulletin is to be issued quarterly.

The manuscript records of the board may be classified as follows:

- 1. Minute books. July 9, 1894, to January, 1912; 8 volumes
- Reports of the charitable and penal institutions of the State. These are kept on file.
- 3. Record book, entitled "Statistics." This one volume, covering the period 1881–1896, contains information of the same nature as that found in (4), but it is not complete for the early period. The original records may, however, be found in the various State institutions.
- Movement of population, 1901 to date; complete. A record of the admissions, discharges, and readmissions to all State charitable and correctional institutions.
- 5. Newspaper clippings relating to charities and crime.
- 6. Correspondence.

23. STATE BOARD OF PARDONS.

The State board of pardons was created by an act approved March 21, 1893. It consists of the governor, secretary of the board of charities and corrections, and four others.

The printed records of the office consist of 9 biennial reports to date and of 2 pamphlets, 1 on the pardoning power (1894) and 1 on pardon and parole rules (1905).

The manuscript records of the board are to be found in the same office as those of the board of charities and corrections. They consist of:

- Minutes and Record, July 5, 1893, to date. Complete from the first meeting of the board. Since 1909 the minutes are full of detailed information as to the cases brought before the board and the decisions upon the same.
- Registration books, 1893 to date (January, 1912); 4 volumes. The history of all cases.
- 3. Case files. The documents relating to the cases tried by the board. Since December 1, 1910, a card index has been kept of all such documents. The records are not complete, certain documents having been abstracted in the past. The older files are now kept in the subbasement.
- 4. Card index of prisoners in the penitentiary. This was begun December 1, 1900.
- 5. Newspaper clippings relating to cases. From 1900 to December, 1902, these were kept in scrapbooks and indexed by name Three volumes were made. Since then the clippings have been kept in envelopes and filed by name.

24. STATE BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

The State board of arbitration was created by an act approved March 31, 1897, for the peaceable adjustment of strikes. No appointments were made to the board in 1906 or thereafter, and in 1909 the act creating it was repealed.

The board published 8 annual reports (1897–1904) and made a manuscript report to the governor, which was not printed, in 1906. No archives of the board have been found.

25. STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

The account of the organization of the board given by Dr. Paxson (page 427) is sufficient. On January 1, 1908, a pure food law for Colorado was put into effect under an act approved March 7, 1907.

This act created a pure food and drug department of the board of health, with a State chemist to analyze foods and drugs, and a commissioner, with several assistants, to see to the enforcement of the law. By an act approved May 30, 1911, the board of health was assigned the duty of examining and licensing embalmers.

The publications of the board of health consist of 10 reports: Annual reports for 1876 and 1877; for 1879 and 1880 in 1 volume; for 1892, 1893, and 1894 in 1 volume; for 1894–1900 in 1 volume; and, since 1900, regular biennial reports. The board has also published a large number of instructions, including regulations for health officers, for the prevention of disease, etc., and, from April 30, 1901, to 1908, a monthly sanitary bulletin, which has since been issued quarterly.

The manuscript records of the office are in excellent condition. They may be classified as follows:

- Death certificates. These have been preserved since January 1, 1900. The information is filed on cards and has been indexed by name, place, and date since 1905. This index is being completed.
- 2. Record of births. Kept since 1910 but not indexed as yet.
- Records of contagious diseases. These records are kept in large folio volumes, in several series:
 - (a) Smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, 1900 to date, 2 volumes.
 - (b) Typhoid fever, 1902 to date, 1 volume.
 - (c) Measles, chicken pox, whooping cough, April, 1910, to date, 1 volume.
- 4. Correspondence.

The manuscript records of the pure food and drug department consist of reports of the analyses of drugs and foods made by the State chemist and of files of correspondence.

26. STATE BOARD OF STOCK INSPECTION COMMISSIONERS.

The description of the origin and organization of the State board of stock inspection commissioners, given by Dr. Paxson (page 428), is sufficient.

Since 1900 the stock inspection commissioners have issued three reports—for 1900, 1902, and 1910, the latter being an annual report published in connection with that of the State veterinary surgeon. Numerous bulletins and sanitary orders have been issued, but during the past two years this class of publications has ceased. For the Brand Books, see the publications of the secretary of state's office.

The manuscript records of the office consist of:

- 1. Minute books.
 - (a) Minute books of the Colorado Cattle Growers' Association, entitled Record A, one volume containing the minutes of this association from its fourteenth annual meeting, January 3, 1884, to its dissolution, January 23, 1899. The first volume of these minutes was, when last heard from, in the possession of Mr. Fred B. Johnson, of the "Western Stockman."
 - (b) Minute books of the State veterinary sanitary board, March 30, 1885-April 3,

- 1. Minute books-Continued.
 - (c) Minute books of the board of inspection commissioners, April 7, 1893-January 8, 1899; May 14, 1900-April 30, 1903, 2 volumes.
 - (d) Minutes of the board of stock inspection commissioners, 1903 to date. Complete, but unbound.
- Reports of cattle inspectors, 1884 to date, 21 volumes. The most important series of records in the office. Complete.
- Book of estrays, 1892 to date, 2 volumes. These are made up in the office from the inspectors' reports.
- 4. Record of cattle killed on railroads, 1893-1899, 1899, 2 volumes.
- Account books. Incomplete and not classified.
- Correspondence A large number of letter books are preserved, but these are not numbered or dated.

27. STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

There is but little to add to Paxson's report. By an act approved May 27, 1911, the board was given authority to act as the State board of forestry, with power to appoint a State forester. The duties of the latter are to collect information concerning forests and timber and to prepare and publish rules for the prevention of forest fires.

The reports of the board have been continued to date. Since the meeting place of the board is in Fort Collins, where the agricultural college is situated, no manuscript records have been found in the State capitol building.

28. STATE BOARD OF HORTICULTURE.

The State Horticultural Society, organized September 30, 1880, was the beginning of the institution which later became the State board. In 1883 the society was created a State bureau, and in 1888 its name was changed to the Colorado State Horticultural and Forestry Association. In 1893 the legislature repealed the act of 1883 and created the State Board of Horticulture. This board was reorganized by an act approved April 16, 1897. The State Horticultural Society still preserves its separate existence.

In 1907 the office of State entomologist was created, and since that time a large share of the information brought before the board comes through him. The new pest law, approved June 1, 1911, empowers the State entomologist to take measures for the protection of trees, crops, and pastures against insects, rodents, weeds, or plant diseases. By an act approved June 5, 1911, a division of apiary inspection was established, to be under the direction of the State entomologist.

The board collects information as to fruit and crop prospects and yields through 13 inspectors, who are paid by the counties. Their reports are published in the reports of the board, but the originals are not kept. The department under its various names has published 22 reports to date. Since 1900 the reports of the State Beekeeper's Association have been included, and in 1911 the report of the State entomologist was added.

The only manuscript records found were the minutes, kept since April 15, 1901, and the current correspondence.

29. STATE BOARD OF VETERINARY EXAMINERS

The State board of veterinary examiners was created by an act approved April 24, 1909, to examine and license veterinary surgeons. The predecessor of the board was the board of veterinary surgeons created in 1903.

So far as is known there are no published reports of either board. The board, being simply an examining body, has accumulated no archives of much value. The minutes of the board of veterinary examiners are preserved, August 2, 1909, to date, in one small volume, and a list of licensed veterinarians has been kept since 1909. No records of any kind have been found for the earlier board.

30. STATE BOARD OF MEDICAL EXAMINERS.

The State board of medical examiners was created by an act approved March 14, 1881.

No printed records of the board have been issued. The manuscript records, which are kept in the private office of the secretary-treasurer outside of the capitol building, have to do with the data concerning those to whom medical licenses have been granted. There are nine volumes preserved. Of late years the records are very complete.

31. STATE BOARD OF PHARMACY.

The State board of pharmacy was created by an act approved April 2, 1887. It examines and registers pharmacists and assistant pharmacists.

It has, so far as can be discovered, printed but two annual reports, one for 1906, the 13th, and one for 1910, the 17th. The latter report contains the minutes of the board and all other necessary information as to its work. No records were found, though they are doubtless in the possession of the secretary of the board.

32. STATE BOARD OF DENTAL EXAMINERS.

The State board of dental examiners was created by an act approved March 15, 1889. It is also an examining board. It has published seven biennial reports, these being issued in 1890, 1892, 1894, 1902, 1904, 1906, 1908.

33. STATE BOARD OF NURSE EXAMINERS.

The State board of nurse examiners was created by an act approved April 11, 1905, and amended in 1907. The board of five, named by the governor, examines and licenses nurses. It reports biennially to the governor, but these reports are not printed.

The manuscript records of the board are kept in the office of the secretary, outside of the capitol building. They consist of the minutes since May 3, 1905, in two volumes, of data concerning applicants and licenses and of letter files. The records are complete and detailed.

34. STATE BOARD OF ACCOUNTANCY.

The State board of accountancy was created by an act approved March 27, 1907. No printed reports or manuscript records found. The board examines and licenses accountants.

35. STATE BOARD OF EXAMINATION OF ARCHITECTS.

The State board of examination of architects was created by an act approved April 26, 1909. The board has issued one report, its first, in 1910. In it will be found a brief account of the meetings of the board and a list of licensed architects. No manuscript records found.

36. STATE BOARD OF HORSESHOERS' EXAMINERS.

The State board of horseshoers' examiners was created by an act approved March 31, 1897. No examinations, so far as is known, have been held since January 27, 1910. No reappointments were made to the board in 1911. The board has published no reports and no records have been found except the manuscript reports in the governor's office.

37. STATE BOARD OF EXAMINATION FOR BARBERS.

The State board of examination for barbers was created by an act approved May 5, 1909, for the examination and licensing of barbers. It has published one report, for 1911. Its manuscript records consist of a list of all licensed barbers and barbers' apprentices, 1909 to date.

38. STATE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR UNIFORMITY OF LEGISLATION.

The board of three commissioners for promoting uniformity of legislation throughout the United States was created by an act approved March 30, 1895. It has published but one report, in 1902. The board seems to have held no meetings of late years, though the governor has appointed new members (1912). It has no office in the State capitol building and no records have been found.

39. STATE BOARD OF CAPITOL MANAGERS.

The board of capitol managers was created by an act approved February 11, 1883, to build and care for a capitol for the State. Since the erection of the building the board cares for it and the grounds about it.

The board has published 14 biennial reports to date and 2 pamphlets.

The manuscript records in the office consist of:

- 1. Minutes. Complete from February 24, 1883, to date. 9 volumes.
- 2. Letter books. 1883 to date.
- 3. Account books. Records of contracts, ledgers, journals.
- 4. Plans of the capitol building.

40. BOARD OF WORLD'S FAIR MANAGERS.

The board of World's Fair managers was created by an act approved April 18, 1891. It had in charge the exhibit of Colorado at the World's Fair in Chicago and ceased to exist when its duties had been fulfilled. It issued 12 pamphlets, the most important of which was one on the Resources, Wealth, and Industrial Development of Colorado (1893). No manuscript records have been found.

41. STATE RAILBOAD COMMISSION.

The State railroad commission was created by an act approved March 22, 1907. It consisted of three men elected on a general ticket for six years. By an act of the year 1910 they are hereafter to be appointed by the governor. The board has supervision of acts of railroad and express companies of the State, with extensive powers over equipment and uncertain powers as to rates. For the previously existing railroad commissioner, see Paxson's report, page 433.

The printed records of the board consist of one annual and one biennial report to date, and three pamphlets.

The manuscript records may be classified as follows:

- 1. Annual reports of railroad and express companies. These begin with the year ending June 30, 1910.
- Freight and passenger tariffs. These are filed with the commission 30 days before becoming effective. Fragmentary for the first year.
- 3. Reports of accidents.
- 4. Files of operating schedules and time cards of railroads.
- Minute book. The record of the bimonthly meetings of the commission. Complete in one volume, June, 1907, to date.
- 6. Judgment record. A record of all formal hearings and orders. 1907 to date.
- 7. Docket book. A record of cases. 1907 to date.
- 8. Emergency orders. Kept on file after ratification or rejection by the board.
- 9. Correspondence.

42. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

The civil service commission, for the examination of candidates for positions in the classified service, was created by an act approved March 30, 1907. The legislature of 1911 failed to make an appropriation for the work of this commission, and it has therefore, though not legally dissolved, had to cease work. In January, 1912, the supreme court decided against its plea for salaries, and at present (January, 1912) it seems as though its usefulness is at an end.

The commission has issued two biennial reports, for 1907-8 and 1909-10, a compilation of the civil service laws, rules, and regulations, and a series of examination schedules and notices.

The manuscript records of the office, at present in the office of the bank commissioner, will be stored in the safe of the president of the commission, Mr. Henry Van Kleeck, in the Boston building, and, in case the commission is not revived, will probably be cared for by the local civil service league. These records consist of:

- 1. Minute books Complete from June, 1908, to date.
- Public Roster. A card index file of all public officials in the classified service, giving date of employment, and other information. Indexed by name and institution.
- 3. Efficiency Record Annual reports made by the various State institutions to the commission concerning the efficiency of officials.
- 4. Reports of examinations. Filed.
- 5. Correspondence

43. STATE BOARD OF HIGHWAY COMMISSIONERS.

The State board of highway commissioners was created by an act approved May 5, 1909. It consists of three commissioners appointed by the governor to care for all State roads and bridges outside of the cities and incorporated towns of the State.

The board has published one biennial report, for 1910, and two bulletins of "General Rules and Regulations" and "Road Laws." Its records date from 1910, but may not be classified as yet. The records concerning roads and bridges, before 1910, are to be found in the office of the State engineer (see 52).

44. STATE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION.

The duty of collecting and disseminating statistical and other information concerning the State of Colorado was first delegated to the secretary of the board of land commissioners. In 1889 the bureau of immigration and statistics was created. The act creating this board was repealed in 1897. By an act approved May 5, 1909, a new board was brought into being. It began its work April 1, 1910. It consists of the governor and three members appointed by him. The board appoints a commissioner of immigration who acts as its secretary and, under its direction, collects and disseminates information concerning the State.

The printed records of the board consist of one annual report, for 1910, and of a number of pamphlets and bulletins. For the work of the previous board see Paxson's report, pages 424-425.

In the office there is a large amount of advertising matter of no great value as yet.

45. COLORADO CONSERVATION COMMISSION.

As a result of the conference of governors called by President Roosevelt in May, 1908, the governor of Colorado appointed a conservation commission on November 28, 1908. The first commission never met for organization. On February 17, 1909, Governor Shafroth appointed a second commission of 28 persons. The purpose of the commission was to promote the idea of conservation in Colorado by means of an educational campaign. For a little over a year after its appointment the commission was active, but it has done nothing of late. In 1911 and 1912 the governor made no reappointments to the commission, so that it may be considered nonexistant.

The commission published one volume of "Official Proceedings" for 1909-10, in which are to be found the minutes and other records. No manuscript records found.

46. STATE TAX COMMISSION.

By an act approved June 2, 1911, a tax commission was established. It is to be composed of three members appointed by the governor. This commission is to have supervision of the enforcement of the tax laws of the State, to have power to make reappraisements, and is to assess the property of corporations in the State. Since the governor has not up to this time (January, 1912) appointed the commissioners, nothing can be said concerning its records. It is to make annual reports.

47. STATE AUDITING BOARD.

The State auditing board was created by an act approved March 17, 1911. It consists of the governor, auditor, State treasurer, secretary of state, and attorney general. The governor is its chairman and the secretary of the State board of equalization its secretary. This board has control of all appropriations made by the legislature for contingent and incidental expenses of the various State officials and departments. It is to make biennial reports. No records as yet.

48. STATE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The office of State geologist was created in 1872 by the Territorial legislature. After the formation of the State the office was continued. The governor appointed the State geologist to serve for two years, or until his successor was chosen, without compensation. The first State geologist seems to have been appointed in 1874, the last in 1906. As no funds were provided, little work was done. The legislature in 1907, by an act approved April 24, created a State geologist acts with the advice of State geologist. The State geologist acts with the advice of an advisory board composed of the governor and three other members. Already, under the new law much work has been done. The office of the State geologist is in Boulder, that official being, by the terms of the law, the professor of geology at the University of Colorado.

The State geologist, under the early law, published seven reports at irregular intervals. The new geological survey has issued one report, for 1908, and two bulletins. A series of maps and of reports is in course of preparation.

No manuscript records of the early office have been found. The geological survey has accumulated a number of maps amd much other data on the geology of Colorado, and has a comprehensive bibliography of books and magazine articles on the same subject in its office. The minutes of the advisory board are preserved. As yet only three meetings have been held, May 27, 1907, December 16, 1911, and January 27, 1912. It is intended to hold two meetings annually hereafter.

49. TRAVELING LIBRARY COMMISSION.

The traveling library commission was created by an act approved April 13, 1903. It has issued regular biennial reports since 1904. During the course of the investigation for this report the office of the commission was not open, so that no report can be made upon its records.

V. RECORDS OF COMMISSIONERS, INSPECTORS, ETC.

50. INSPECTOR OF COAL MINES.

The position of inspector of coal mines was created by an act approved February 24, 1883. See the previous report, page 431.

The inspector has published 1 annual and 13 biennial reports.

The manuscript records of the office consist of:

- 1. Monthly reports of coal mines.
- Maps of coal mines furnished by the mine owners and sent to the office every three months. These are far from complete.
- 3. Annual reports of coal mines.
- Record book of fatal accidents in mines. The record begins with the year 1903 and to 1908 is contained in 1 volume. Since 1908, kept by a loose-leaf system.
- 5. Record book of non-fatal accidents; 1906 to date in 1 volume.

The reports and maps for the current year are kept in the office, those for past years are stored in the basement of the capitol building and are not readily accessible.

51. VETERINARY SURGEON.

There is but little to add to the previous report, page 431. By act of the year 1907 the veterinary surgeon was authorized to appoint a meat and slaughter house inspector who should see to the enforcement of sanitary conditions in the same.

From 1903 to 1909 the veterinary surgeon reported in manuscript to the governor. In 1910 he made his report in that of the board of stock commissioners. No manuscript records found.

52. STATE ENGINEER.

The office of State engineer was created by an act approved March 30, 1889. This office superseded that of State hydraulic engineer which had been created by an act approved March 5, 1881. The State engineer has the duty of enforcing the State laws and decisions concerning irrigation. Until 1910 he had also the supervision of State roads and bridges, a duty now undertaken by the State board of highway commissioners (see 43).

The printed records of the board consist of biennial reports issued since 1881-82 and of a series of circulars, laws, and miscellaneous material.

The manuscript records of the office may be classified as follows:

- Water filings. These are large maps. From 1889 to July, 1903, they were preserved unbound and placed in steel filing cases. Since 1903 they have been bound. Of the latter there are 46 volumes to June, 1911.
- 2. Reports of division engineers and water commissioners.
- 3. Gaugings of public streams. These are field books and are not classified.
- 4. Certified copies of decrees of the courts on water distribution.
- Plans and specifications for roads and bridges. The file ends with the year 1910.
 (See State highway commission.)

No records of the office of the State hydraulic engineer are known to exist.

53. INSPECTOR OF STEAM BOILERS.

The office of inspector of steam boilers was created by an act approved April 1, 1889.

Since the Paxson report (see page 432) the office has issued annual reports for the years 1899 and 1900. Since 1900 the reports of the inspector have been made in manuscript to the governor, but have not been printed. This officer inspects steam boilers and issues licenses for a year.

The manuscript records of the office are neither numerous nor valuable. There is a record kept of boilers inspected; the stubs of the certificate book are kept, and the inspection slips are preserved.

54. DAIRY COMMISSIONER.

The data as to the origin of the office may be found in the Paxson report, page 432. In 1911 the duties of the dairy commissioner were considerably increased. He is to inspect all creameries, dairies, butter, cheese, and ice-cream factories, and to enforce sanitary conditions in the same. He has still as his duty that of enforcing the laws as to cleomargarine and cheeses. Hereafter he is to report annually to the governor.

Since 1903 the office issued three reports: I, four semi-annual reports, 1903-1904; II, reports for 1905-1906; III, 1909-1910, biennial. No report printed for 1906-1908. It has also published

three small pamphlets, one being on the subject of cheese making in the Colorado climate.

The manuscript records of the office are of little value. A record of the brands of cheeses has been preserved since 1893 in three volumes.

55. COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC PRINTING.

The office was created by an act approved April 11, 1903. The commissioner has charge of all public printing of the State government. He has published four biennial reports and two small pamphlets on the laws relating to public printing. In spite of several visits it was found impossible to see the commissioner or his office.

56. BANK COMMISSIONER.

The office of bank commissioner was created by an act approved April 17, 1907. The commissioner works in conjunction with the national Comptroller of the Currency in the inspection of banks in Colorado.

The printed records of the office consist of two biennial reports, for 1907-1909, 1909-1910, and one pamphlet on the banking laws of Colorado.

The manuscript records of the office consist of:

Examination reports. These are the returns made by the deputies of the commissioner. All State banks are visited twice a year. Complete since 1907.

2. Call reports, complete since 1907.

The above reports are filed in steel cases under the numbers assigned to the various banks. Records of banks that have failed are kept in a large chest in the office.

57. PUBLIC EXAMINER.

By an act approved March 25, 1909, the office of public examiner was created. He is appointed by the State auditor and is charged with the duty of examining all public accounts and of making recommendations looking toward a uniform scheme of accounting. No printed or manuscript records found.

58. STATE TEACHER FOR THE ADULT BLIND.

By an act passed in 1911 the office of State teacher for the adult blind was created. This officer is to be appointed by the board of education and is to have charge of the education of "all adult blind residents of Colorado" at their homes.

59. STATE ENTOMOLOGIST.

The office of State entomologist was created by an act approved April 9, 1907. For a description of his duties, see 28.

60. STATE FORESTER.

VI. RECORDS OF STATE INSTITUTIONS

61. STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

There is nothing to add to the previous report, page 433, on the establishment or early publications of the State Agricultural College. Since 1903 the series of bulletins has been continued. A complete list of the numerous pamphlets issued by the college may be found in the "Check List."

62. STATE SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS.

By an act approved January 25, 1911, the State School of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts was established. It is situated at Fort Lewis, on grounds donated by the United States Government, and is under the control of the board of agriculture. No printed reports found.

63. STATE SCHOOL OF HORTICULTURE AND FORESTRY.

By an act approved April 28, 1911, the State School of Horticulture and Forestry was created. It is situated at Grand Junction on grounds donated by the United States Government. It is under the control of the board of agriculture. No printed records found.

64. STATE SCHOOL OF MINES.

For the establishment and early publications of the State School of Mines, see the previous report, page 434, and the "Check List." Its bulletins have been continued to date.

65. STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGE.

For the establishment and early publications of the State Teachers' College, see the previous report, page 436, under "The Normal School." By an act approved June 5, 1911, the name of the State Normal School at Greeley was changed to the State Teachers' College. Its bulletins have been continued to date, being now in the eleventh series, and it has also issued a few miscellaneous pamphlets.

66. STATE NORMAL SCHOOL (AT GUNNISON).

The State Normal School, located at Gunnison, was established by an act approved April 16, 1901. For a time no appropriations were made for the building of the school. In the autumn of 1911 it was opened. It is under the control of the trustees of the State Teachers' College.

Two reports of the earlier board of trustees have been found, namely, those for 1902 and 1909. No reports of the present school have as yet been seen.

67. STATE UNIVERSITY.

For the establishment and early publications of the State University, see the previous report, page 434. A complete list of the numerous

68. STATE LIBRARY.

The State library owes its origin to an act of the territorial assembly approved November 6, 1861. By an act approved February 9, 1865, the Territorial treasurer was made ex officio librarian. The State constitution made the superintendent of public instruction ex officio librarian with power to appoint a deputy. The State library has never been provided with adequate funds and is, in consequence, poorly provided with current books.

The biennial reports of the assistant librarian have been regularly issued since 1903 in the report of the superintendent of public instruction.

69. STATE HISTORICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

For the early history and publications of the society, see the previous report, page 435.

Since 1903 the society has published regular biennial reports. It has also published No. 1 of an historical series, Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War, The New Mexico Campaign in 1862, by W. C. Whitford (1906).

During the year 1911, under the able direction of the present curator, Mr. Jerome C. Smiley, a vigorous attempt was made to classify the large amount of historical and natural-history material in the rooms of the society. Owing, however, to the repairs to the subbasement, above noted, this classification was not completed. After this work has been done a supplementary report will be made to the archives commission.

70. STATE HOME FOR DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

The State Home for Dependent and Neglected Children was established by an act approved April 10, 1895. It is situated in Denver. Its board of control has issued eight biennial reports to date.

71. SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND BLIND.

For the establishment and early publications of the Colorado School for the Deaf and Blind, see the previous report, pages 435–436, where its name is incorrectly given.

Since 1903 the biennial reports of the trustees of the school have been regularly issued. In 1906 they issued a catalogue of the school library. Reports of the school have been made regularly in the biennial reports of the superintendent of public instruction.

72. SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' HOME.

The Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, established by an act approved March 15, 1889, is situated in Monte Vista. Its board of commissioners has issued regular biennial reports since 1903.

73. STATE INSANE ASYLUM.

The State insane asylum was established by an act approved February 8, 1879. It is located at Pueblo. The board of lunacy commissioners has issued its biennial reports regularly since 1903.

74. STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

The State industrial school for boys was established by an act approved February 12, 1881. It is situated in Golden. Its board of control has issued regular biennial reports since 1903. Brief reports have also been issued in the biennial reports of the superintendent of public instruction.

75. STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

The State home and industrial school for girls, located in Morrison, was established by an act approved April 4, 1887. The home was opened October 1, 1895. By an act approved April 28, 1897, the name of the school was changed to the State Industrial School for Girls. Since 1903 the biennial reports of its board of control have been regularly issued.

76. STATE REFORMATORY.

The State reformatory, situated at Buena Vista, was established by an act approved April 19, 1889. Its commissioners have issued regular biennial reports since 1903 and a manual for the use of inmates (1895).

77. STATE PENITENTIARY.

The penitentiary was established at Canon City by the territorial assembly by an act approved January 7, 1868. It was afterwards adopted by the State government. Its commissioners have issued their biennial reports regularly since 1903. They have also published three pamphlets containing rules, in 1885, 1894, 1899.

78. STATE HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MENTAL DEFECTIVES.

The State home and training school for mental defectives was established by an act approved May 5, 1909. It is located at Arvada. So far as is known its board of control has issued no report.

79. STATE INDUSTRIAL WORKSHOP FOR THE BLIND.

The State industrial workshop for the blind was established by an act approved March 13, 1907. It is located in Denver. Its board of control issued its first biennial report in 1910.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF COMMISSIONS, INSTRUCTIONS, AND ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED TO THE ROYAL GOVERNORS AND OTHERS IN AMERICA.

Edited by

CHARLES M. ANDREWS OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

LIST OF THE COMMISSIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED TO THE GOVER-NORS AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS OF THE AMERICAN AND WEST INDIAN COLONIES FROM 1609 TO 1784.

INTRODUCTION.

The commissions and instructions issued not only to the royal governors, but to the proprietary governors also, are among the most important constitutional documents of our colonial history. In the case of the royal provinces especially they formed the chief constitutional basis of the Government and became the medium through which the mother country declared its policy. For a knowledge, therefore, of the constitutional development of the Colonies, particularly in the eighteenth century, they are of more significance to the student than are the charters and other fundamental instruments that have been so frequently printed, for in that century all but four of the Colonies eventually became royal, and of the four two were proprietary.

The governor's commission was issued under the great seal. It was a long document couched in general phrases, and it underwent but few changes, during the eighteenth century. The commission to the lieutenant governor was issued under the sign manual and was countersigned, as were nearly all sign-manual warrants, by the secretary of state. It was short, and though varying considerably in the exact form of words used, generally empowered that official to exercise or execute the functions of the governor in case of death or disability, or to follow the orders of the governor where the latter remained in England. The instructions and additional instructions, being merely royal orders, were issued as warrants under the sign manual and never bore the secretary's signature. Both the governor and the lieutenant governor, as well as all other royal officials in the Colonies, held their offices during the royal pleasure.

In issuing the commission of a royal governor the procedure was as follows: The secretary of state wrote to the lords of trade, or the board of trade, stating that the King had been pleased to make an appointment and had commanded him to signify the same to the committee or board, bidding them prepare such commission and

¹ In the case of a warrant signed by the lords justices, all the lords signed the document, as would tha King, at the top of the first sheet.
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instructions as were usual and necessary. The King then sent a sign manual, drawn up and countersigned by the secretary of state, to the attorney general and solicitor general, declaring it to be his will and pleasure that they prepare a bill for the royal signature to pass the great seal. The warrant was accompanied by the draft prepared by the lords of trade or the board of trade. The commission then followed the usual procedure employed in passing a patent through the seals.

The commission was entered upon the patent rolls in the form of a writ of privy seal. The writ might take the form of a direct address to the appointee, sometimes, though not always, reciting the terms of the letters patent issued to his predecessor; or it might take the form of a writ addressed to the lord chancellor authorizing him to affix the great seal. The commissions of a given period generally duplicate each other, though slight variations are apt to appear, due to local peculiarities in a particular colony. When traced historically, changes appear in them constantly, either in the form or arrangement of terms or in the omission and addition of whole sections and paragraphs. These variations and changes furnish important clues to the British policy and plan of control.

From the time when a governor was first selected until the actual enrollment of his patent, a considerable period might elapse, in some instances at least a year. A governor might begin his preparations for departure as soon as the sign-manual warrant was issued, and there are cases where the commission had not been perfected when he was ready to sail. Occasionally the governor was slow in leaving for the colony, and the secretary not infrequently had to urge him to hurry. Sloughter and Combury were very dilatory in starting for New York and Glen was four years in reaching South Carolina.

Five different dates, therefore, may be assigned for the beginning of a governor's term of office, and some confusion has resulted from this fact in dates previously given. First, we have the date of the appointment; secondly, that of the draft framed by the board of trade; thirdly, that of the warrant to prepare; fourthly, that of the writ of privy seal; and fifthly that of the actual reading of the commission in the colony, which properly speaking, marked the beginning of the governor's administration. In the list of governors here given, which covers only the period from 1685 to 1783, but two of these dates are determined, that of the enrollment and that of the actual arrival in the colony. The latter is sometimes very difficult to discover and many of the dates furnished are approximate only.

¹ A wider search would probably have made many of the dates more precise. The official correspondence is very faulty in this respect and the journals, a valuable but by no means certain source of information, are occasionally wanting. I have relied on much unofficial material. For example, the dates of the arrivals of Governors Dalling and Archibald Campbell, nowhere found in the Jamaica papers, I obtained from Pinnock's diary in the British Museum.

The instructions are more important than the commissions, for they are specific and not general, and contain, when studied chronologically, a complete exposition of British policy. They were prepared in the plantation office, as a rule, but frequently underwent revision at the hands of the committee of the whole council and the secretary of state. They were customarily submitted to the attorney general, and certain parts of them went to the treasury. the admiralty, the commissioners of customs, and the Bishop of London for inspection and criticism. Frequently these same boards and individuals were invited to make suggestions, and did so, particularly the commissioners of customs and the bishop, and they and others were in the habit also of making proposals on their own account, which were submitted in the form of drafts. Most of the trade instructions were drawn up by the treasury or the customs commissioners, and many additional instructions originated with the privy council or the secretary of state.

An interesting feature of this early process of drawing up the governor's instructions is the advice obtained from unofficial sources. A rough draft of the instrument was generally submitted to the appointee, if in England, and he was invited to send in recommendations and to suggest changes and improvements. In one case a prospective governor was allowed to search the files of the plantation office that he might post himself on the affairs of the colony. Sometimes while drafting the instructions the board of trade would call the appointee before it and question him regarding his duties, and when Alured Popple, the secretary of the board, was made governor of Bermuda, it allowed him practically to draft his own instructions. which he did at great length. The board also profited from suggestions made by former governors, by governors of other colonies, by quondam residents of the colony, and by various persons familiar with colonial trade and government. A study of the governor's instructions should concern not only the text but also the circumstances under which the instructions were drafted. As may be seen from the lists here given, very few of the instructions have been printed.

The governor generally took his instructions with him when he sailed for the colony, but Wright, of Georgia, seems to have been without his instructions for a year after receiving his commission. The governor did not publish the instructions as he did the commission, and as a rule did not make them known even to his council. He might read one or more clauses in his address to the assembly, and such would be printed in the sessional papers or, may be, found in the proceedings of the assembly as kept by the clerk. In fact, the instructions were secret orders, intended only for the governor's

use as the guide to his administration. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the instructions underwent many changes, becoming much longer and more mandatory, and on certain occasions, as in 1752, undergoing a thorough revision.

In the lists that follow no attempt has been made to give references to the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, or to the Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial. In both of these series will be found many of the documents here listed, sometimes elaborately calendared. As a rule instructions issued directly by the admiralty, the treasury, or the commissioners of customs have not been included, though they are all important, having to do with matters of trade, passes, customs, and the like. Though we have tried to make the lists complete and to note all instances where the documents have been printed, there is no doubt that some of the additional instructions have been overlooked and that some of the printed documents have not been discovered. In a first search of this kind, pursued within a limited period of time and covering a great variety of scattered volumes, completeness can hardly be expected.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Commissions to royal governors, 1685-1783.

[Governors whose names are italicised did not enter upon the office.]

Colony.	Name.	Date of privy seal.	Patent roll.	Beginning of actual administration in the colony.
New England	President J. Dud- ley and council	Oct. 8, 1685	1 Jac. II, Pt. VIII, 14 1	May 25, 1686.
Jamaica	Howard, Ph	Oct. 28,1685	1 Jac. II, Pt. X, 4	Died before taking up the appoint- ment.
Bermuda	Cony, R	Apr. 13, 1686	2 Jac. II, Pt. VI, Dors. Rot., 1.	A short commission was drawn up, Dec., 1684. Cony acted under this until June 4, 1686
New England	Andros	June 3, 1686	2 Jac. II, Pt. IX. Dors. Rot., 4.	Dec. 20, 1686.
New York	Dongan	June 10,1686	2 Jac. II, Pt. IX. Dors. Rot., 5.	Aug. 11, 1688.
Bermuda	Robinson, R	Sept 9,1686	2 Jac. II, Pt. X, Dors. Rot., 3.	Apr. 10, 1687, com- mission read, Apr. 12.
Jamaica	Albemarle	Nov. 25, 1686	2 Jac. II, Pt. XI, Dors. Rot. 6.	Dec. 19, 1687.
Massachusetts	Richier Sloughter	Apr. 7,1688 Aug. 3,1689 Oct. 26,1689 Nov. 8,1689 Jan. 4,1690 Oct. 7,1689	4 Jso. II, Pt. VIII, 8. 1 W. and M., Pt. IV, 28. 1 W. and M., Pt. VI, 2. 1 W. and M., Pt. VII, 6. 1 W. and M., Pt. VIII, 20. 1 W. and M., Pt. VIII, 20.	Continuation. May 12, 1690. Winter 1689-90. Jan. 11, 1691. Mar. 19, 1691. May 30, 1690.
Virginia	-	Nov. 5,1690	Rot., 2. Not enrolled	Remained in Eng-
Maryland Massachusetts Virginia New York New Hampshire Jamaica Pennsylvania	AndrosFletcherAllen, SBeeston	Mar. 1,1692 Mar. 18,1692 Mar. 1,1692 Sept. 20,1692	3 W. and M., Pt. II, 3. 3 W. and M., Pt. IX, 17. 4 W. and M., Pt. II, 6. 4 W. and M., Pt. II, 14. 4 W. and M., Pt. II, 14. 4 W. and M., Pt. VI, 5. 4 W. and M., Pt. X, 6.	Dec., 1691. May 16, 1692. Sept. 20, 1692. Aug. 30, 1692.

¹The key numbers will be found in "List of Chancery Rolls" (Lists and Indexes, No. XXVII), 1908, pp. 5–49. For example, 1 Jac. II, Pt. VIII—Patent Roll, 3269; the number 14 is the number of the entry on the roll.

Colony.	Nаше.	Date of privy seal.	Patant roll.	Beginning of actual administration in the colony.
Bermuda	Goddard, J	Mar. 1,1693 Feb. 10,1694 Jan. 4,1694 June 26,1696 Jan. 4,1698 June 18,1697 June 18,1697	5 W. and M., Pt I. 12 5 W. and M., Pt. II, 1 Not enrolled. 8 Will. III, Pt. VIII, 4 9 Will. III, Pt. III, 5 9 Will. III, Pt. VI, 3 9 Will. III, Pt. VI, 3	Aug. 10, 1693. July 28, 1694. Aug. 17, 1694 Dec. 14, 1697. Aug. 17, 1698. May 28, 1699. July 31, 1699. Apr. 2, 1698 Sept. 3, 1698 Dec. 9, 1698. Dec. 9, 1698. Dec. 9, 1698
Bermuda. Maryland. Barbadoes. New Hampshire. Bermuda. Massachusetts. New Hampshire. New York. Barbadoes. Virginis. Maryland. Jamaica. Leeward Islands. Jamaica. Jamaica.	Bellomont. Grey. Nicholson. Blakiston Beeston. Codrington Bennett, B. Selwyn.	June 18, 1697 July 24, 1697 July 20, 1698 Oct. 19, 1698 Jan. 5, 1699 May 13, 1699 Sept. 24, 1700 July 31, 1701	Not enrolled . 8 Will. III. Pt. VIII. 4. 9 Will. III. Pt. III. 5. 9 Will. III. Pt. VI. 3. 9 Will. III. Pt. VI. 5. 9 Will. III. Pt. VI. 10. 9 Will. III. Pt. VII. 10. 10 Will. III. Pt. VII. 21. 10 Will. III. Pt. VII. 2. 10 Will. III. Pt. IV. 8. 11 Will. III. Pt. IV. 8. 11 Will. III. Pt. IV. 7. 12 Will. III. Pt. III. 24. 13 Will. III. Pt. I, Dors. Rot., 6.	Apr. 2, 1698 Sept. 3, 1698 Dec. 9, 1698. Dec. 24, 1698 Renewal. End of year, 1707 Apr. 29, 1701. Jan. 21, 1702.
New York	Cornbury	Sept. 9,1701	I 13 Will, III Pt. II. Dors	May 3, 1702.
Barbadoes Massachusetts New Hampshire			Rot., 2. 14 Will. III, Pt. I, 1. 14 Will. III, Pt. I, 2. 14 Will. III, Pt. I, 2. Rot., 1.	Did not go out. June 11, 1702 July 13, 1702.
Massachusetts New Hampshire Maryland Barbadoes	Dudley, J. Dudley, J. Seymour. Granville, B.	Apr. 1,1702 Apr. 1,1702 Feb. 12,1702 July 25,1702	I Anne, Pt. I, 8	Renewal Renewal Apr. 10, 1704. May 10, 1703
Virginia	Nicholson	Aug. 4,1702	1 Anne, Pt. XI, Dors.	Renewal.
Leeward Islands	Codrington	Aug. 4,1702	Rot, 4. 1 Anne, Pt. XI, Dors. Rot. 8.	Renewal
Maryland			Rot, S. 1 Anne, Pt. XI, Dors. Rot., 9.	Renewal.
Bermuda	Bennett	Aug. 19,1702	Rot., 9. 1 Anne, Pt. XII, Dors. Rot. 2.	Renewal.
New Jersey	Cornbury	Dec. 5,1702	Rot . 2. 1 Anne, Pt. XIII, Dors. Rot., 19.	Renewal.
	Cornbury		1 Anne, Pt. XIII, Dors	Renewal.
Jamaica. Leeward Islands Jamaica.			1 Anne, Pt. XIV, 4	Did not go out. July 14, 1704. Renewal, yet no previous commis- sion enrolled, and in a patent of 1703, 2 Anne, Pt. IV, I, he is styled "lieuten- aut governor"
Virginia Leeward Islands Barbadoes Virginia			4 Anne, Pt. I, 5	by the French on his way to the
New York. New Jersey New Jersey New Jersey New York Virginia.	i	1	7 Anne, Pt. II, 11. 7 Anne, Pt. III, 19. 8 Anne, Pt IV, 18. 8 Anne, Pt. IV, 19. 8 Anne, Pt. V, 8.	Dec 18, 1708. May 3, 1709. 1710. June 16, 1710. Remained in England and was
Barbadoes Jamaica. Leeward Islands Bermuda. Maryland Barbadoes Virginia. Massachusetts. New Hampshire Jamaica.	Lowther Hamilton, Lord A. Douglas, W. Pulleine. Hart Lowther Orkney. Burges. Burges. Hamilton, Lord A.	Aug. 15, 1710 Aug. 15, 1710 Apr. 11, 1711 Apr. 30, 1713 Feb. 12, 1714 Dec. 25, 1714 Mar. 10, 1715 Mar. 17, 1715 Aug. 23, 1714	9 Anne, Pt. V, 2 9 Anne, Pt. V, 5 10 Anne, Pt. I, 22 12 Anne, Pt. II, 13 12 Anne, Pt. VI, 15 1 Geo. I, Pt. VI, 15 1 Geo. I, Pt. VIII, 19 1 Geo. I, Pt. IX, 11 1 Geo. I, Pt. IX, 11 1 Geo. I, Pt. IX, 10 Rot. 5 1 Geo. I, Pt. IX, Dors. Rot. 5 1 Geo. I, Pt. IX, Dors.	June 22, 1711. July 11, 1711. July 10, 1711. Autumn, 1713. May 29, 1714. May 12, 1715. Renewal. Did not go out. Did not go out. Renewal.
New Jersey New York Bermuda Leeward Islands Jamaica New Hampehire	Hunter Hunter Bennett Hamilton, W Pitt, Senter Shute	Mar. 17, 1715 Mar. 17, 1715 May 8, 1715 Aug. 23, 1715 July 13, 1716 June 15, 1716	1 Geo. 1, Pt. 1X, Dors. 1 Geo. I, Pt.JX, Dors. Rot., 7 1 Geo. I, Pt. X, Dors. Rot., 2 1 Geo. I, Pt. XII, 1 2 Geo. I, Pt. XII, 1 2 Geo. I, Pt. V, Dors. Rot., 23 2 Geo. I, Pt. V, Dors. Rot., 23	Renewal. Renewal. Sept. 27, 1715. Feb. 7, 1716. Did not go out. Oct. 17, 1715.

Colony.	Name.	Date of privy seal.	Patent roll.	Beginning of actual administration in the colony.
Massachusetts	Heywood	June 15, 1716 May 6, 1716 Feb. 5, 1718 Aug. 23, 1717 July 9, 1719	2 Geo. I, Pt. VI, 9	Oct. 5, 1716. Sept. 21, 1716. June 27, 1718. Apr. 26, 1718. Aug. 17, 1719.
Nova Scotia. New York		June 24, 1720		.
New Jersey Leeward Islands South Carolina Barbadoes Barbadoes Jamaica Bermuda Barbadoes Barbadoes	Hart Nicholson Irwin Bellhaven Portland Hope	May 22,1721 Sept. 26,1720 Mar. 10,1721 May 18,1721 Oct 31,1721	8 Geo. I, Pt. IV, Dors. Rot., I. 6 Geo. I, Pt. VII, 2. 7 Geo. I, Pt. V, 17. 7 Geo. I, Pt. III, 30. 7 Geo. I, Pt. III, 30. 8 Geo. I, Pt. III, 5. 8 Geo. I, Pt. III, 4. 8 Geo. I, Pt. II, 4. 8 Geo. I, Pt. IV, Dors. Rot., 1 9 Geo. II, Pt. II, 8).	Oct. 2, 1720. Dec. 19, 1721. May 29, 1721. Did not go out. Did not go out. Dec. 22, 1722. Mar. 17, 1722. Jan. 19, 1723. Dec. 26, 1721.
Jamaica			13 Geo. I, Pt. IV, Dors Rot1.	Jan . 19, 1723.
Jamaica. New Hampshire	Hunter Burnet	Sept. 12, 1727 Nov. 7, 1727	Rot.,1. 1 Geo. II, Pt. V, 36 1 Geo. II, Pt. VII, 20	Renewal. Received July 3,
Leeward Islands Virginia Barbadoes Massachusetts	Worsley	Apr. 17,1728 Nov. 9,1727 May 8,1728 Mar. 7,1728	1 Geo. II, Pt. VIII, 28 1 Geo. II, Pt. IX, 15 1 Geo. II, Pt. IX, 17 1 Geo. II, Pt. IX, 18	1728. 1728. Renewal. Renewal. Received July 3, 1728; reached Boston, July 13 from New York.
New York New Jersey Bermuda Newfoundland and Noya Scotia.	Philips		1 Geo. II, Pt. IX, 19 1 Geo. II, Pt. IX, 20 1 Geo. II, Pt. IX, 21 2 Geo. II, Pt. I, 17.	July 3, 1728. Dec. 1728. Sept. 2, 1728. Renewal.
Bahamas Newfoundland	Rogers Osborn, H	Dec. 26,1727 May 30,1728	2 Geo. II, Pt. II, 8 2 Geo. II, Pt. III, Dors.	Aug. 25, 1729. Before Oct. 14, 1729.
Leeward Islands New Hampshire	Dolohom	Dec. 31,1729 Jan. 28,1730	3 Geo. II, Pt. I, 24 3 Geo. II, Pt. I, Dors. Rof. 29.	Did not go out. Aug. 25, 1730.
South Carolina. Massachusetts Newfoundland Barbadoes Leeward Islands New Jersey New York Barbadoes Newfoundland Bahamas Leeward Islands Newfoundland	Johnson, R. Belcher. Cimton. Chetwynd. Cosby. Cosby. Howe. Falkungham. Frizwilliam. Mathew, W. MacCarty, R. (Lord Muskerry).	Jan. 1,1730 Jan. 28,1731 June 22,1731 June 22,1731 June 22,1731 June 22,1731 June 27,1732 Mar. 27,1732 June 6,1732 May 20,1732 May 20,1733 May 25,1733 May 25,1733	2 Geo. II, Pt. III, Dors. Rot., 22. 3 Geo. II, Pt. I, 24. 3 Geo. II, Pt. I, 10. 3 Geo. II, Pt. I, 10. 3 Geo. II, Pt. II, 16. 3 Geo. II, Pt. III, 14. 4 Geo. II, Pt. III, 16. 5 Geo. II, Pt. III, 17. 5 Geo. II, Pt. III, 18. 6 Geo. II, Pt. III, 10. 6 Geo. II, Pt. III, 10. 6 Geo. II, Pt. III, 18. 6 Geo. II, Pt. III, 18. 6 Geo. II, Pt. III, 19.	Dec. 15, 1730. Aug. 10, 1730. July, 1731: Did not go out. Did not go out. 1732. Aug. 1, 1732. Apr. 21, 1733. July 13, 1732. Nov. 29, 1733. Oct. 30, 1733. July, 1733.
North Carolina Newfoundand Jamaica Jamaica Jamaica New York New Jersey Newfoundland New Jersey Bermuda Vurginia	Lee, Fitzroy Henry Cunninghame	May 2,1733 Mar 22,1735 July 2,1734 Aug. 31,1737 Aug. 15,1737 June 1.1738 Mar. 3,1738 Jan. 23,1738 Nov. 4,1737	6 Geo. II, Pt. III, 27. 8 Geo. II, Pt. I, 1. 8 Geo. II, Pt. I, 23. 11 Geo. II, Pt. I, 5. 11 Geo. II, Pt. I, 15. 11 Geo. II, Pt. I, 11. 11 Geo. II, Pt. II, 12. 11 Geo. II, Pt. II, 12. 11 Geo. II, Pt. II, 1. 11 Geo. II, Pt. II, 9. 11 Geo. II, Pt. II, 28. 11 Geo. II, Pt. II, 38.	Nov. 13, 1734. July, 1735. Dec. 18, 1735. Apr. 29, 1738. Did not go out. Did not go out. July, 1738. Aug. 29, 1738. July 10, 1738. Remained in England.
South Carolina			12 Geo. II, Pt. I, 1	Died before taking up the appoint-
South Carolina Barbadoes Newfoundland Bahamas Newfoundland Massachusetts New York New Hampshire Newfoundland	Byng, R. Medley. Tinker. Smith, Th. Shirley, W. Clinton. Wentworth, B. Byng, J.	June 25,1739 June 20,1739 May 5,1740 May 4,1741 May 16,1741 July 1,1741 July 1,1741 Mar. 24,1742	13 Geo. II. Pt. I, 6	ment. Dec. 17, 1743. Dec. 15, 1739. Autumn, 1739. Apr. 23, 1741. July, 1741. Aug. 14, 1741. Sept. 17, 1743. Dec. 13, 1741. June 19, 1742.
Barbadoes Newfoundland Newfoundland	Robinson Smith, Th Hardy, C	Feb. 13,1742 Apr. 12,1743 June 12,1744	second). 15 Geo. II, Pt. VI, 5 16 Geo. II, Pt. I, 14 18 Geo. II, Pt. I, 17	Aug. 8, 1742. Summer, 1743. Summer, 1744.

Colony.	Name.	Date of privy seal.	Patent roll.	Beginning of actual administration in the colony
Newfoundland Bermuda Barbadoes New Jersey Newfoundland Newfoundland Nova Scotia Newfoundland	Popple, W Grenville, H	Feb 22,1745 Apr. 22,1745 Oct. 14,1746 Feb. 13,1747 May 11,1747 May 11,1747 May 6,1749 Jan. 28,1750	18 Geo. II, Pt. II, 7. 18 Geo. II, Pt. II, 33. 20 Geo. II, Pt. III, 17. 20 Geo. II, Pt. III, 5. 21 Geo. II, Pt. III, 5. 22 Geo. II, Pt. II, 10. 22 Geo. II, Pt II, 2. 23 Geo. II, Pt. III, 4. 23 Geo. II, Pt. III, 10.	Summer, 1745. June 23, 1747. Apr. 14, 1747 Aug. 10, 1747. Summer, 1748. Summer, 1749. June 21, 1749. Summer, 1750.
Newfoundland	Drake		24 Geo. II, Pt. II, 2	A new commission with additional powers. A new commission with additional
Jamaica. Nova Scotia. Leeward Islands. North Carolina. Newfoundland. New York. Georgia. South Carolina. New York. New York. Newfoundland. Nova Scotia. Barbadoes. Virginia.	Knowles Hopson Thomas, G Dobbs Bonfoy Osborn, D Reynolds Lyttelton Hardy, C Dornil Lawrence Pmfold Loudoun	May 4,1752 May 4,1752 Feb. 23,1753 Feb. 23,1753 Aug. 1,1753 Aug. 1,1753 Aug. 1,1755 Mar. 1,1755 Mar. 1,1755 June 12,1755 June 12,1755 June 3,1756 Mar. 17,1756 Mar. 17,1756 Mar. 8,1756	25 Geo. II, Pt. IV, 4	
Massachusetts Newfoundland Jamaica New Jersey Georgia	Edwards	Feb. 25,1757 Apr. 27,1757 Feb. 25,1758 Feb. 25,1758 July 4,1758	30 Geo. II, Pt. IV, 7	deputy. Aug. 3, 1757. Summer, 1755. Apr. 3, 1759. June 14, 1758. Order in council May 8, 1758; commission read Feb.
BahamasVirginiaNew JerseyMassachusettsSouth Carolina	Amherst	Jan. 14,1760 Jan. 14,1760	32 Geo II, Pt. II, 25	5, 1759. Dec. 30, 1759. Served by deputy. July 4, 1760. Aug. 2, 1760. Did not go to the
Jamaica. Newfoundland. Bermuda. Barbadoes. Jamaica. Virgmia. North Carolina. Georgia. South Carolina. Massachusetts. New Hampshire. Newfoundland. Leeward Islands. New York. New Jersey. Nova Scotia. New Jersey.	Popple, W Pinfold Lyttelton Amherst Dobbs	Jume 3,1760 May 19,1761 Apr. 4,1761 Apr. 4,1761 Apr. 4,1761 Apr. 4,1761 May 4,1761 May 4,1761 Apr. 4,1761	33 Geo. II, Pt. IV, 10. 33 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 14. 1 Geo. III, Pt. VI, 3. 1 Geo. III, Pt. VI, 5. 1 Geo. III, Pt. VI, 5. 1 Geo. III, Pt. VI, 5. 1 Geo. III, Pt. X, 1. 1 Geo. III, Pt. X, 2. 1 Geo. III, Pt. XI, 3. 1 Geo. III, Pt. XI, 4. 3 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 6. 3 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 6.	Jan. 20, 1762 Summer, 1760. Renewal. Renewal. Renewal. Renewal. Renewal. About July, 1761. Dec. 22, 1761. Renewal. Renew
Georgia. Quebec. West Florida East Florida Ne wfoun dian d Labrador, Anti- costi, and Mag- dalen Islands. Bermuda.	Wright, J. Murray. Johnstone. Grant. Palliser.	Nov. 21,1763 Nov. 21,1763 Nov. 21,1763 Apr. 9,1764	4 Geo. III, Pt. I, 3	by proclamation of Oct. 7, 1763. Renewal. Aug. 10, 1764. Oct. 21, 1764. Aug. 26, 1764. June 18, 1764.

Colony.	Name.	Date of privy seal.	Patent roll	Beginning of actual administration in the colony.
Tobago.			4 Geo. III, Pt. III, 9, refers back to Pinfold, who, as governor of all the Carib- bee Islands to the wind- ward of Guadeloupe, was potentially governor of	1
West Florida New York North Carolina South Carolina New Hampshire Nova Scotia Leeward Islands Vest Florida Jamaica Barbadoes Barbadoes Bahamas Quebec Virginia Newfoundland St John	Johnstone Moore. Tryon. Montagu. Wentworth, J. Campbell, Lord W. Woodley. Eliot, John. Trelawny, W. Spry Spry Carleton, G.	June 6,1764 July 19,1765 July 19,1765 Feb. 5,1766 Aug. 11,1766 Aug. 11,1766 May 15,1767 Aug. 15,1767 Aug. 15,1767 Aug. 15,1767 Sept. 9,1768 Apr. 12,1768	the Ceded Islands. 4 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 10. 5 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 17. 6 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 17. 6 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 2. 6 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 2. 6 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 3. 7 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 18. 7 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 10. 7 Geo. III, Pt. V, 10. 7 Geo. III, Pt. V, 10. 7 Geo. III, Pt. V, 10. 8 Geo. III, Pt. I, 18. 8 Geo. III, Pt. II, 3. 8 Geo. III, Pt. III, 13. 9 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 4. patent to Lord Wm. Campbell.	Renewal. Nov. 13, 1765. Dec. 20, 1765. June 12, 1766 June 13, 1767. Nov. 27, 1766. Apr. 10, 1768. Apr. 3, 1769. Sept. 30, 1768. Feb. 11, 1768. Dec. —, 1768. Winter, 1768.
			8 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 4 9 Geo. III, Pt. II, 1 9 Geo. III, Pt. IV, 5; recites patent to Lord Wm.	Oct. 28, 1768. Summer, 1769. Sept. 19, 1770.
West Florida. New York. Dominica. Massachusetts. New York. Virginia. North Carolina. Grenada, Grenadines, St. Vincent, and Tobago.	Chester. Dunmore Young Hutchinson Tryon Dunmore Martin Leyborne	Jan. 25,1770 Jan. 2,1770 Aug. 27,1770 Nov. 28,1770 Jan. 19,1771 Jan. 19,1771 Jan. 19,1771 May 14,1771	patent to Lord Wm. Campbell. 10 Geo. III, Pt II, 3 10 Geo. III, Pt II, 8 10 Geo. III, Pt IV, 9 11 Geo. III, Pt II, 20 11 Geo. III, Pt III, 28 11 Geo. III, Pt III, 29 11 Geo. III, Pt III, 30 11 Geo. III, Pt V, 21	Aug. 10,1770. Oct 19,1770. May —, 1771. Mar. 14, 1771. July 9, 1771. Sept. 25, 1771. Aug. 11, 1771. Nov. 1, 1771.
cent, and Tobago. Leeward Islands. Newfound land, Labrador, and Anticosti.	Shuldham		11 Geo. III, Pt. VI, 17 12 Geo. III, Pt. II, 7	
Barbadoes Jamaica Nova Scotia East Florida South Carolina Bahamas Dommica Massachusetts Quebec, including Labrador, Anti- costi, and Magda- len Islands.	Keith Legge Tonyn Campbell, Lord W Browne, M	Dec. 5,1772 May 15,1773 July 22,1773 July 22,1773 Aug. 11,1773 Mar. 11,1774 Mar. 11,1774 Apr. 7,1774 Dec. 27,1774	13 Geo. III, Pt. II, 4	June 8, 1773. Jan. 5, 1774. Oct 15, 1773. About Mar. 1, 1775. June 17, 1775. Sept., 1774. Nov. 15, 1774. Reamexed to Quebee (Sept. 18, 1774; commission sent Jan., 1775; arrived Feb. Mar., 1775). See Acts Priny Council Colonial, V,
Newfoundland without Labra- dor, Anticosti, and Magdalen	Duff	Apr. 20,1775	15 Geo. III, Pt. III, 17	Sec. 252.
Islands. Newfoundland St. Vincent Grenada, Grenadines, and To-	Montagu Morris Macartney	Mar. 11.1776	16 Geo. III, Pt. III. 11	May 6, 1776. July 1, 1776. May 4, 1776.
bago. Leeward Islands Quebec. Jamaica. New York. NewYork. NewYork Newfoundland Bahamas Barbadoes. Barbadoes. Leeward Islands Newfoundland Nova Scotia. Jamaica Barbadoes. Dominica Grenada and Grenadines.	Robertson Edwards Maxwell Cunninghame Browne, W Shirley, Th Campbell, J Farr, J Campbell, A Parry Orde Matthews, E	May 4,1779 Apr. 1,1779 Apr. 1,1779 Apr. 28,1779 Feb. 17,1780 Feb. 18,1781 Apr. 23,1781 Apr. 23,1781 July 29,1782 July 29,1782 July 29,1782 Mar. 3,1783 Mar. 3,1783	16 Geo. III, Pt. VI, 3 17 Geo. III, Pt. V, 5 17 Geo. III, Pt. V, 5 17 Geo. III, Pt. V, 8 19 Geo. III, Pt. III, 4 19 Geo. III, Pt. III, 15 19 Geo. III, Pt. III, 15 20 Geo. III, Pt. III, 4 21 Geo. III, Pt. III, 1 22 Geo. III, Pt. V, 13 22 Geo. III, Pt. IX, 5 23 Geo. III, Pt. IX, 6 23 Geo. III, Pt. IX, 6 23 Geo. III, Pt. III, 8	Mar. 23, 1780 Summer, 1779. Mar. 6, 1780. July 12, 1780. Dec. 16, 1781. Aug., 1781. July 31, 1782. Oct. 9, 1782. Jan. 20, 1782. Jan. 7, 1783. Jan. 10, 1784. Jan. 6, 1784.
New Brunswick	Carleton, T	Aug. 10,1784	24 Geo. III, Pt. VIII, 9	Nov. 22, 1784.

ANTIGUA.

(Under Leeward Islands.)

FOULKE, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 6, 1689.

C. O. 153, 4, p. 66, 324, 22, p. 98.

DOBYN, DOBBYN, or DOBBINS, Capt. William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 15, 1689.

C. O. 153, 4, p. 64; 324, 22, p. 199.

YEAMANS, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 7, 1702.

C. O. 324, 29, pp. 124-125.

BYAM, Edward, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 23, 1715; note only, that it is the same as for Montserrat of Oct. 1, 1714.

C. O. 5, 190, p. 45

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 36, p. 23; 324, 50, p. 34.

LUCAS, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 12, 1741.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 222-223; 324, 50, p. 171.

HAWLEY, Lord, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Feb. 20, 1747.

C. O. 324, 37, p. 375; 324, 50, p. 173.

Commission, submitted April 1, 1761.

C. O. 153, 19, pp. 56-57.

Commission, dated April 14, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 91.

OUGHTON, James Adolphus, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Nov. 23, 1772.

C. O. 324, 51, pp. 408-409.

Prevost, Augustine, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 28, 1780.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 391-392.

BAHAMAS.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

WENTWORTH, Hugh, governor.

Commission from the proprietors to the governor, councillors, and assistants, Apr. 24, 1671.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 56-57.

Instructions from the proprietors, to the governor and council, Apr. 24, 1671. C. O. 5, 286, pp. 58-60.

WENTWORTH, John, governor.

Commission, the same as to Hugh Wentworth, Dec. 26, 1671.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 57.

Instructions from the proprietors to the governor and council, Dec. 30, 1671. C. O. 5, 286, pp. 73-74.

CHILLINGWORTH, Charles, governor.

Commission from the proprietors, July 1, 1676.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 108.

Instructions from the proprietors, July 1, 1676.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 109-111.

LILBURNE, Robert, governor.

Instructions (to arrest Clarke), July 29, 1682.

C. O. 1, 49, No. 10.

BRIDGES, Thomas, governor.

Commission from the proprietors, July 12, 1688.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 141-142.

Bringes, Thomas, governor-Continued.

Instructions from the proprietors, July 12, 1688.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 142-144.

Jones, Cadwallader, governor.

Commission from the proprietors, Nov. 14, 1689.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 151-152. Instructions from the proprietors, Nov. 14, 1689.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 152.

Instructions from the proprietors, as to lands, etc., Nov. 12, 1689.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 155-156.

TROTT, Nicholas, governor.

Commission from the proprietors, Jan. 12, 1693. C. O. 5, 288, pp. 204-205.

Instructions from the proprietors, Jan. 12, 1693.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 205-206.

Additional instructions from the proprietors, Jan. 12, 1693.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 207-208.

Webb, Nicholas, governor.

Commission from the proprietors, Nov. 12, 1696.

C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 21-23.

Commission from the proprietors, Nov. 29, 1696.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 257-258.

Instructions and further instructions from the proprietors, Nov. 12, 1696.

C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 23-26, 26-28.

Additional instructions (to inquire into allegation against Gov. Trott), Nov. 29, 1696.

C. O. 5, 289, pp. 35-36.

Trade instructions from the King made out to the proprietors of Carolina and by them sent to Nicholas Webb, Jan. 22, 1699.

C. O. 5, 289, pp. 59-67.

BIRCH, Edward, governor.

Commission from the proprietors, June 18, 1702.

C. O. 5, 289, pp. 101-102.

Commission from the proprietors, June 18, 1702, submitted with representation of the board of trade of July 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 131-135.

Instructions from the proprietors, submitted with representation of the board, July 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 136-141.

Trade instructions; memorandum only, that they were the same as entered Leeward Islands, C. fo. 88. Submitted with representation, Oct. 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1290, p. 229.

ROYAL PERIOD.

(Charter was not actually surrendered till 1734.)

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
Woodes Rogers. George Phemey. Woodes Rogers. Richard Fitzwilliam John Tinker. John Gambier William Shirley. Thomas Shirley. Montfort Browne	June 27, 1718 Dec. 25, 1721 Aug. 25, 1729 Nov. 29, 1733 Apr. 23, 1741 July 10, 1758 Dec. —, 1768 Sept. —, 1774	Died July 10, 1758. Acting governor. Leave of absence. Taken prisoner in March, 1776, when New Provi- dence was captured by the
John Gambier. Montfort Browne John Maxwell	Mar. 15,1776 Dec. 16,1778 Mar. 6,1780	Americans. Lieutenant governor.

ROGERS, Woodes, governor.

Commission from the King, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 16, 1718.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 376-380; 24, 1, pp. 4-9.

Instructions, submitted Nov. 21, 1717. Articles 1 to 6, "Until you will receive . . . instructions by us given to our governor of Jamaica which are to be as a rule to you till our further pleasure is known."

C. O. 24, I, pp. 10-12.

A note in the margin against this sixth article, signed A. Popple and dated June 3, 1731, is to the effect that "Capt. Phenney said . . . that the copy of these Jamaica instructions mentioned in this article was of those given to Sir Nic. Lawes."

Instructions, Feb. 6, 1718.

C. O. 324, 33, pp. 127-129.

Instructions, 1718.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 381-383.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 8, 1718; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Royal Courts of Justice, Admiralty Register Munsment Books 6, 10. 213. (Hereafter cited as Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks.)

PHENNEY, George, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 25, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 118-122.

Commission, beginning only, with note that remainder was the same verbatim as that to Rogers, marked in margin "Teste 17 Aug., 1721."

C. O. 24, 1, pp. 55-56.

Instructions, Aug. 29, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 123-125.

Instructions; memorandum only, that they were same *verbatim* as to Rogers. Submitted June 20, 1721.

C. O. 24, 1, p. 58.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug 24, 1721; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 37.

ROGERS, Woodes, governor.

Commission, submitted Nov. 29, 1728.

C. O. 24, 1, pp. 104-122.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 9, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 495-512.

Instructions, submitted May 13, 1729.

C. O. 24, 1, pp. 128-188. Instructions, dated May 30, 1729.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 516-568.

7. C. o. o. 202, pp. 010-005.

Trade instructions, May 30, 1729.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 572-602.

Additional instruction (whale fishery), Mar. 6, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, p. 449; 324-336, pp. 196-197.

Additional instruction (Bishop of London's jurisdiction), see to Hunter, Jamaica, Apr. 28, 1780.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 7, 1729; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica, of Sept. 11, 1727.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 215, 1 p.

FITZWILLIAM, Richard, governor.

Commission, submitted with representation of Jan. 10, 1733, memorandum only, that it is same as for Gov. Rogers.

C. O. 24, 1, p. 214.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 5, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 601-615.

FITZWILLIAM, Richard, governor—Continued.

Instructions, May 10, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 617-659; 24, 1, pp. 225-292.

Trade instructions, May 10, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 661-695.

Additional instruction (Phenney, surveyor, to be of the council), n. d., but page headed Aug. 8, 1733.

C. O. 24, 1, pp. 295-298.

The same, dated Nov. 30, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 445-446; 50, pp. 49-50.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 3, 1733; variations only from that to Gov. Lord Forbes, Leeward Islands, of Jan. 8, 1730.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo. 59, 1 p.

Tinker, John, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 2, 1740.

C O. 24, 1, pp. 333-349.

Commission, draft indorsed "July, 1740."

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 331-343.

Instructions, submitted July 24, 1740.

C. O. 24, 1, pp. 353-402.

Instructions, dated Aug. 21, 1740.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 347-388.

Trade instructions, Aug. 21, 1740.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 391-419.

Trade instructions, memorandum only, "Vide Barbados L, folio 164." C. 0.24, 1, p. 402.

Additional instruction (colors worn by letters of marque), Sept. 17, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, p. 255.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 21, 1740; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of April 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo. 174.

SHIRLEY, William, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Nov. 7, 1758.

C. O. 24, 2, pp. 68-95.

Instructions, submitted Feb. 20, 1759.

C. O. 24, 2, pp. 99-187.

Commission as vice admiral, Dec. 23, 1758; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of April 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 125.

Commission as governor, submitted May 29, 1761.

C. O. 24, 3, pp. 10-33.

Instructions, submitted June 23, 1761.

C. O. 24. 3, pp. 36-110.

Trade instructions, submitted June 23, 1761.

C. O. 24, 3, pp. 111-179.

Additional instructions (commissions for judges), see to Nova Scotia, Dec. 2, 1761.

Commission as vice admiral, July 22, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of April 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 149.

GAMBIER, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 3, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 113-114

SHIRLEY, Thomas, governor.

Commission, Dec. 9, 8th year of reign [1767].

C. O. 24, 8, pp. 218-244.

Instructions, submitted March 7, 1768.

C. O. 24, 3, pp. 247-328.

Trade instructions, submitted March 7, 1768.

C. O. 24, 3, pp. 329-372.

SHIRLEY, Thomas, governor-Continued.

Commission as vice admiral, Dec 19, 1767; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls. 10, fo. 82.

BROWNE, Montfort, governor.

Commission, March 11, 14th year of reign [1774].

C. O. 24, 3, pp. 407-438.

Instructions, submitted May 5, 1774.

C. O. 24, 3, pp. 441-518.

Instructions, dated June 2, 1774.

C. O. 5. 205, pp. 507-560.

Trade instructions—note only that they were in the usual form and dated June 2, 1774.

C. O 5, 205, p. 561.

Commission as vice admiral, April 13, 1774; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg Mun. Bls. 10, fo. 156.

MAXWELL, John, governor.

Commission, submitted Aug. 14, 1779.

C. O. 24, 4, pp. 17-40.

Instructions, submitted Sept. 10, 1779.

C. O 24, 4, pp. 44-113.

Instructions, dated Sept. 23, 1779.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 4.

Trade instructions, submitted Sept. 10, 1779.

C. O. 24, 4, pp. 114-155.

Trade instructions—note only that the usual instructions for trade were signed Sept. 23, 1779.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 4 (at end).

Additional instructions, approved July 27, 1784.

C. O. 5, 208, (not paged).

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 28, 1779; variations only from that to Gov. Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 11, fo. 41.

Powell, James Edward, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Feb. 6, 1781.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 424-425.

BARBADOES.

PROPRIETARY PERIOD.

(The early proprietary governors were Capt. Henry Hawley, 1630–1640, Maj. Huncks, 1640–1645, Capt. Philip Bell, deputy governor, 1641, governor, 1645–1649; Lord Willoughby of Parham, commissioned lieutenant general in 1647)

AYSCUE, Sir George, governor, and others.

Commission to Sir George Ayscue, Daniel Searle, and Capt. Michael Pack, to reduce Barbadoes—Ayscue constituted governor Feb. 1, 1651.

S. P. Dom. Interregnum I, 17, pp. 17-19.

Instructions, Feb. 1, 1651.

S. P. Dom. Interregnum I, 17, pp. 21-22.

Additional instructions, Feb. 1, 1651.

S. P. Dom. Interregnum I, 17, pp. 23-24.

Additional instructions, Feb. 13, 1651.

S. P. Dom. Interregnum I, 17, pp. 84-86.

SEARLE, Daniel, governor.

Commission, June 13, 1653.

S. P. Dom. Interregnum I., 69, pp. 290-291.

ROYAL PERIOD

(Including the Caribbee Islands to windward of Guadeloupe.)

WILLOUGHBY of Parham, Francis, Lord, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 12, 1663. (Editor of Calendar marks this "should be June," but the warrant is clearly as dated.) C. O. 29, 1, pp. 31-46.

Heads of a commission. In the hand of Williamson, with corrections. June 12, 1663.

C. O. 1, 17, No. 40, 1 p.

Commission, June 12, 1663.

C. O. 1, 17, No. 41, 17 pp.; 324, 1, pp. 67-92.

Instructions, June 16, 1663.

C. O. 1, 17, No. 49, 61 pp.; 324, 1, pp. 19-29.

Instructions, June 17, 1663. Copy of above.

C. O. 389, 4, pp. 20-31.

WILLOUGHBY, Henry and William, Henry HAWLEY, and Samuel BARWICKE.

Letters patent as deputy governors in absence of Lord Willoughby, June 12, 1663. C. O. 1, 17, No. 42, parchment.

WILLOUGHBY, Henry and William, and Sir John YEAMANS.

Commission as governors in absence of Lord Willoughby. Rough draft by Williamson. [?1665.]

C. O. 1, 19, No. 101.

Draft of the above, corrected by Williamson. [?1665.]

C. O. 1, 19, No. 102

WILLOUGHBY, Henry and William, Cols. HAWLEY and BARWICKE.

Commission as governors in absence of Lord Willoughby, Dec. 5, 1666.

C. O. 1, 20, No. 189.

WILLOUGHBY of Parham, William, Lord.

Commission to "Lord William Willoughby" to be governor of the Caribbee Islands for three years, Jan. 3. 1667.

C. O. 29, 1, pp. 51-64; 324, 1, pp. 350-373.

Instructions, draft, with corrections by Williamson, Feb. 4, 1667. C. O 1, 21, No. 15.

Additions and alterations to be made in his instructions, being a fair copy of those by Williamson [Feb. 1667].

C. O. 1, 21, No. 16.

Instructions, Feb. 4, 1667. Note in margin that the same were approved in Council on June 13, 1663.

C. O. 29, 1, pp. 65-73; 324, 1, pp. 375-392.

Commission as vice admiral from the Duke of York, Latin, Jan. 26, 1667.

C. O. 29, 1, pp. 88-98; Mass. Col. Soc. Publ., II. 187-198.

Commission as governor, the three years being expired, Nov. 20, 1669. C. O. 31, 1, pp. 139-140.

Commission, Nov. 20, 1669, part only; for the rest refers to that of 1667, Jan. 3. C. O. 29, 1, pp. 139-140.

Letters patent, Dec. 6, 1669, identical with commission of Nov. 20.

C O. 29, 1, pp. 101-114.

(Including St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and the rest of the Caribbee Islands to windward of Guadeloupe.)

WILLOUGHBY of Parham, William, Lord, governor.

Commission, April 30, 1672, prepared by the Council of Plantations, transmitted to Lord Arlington May 1. Patent Roll entry is dated July 16.

C. O. 29, 1, pp. 141-147. Commission, June 10, 1672 (same as Apr. 30).

C. O. 324, 1, pp. 498-512; 389, 4, fos. 63-67.

WILLOUGHBY of Parham, William, Lord, governor-Continued

Instructions, Apr. 30, 1672, prepared by the Council of Plantations, transmitted to Lord Arlington May 1.

C. O. 29, 1, pp. 147-152.

Instructions, June 10, 1672 (same as Apr. 30).

C. O. 324, 1, pp. 512-525; 389, 4, fos. 59b-62.

Additional instructions (in relation to revenue), June 10, 1672.

C. O. 389, 4, fos. 57-58.

The same—part only, n. d. [June 10, 1672].

C. O. 324, 1, pp. 525-527.

ATKINS, Sir Jonathan, governor.

Commission, draft, offered by the Council of Trade and Plantations, Dec. 19, 1673. C. O. 1, 30, No. 92, 15 pp.; 29, 1, pp. 153-162.

Memorandum of alterations and additions as compared with Lord Willoughby's [Dec. 9, 1673].

C. O. 1, 30, No. 94.

The same, marked in margin: "Circular to the governors touching the method of levying money," Dec. 15, 1682.

C. O. 324, 4, pp 114-115.

Additional instructions, May 3, 1684.

C. O. 29, 3, pp. 234-238.

Commission, from the Duke of York, as lord high admiral, to command His Majesty's ships, and, as vice admiral, to appoint a judge advocate, etc., Nov. 25, 1680.

C. O. 29, 3, pp. 102-103.

WITHAM, John, deputy governor, of the island of Barbadoes.

Commission from Sir Richard Dutton, Apr. 30, 1683.

C. O. 1, 51, No. 103, fos. 309; 29, 3, pp. 192-193.

Instructions from Sir Richard Dutton, May 1, 1683.

C. O. 1, 51, No. 104, fos. 310-312; 29, 3, pp. 192-196.

STEDE, Edwyn, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 30, 1685.

C. O. 29, 3, pp. 232-285.

Instructions (about the island of S. Lucia), Mar. 19, 1686.

C. O. 29, 3, p. 363.

Instructions (touching the Royal African Company), Dec. 5, 1686.

C. O. 29, 3, pp. 395-396.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 18, 1674.

C. O. 389, 4, fos. 82-86.

Commission, dated Feb. 6, 1674

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 72-84.

Instructions, draft, offered by the Council of Trade and Plantations, Dec. 19, 1673.

C. O. 1, 30, No. 93; 29, 1, pp. 162-171.

Memorandum of alterations and additions as compared with Lord Willoughby's [Dec. 9, 1673].

C. O. 1, 30, No. 95.

Instructions, Feb. 28, 1674.

C.O. 389, 4, fos. 87-90; 389, 6, pp. 85-91.

Additions to instructions, in report of Council of Trade, Apr. 13, 1674; given to Mr Bridgman about the 17th of April.

C. O. 1, 31, No. 32; 29, 1, pp. 172-173.

Additional instructions, May 11, 1674, same as above.

C. O. 389, 4, fo. 91; 389, 6, pp. 91-92.

DUTTON, Sir Richard, governor.

Commission, Oct. 22, 1680.

C. O. 29, 3, pp. 25-37; 389, 9.

Instructions, Oct. 30, 1680.

C. O. 29, \$, pp. 37-53; 389, 9.
 Instructions (style to be used in acts for raising money, etc.), Dec. 15, 1682.
 C. O. 29, \$, pp. 150-151.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks
James Kendali	May 12,1690	
Francis Russell	Ang 17 1604	Died Aug. 7, 1096.
President of council Ralph Grey President of council	Ang. 7,1696	
Ralph Grev	Sept. 3,1698	
President of council	Nov. 20, 1701	
SIF Bevil Granville	1 MAY 10.1/03	
William Sharp, president	Sept. 14,1706	Acting governor.
Mitford Crowe	May 9,1707	Appointed Oct. 2, 1706.
Robert Lowther.	June 22, 1711	Dismissed Feb. 7, 1714, so
		informed Apr. 24, 1714.
William Sharp, president	Apr. 24,1717	-
Robert Lowther	May 12,1715	
John Frere, president	July 13,1720	Acting governor.
Samuel Cox, president.	Spring, 1721	Do.
Robert Lowther. John Frere, president Samuel Cox, president Henry Worsley Samuel Barwick, president	Jan. 19,1723	-
Samuel Barwick, president	Sept. 21, 1731	Do.
Lord Howe	Apr. 21,1733	~
James Dottin, president	1/30	Do.
Tomer Dettin manufact	Dec. 15,1759	Died Oct. 8, 1740.
San Thomas Dobinson	001. 0,1/40	
Densy Granulla	Aug. 10, 1747	
James Dottin, president James Dottin, president Sir Thomas Robinson Henry Grenville Ralph Weekes, president Charles Pinfold	May 22 1752	Acting governor.
Charles Profeld	Arg 10 1756	reing governor.
Samuel Rous, president William Spry Samuel Rous, president	May 27 1768	Do.
William Snrv	Feb. 11,1768	Died Sept. 2, 1772.
Samuel Rous, president	Sept 2.1772	2.00 20pm 2, 2. (a)
Edward Hav	June 8,1773	
Edward Hay James Cunninghame John Dottin, president	July 12,1780	
John Dottin, president	June 19,1782	Acting governor.
David Parry	Jan. 7,1783	

Kendall, Col. James, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 17, 1689.

C. O. 29, 4, pp. 64-67: 324, 22, pp. 42-53.

Instructions, Sept. 19, 1689.

C. O. 29, 4, pp. 82-103; 324, 22, pp. 158-171.

Additional instructions (to confer with Capt. Wright as to defense), Dec. 6, 1689.

C. O. 29, 4, pp. 142-144; 324, 22, pp. 156-157.

Additional instruction (no ship to sail without convoy), Oct. 7, 1692.

C. O. 29, 4, pp. 309-310; and repeated, pp. 343-344.

Russell, Francis, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Nov. 29, 1693.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 135-145.

Commission, Jan. 4, 1694.

C. O. 29, 4, pp. 339-406; 29, 5, pp. 1-18.

Instructions, Jan. 4, 1694.

C. O. 29, 4, pp. 407-431, 29, 5, pp. 19-43; 324, 24, pp. 150-169.

Commission as vice admiral, March 5, 1694.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 4, fo. 116.

GREY, Hon. Ralph, governor.

Commission, submitted June 24, 1697.

C. O. 29, 6, pp. 146-162.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 8, 1697.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 395-421.

Extract of commission. In covering letter dated Sept. 20, 1700.

C. O. 28, 4, No. 56 III.

Instructions, Nov 27, 1697.

C. O. 29, 6, pp. 163-188; 324, 24, pp. 518-552.

Extract of instructions. In covering letter dated Sept. 20, 1700.

C. O. 28, 4, No. 56 IV.

Trade instructions [Nov. 27, 1697]; heading only, with note: "vide Plantations General A fo. 145." (C. O. 324, 6.)

C. O. 29, 6, p. 238.

GREY, Hon. Ralph, governor-Continued.

Additional instructions, May 18, 1699.

O. C. 29, 6, pp. 266-268; 31, 5, p. 478.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 19, 1697; variations only from that of Gov. Beeston, Jamaica, of Sept. 15, 1692.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 4, fo. 196.

Forbes, Lord, acting governor.

Commission as lieutenant general but to act in case of governor's death or absence, Nov. 15, 1699.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 10-11.

CROWE, Mitford (not governor till 1706).

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 26, 1702 (Latin).

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 58.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 26, 1702 (English).

C.O. 319, 1, pp. 72-80.

GRANVILLE, Sir Bevil, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 7, 1702.

C.O. 324, 29, pp. 23-41.

Commission, dated July 25, 1702.

C. O. 29, 8, pp. 34-61.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 18, 1702.

C. O. 29, 8, pp. 148-193.

Instructions, dated Sept. 30, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 8.

Trade instructions, submitted Oct. 16, 1702.

C. O. 29, 8, pp. 232-257.

Trade instructions dated Nov. 14, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 9.

Additional instruction (Colleton controversy), submitted Jan. 20, 1703.

C. O. 29, 8, pp. 274-278.

Additional instruction, Jan. 22, 1703.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 10.

Additional instruction (number of seamen allowed on ships), July 17, 1704; so headed, but margin and page bear date of July 7.

C. O. 29, 8, pp. 440-444; also, cfreular, 324, 8, pp. 477-481.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 14, 1702 (Latin)

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 125.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 4, 1702 (English); memorandum, "The Latin commission is folded up in Barbadoes papers."

C. O. 29, 8, pp. 204-217.

CROWE, Mitford, governor,

Commission, Oct. 30, 1706.

C. O. 319, 1, pp. 1-9.

Instructions, Jan. 4, 1707.

C. O. 29, 10, pp. 216-311; 319, 1, pp. 141-169.

Instructions concerning imprisonments in Barbadoes. [Found to be extract of Crowe's, pp 148-149 of this book.] Copy attested Dec. 6, 1703 [? error] by A. Skene, secretary.

C. O. 319, 1, pp. 53-55.

Trade instructions, Jan. 4, 1707.

C. O. 29, 10, pp. 312-347; 319, 1, pp. 170-179.

Additional instruction (devolution of government on death, etc.), May 3, 1707. C. O. 29, 10, pp. 445-457; 319, 1, p. 9.

Additional instructions (councillors to be suspended for absence), Nov. 20, 1707. C. O. 319, 1, pp. 169-170.

Additional instruction (concerning acts of trade), July 3, 1708. The like to Jamaica, Leeward Islands, and Bermuda.

C. O. 324, 9, pp. 214-217.

CROWE, Mitford, governor-Continued.

Commission as vice admiral, Nov. 6, 1706; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands, of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo 186.

Commission as vice admiral, Nov. 6, 1706. (Latin.)

C. O. 319, 1, pp. 10-21.

LOWTHER, Robert, governor.

Commission, submitted July 27, 1710.

C. O. 29, 12, pp. 117-132.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 19, 1710.

C. O. 29, 12, pp. 136-197.

Instructions, 1710.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 19-65.

Trade instructions, submitted Aug. 19, 1710.

C. O. 29, 12, pp. 198-231.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug 8, 1710; variations only from that to Gov Hunter, New York, etc., of Dec. 14, 1709.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 89.

Commission, submitted Nov. 16, 1714.

C. O. 29, 13, pp. 129-153.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Nov. 23, 1714.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 3-13.

Instructions, sent in letter to Mr. Stanhope of Feb. 22, 1715.

C. O. 29, 13, pp. 177-256.

Instructions, Feb. 23, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 55-98

Trade instructions, sen. in letter to Mr. Stanhope of Feb. 22, 1715.

C. O. 29, 13, pp. 257-295.

Trade instructions, 1 Geo. 1.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 101-117.

Additional instruction (not to pass acts affecting trade of this Kingdom without suspending clause), submitted Sept. 18, 1717. The like to New England, New York, New Jersey, Bermuda, Leeward Islands, and Virginia.

C. O. 324, 10, 135-136.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 12, 1715 (Latin).

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 161.

Additional instruction (circular) to the governor of Barbadoes (suspending clause to be in all credit bills); see under Shute, Massachusetts, Sept. 27, 1720.

IRWIN, Lord Viscount, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, March 1, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 1-13.

Commission, submitted Feb. 1, 1721; memorandum only, that it was in the same terms as that afterwards prepared for Lord Bellhaven (Tobago excepted), "vide folio 108 [and] Mr. Worsley's fol. 259."

C. O. 29, 14, p. 91.

Commission as vice admiral, March 13, 1721; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 33.

BELLHAVEN, Lord, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 20, 1721; memorandum only, that it was exactly "in the same terms with that since prepared for Mr. Worseley vide folo. 259."

C. O. 29, 14, p. 108

Instructions, submitted Aug. 9, 1721

C. O. 29, 14, pp. 148-221.

Instructions, dated Aug. 29, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 14-74.

Trade instructions, Aug. 29, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 75-97.

BELLHAVEN, Lord, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (settling Tobago), submitted Oct. 17, 1721.

C. O. 29, 14, pp. 251-254.

The same, dated Nov. . . . 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 98-100.

Additional instruction (Bishop of London's powers), submitted Oct. 25, 1721.

The like to Carolina, New Jersey, and New York.

C. O. 324, 10, pp. 438-439.

Commission as vice admiral, June 16, 1721; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 37.

WORSLEY, Henry, governor.

Commission, submitted Dec. 1, 1721. In margin: "Teste, Jan. 11, 1721."

G. O. 29, 14, pp. 259-279.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 20, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 360-373.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 26, 1722.

C. O. 29, 14, pp. 306-350. Instructions, dated Aug. 24, 1722.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 374-431.

Trade instructions, Aug. 24, 1722.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 432-460.

Commission as vice admiral, July 6, 1722; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 7, fo. 46.

Commission, submitted April 17, 1728.

C. O. 29, 15, pp. 2-21.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, April 22, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 283-301.

Instructions, submitted June 27, 1728. In margin: "Dated at Hampton Court, July 25, 1728."

C. O. 29, 15, pp. 29-95.

Instructions, July 25, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 303-367.

Trade instructions, July 25, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 371-407.

Additional instruction (whale fishery), Mar. 6, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 445.

The same, see circular under Hunter, Jamaica.

Additional instruction (Bishop of London's jurisdiction), Apr. 28, 1730, see under Hunter, Jamaica.

Commission as vice admiral, May 9, 1728; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica, of Sept. 11, 1727.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks.,7, fo. 159.

CHETWYND, Walter, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 22, 1731.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 497-515.

Commission as vice admiral, July 3, 1731; variations only from that to Lord Forbes, Leeward Islands, of Jan. 8, 1730.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 8, fo. 48.

Howe, Lord Viscount, governor.

Commission, submitted May 17, 1732.

C. O. 29, 15, pp. 265-285.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 31, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 323-340.

Instructions, Dec. 14, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 351-414; C. O. 29, 15, pp. 307-376.

Howe, Lord Viscount, governor-Continued.

Trade instructions, Dec. 14, 1732.

C. O 5, 195, pp. 417-445; 29, 15, pp 377-413.

Additional instruction (as to passing act for additional salary), submitted Dec. 12, 1732.

C. O. 29, 15, p. 415.

Additional instruction, Dec. 14, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 449-450.

Additional instruction (surveyor general), Aug. 8, 1733.

C. O. 29, 15, pp. 421-423.

Additional instruction (C. Dunbar, surveyor general, to be councillor extraordinary), Nov. 30, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 434-437; 324, 50, pp. 25-27.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 22, 1732; variations only from that to Lord Forbes, Leeward Islands, of Jan. 8, 1730.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 8, fo. 58.

DOTTIN, James, president of the council.

Additional instruction (payment of secretary), submitted June 21, 1738.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 69-71.

Additional instruction, Aug. 1, 1738.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 11-12.

BYNG, Robert, governor.

Commission, submitted June 5, 1739.

C. O 29, 16, pp. 77-95.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 15, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 201-214.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 10, 1739.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 99-163.

Instructions, dated Oct. 19, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 217-269.

Trade instructions, submitted Aug. 10, 1739.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 164-197.

Trade instructions, dated Oct. 19, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 273-299.

Commission as vice admiral, June 28, 1739; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 8, fo. 138.

DOTTIN, James, president of the Council.

Additional instruction (powder duty), [submitted] June 18, 1741.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 221-222.

The same, dated July 30, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 219-220.

Additional instruction (colors worn by letters of marque), Sept. 17, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, p. 243.

Robinson, Sir Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Jan. 26, 1742.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 229-245.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 2, 1742.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 283-294.

Instructions, submitted Feb. 12, 1742.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 247-313.

Instructions, dated Feb. 20, 1742.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 307-365.

Trade instructions, submitted Feb. 12, 1742; memorandum only: "Trade instructions were in the common form with those given to Gov. Byng, vide folio 164."

C. O. 29, 16, p. 246.

Robinson, Sir Thomas, governor—Continued.

Trade instructions, Feb. 20, 1742.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 367-397.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 1, 1742; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 8, fo. 188.

GRENVILLE, Henry, governor,

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 25, 1746.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 219-235.

Commission, submitted Sept. 22, 1746; first paragraph only, the rest same as to Sir Thomas Robinson, folio 229 of the book.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 355-356.

Instructions, submitted Oct. 23, 1746.

C. O. 29, 16, pp. 362-434.

Instructions, dated Nov. 10, 1746.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 239-301.

Trade instructions, Nov. 10, 1746.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 305-335.

Commission as vice admiral, Nov. 7, 1746; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9. fo. 49.

PINFOLD, Charles, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 20, 1756.

C. O. 29, 17, pp. 137-174.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 17, 1756.

C. O. 29, 17, pp. 178-298.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 8, 1756; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 106.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 29, 18, pp. 8-38.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 28, 1761.

C. O. 29, 18, pp. 45-139.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 28, 1761, memorandum only, that they are the same as to the governor of the Bahama Islands. "Vide Bahamas Entries C. folio 111."

C. O. 29, 18, p. 139.

Additional instructions (commissions to judges), Dec. 2, 1761; see under Nova Scotia.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 1, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 132.

SEPARATE GOVERNMENT.

SPRY, William, governor.

Commission, Aug. 15, 7th year [1767].

C. O. 29, 18, pp. 186-218.

Instructions, submitted July 29, 1767.

C. O. 29, 18, pp. 221-334.

Instructions, dated Aug. 12, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 113-187.

Trade instructions, submitted July 29, 1767.

C. O. 29, 18, pp. 334-399.

Trade instructions, dated Aug. 12, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 191-228.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 8, 1767; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls. 10, fo. 81.

HAY, Edward, governor.

Commission, Dec. 5, 13th year [1772].

C. O. 29, 18, pp. 415-452.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 18, 1773.

C. O. 29, 19, pp. 5-101.

Instructions, dated Apr. 1, 1773.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 89-138.

Trade instructions, submitted Mar. 18, 1773.

C. O. 29, 19, pp. 102-158.

Trade instructions, dated Apr. 1, 1773.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 141-177.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 5, 1773; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 143.

CUNNINGHAME, James, governor.

Commission, submitted Feb. 3, 1780.

C. O. 29, 19, pp. 169-187. Instructions, submitted Feb. 17, 1780

C. O. 29, 19, pp. 192-241.

Instructions, dated Feb. 24, 1780.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 5.

Trade instructions, submitted Feb. 17, 1780; note only: "For trade instructions see page 102" [to Gov. Hay].

C. O. 29, 19, p. 241.

Note only, that the usual instructions for trade were signed Feb. 24, 1780.

C. O. 5, 207, at end of No. 5.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 14, 1780; variations only from that to Gov. Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 11, fo. 43.

PARRY, David, governor.

Instructions, Sept. 6, 1782.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 13; 29, 20, pp. 1-102.

Note only, that the usual instructions for trade were signed Sept. 6, 1782.

C. O. 5, 207, at end of No. 13.

Additional instructions (bills of credit), Oct. 2, 1782; see to Parr, Nova Scotia.

Additional instruction (rebuilding church), approved June 23, 1784.

C. O. 5, 32 [not numbered].

Commission as vice admiral, July 30, 1782; variations only from that to Gov. Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 11, to. 76.

BERMUDA.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

[(Until 1612 Bermuda was under the control of the London Company, but in 1615 a separate company was formed.)

MOORE, Richard, lieutenant governor, 1614-1616.

Commission, Apr. 27, 1612.

Lefroy, Memorials of the Bermudas, I, 58-62.

Tucker, Daniel, lieutenant governor, 1616-1618.

Commission, Feb. 15, 1616.

Lefroy, I, 105-119.

BUTLER, Nathaniel, lieutenant governor, 1619-1622.

Bernard, John, lieutenant governor, 1622-1623.

Commission, Sept. 1, 1622.

Lefroy, I, 261-264.

WOODHOUSE, Henry, lieutenant governor, Oct. 1623-Jan. 13, 1627. Instructions. Mar., 1626.

Lefroy, I, 372-373.

Bell, Philip, lieutenant governor, Mar. 6, 1627-Oct , 1629.

Wood, Roger, lieutenant governor, Dec. 26, 1629-1637.

CHADDOCK, Thomas, lieutenant governor, Apr. 10, 1637-Nov., 1640.

SAYLE, William, heutenant governor, Sept. 15, 1641-1642.

FORSTER, Josias, lieutenant governor, Feb. 7, 1642-July 10, 1643.

SAYLE, William, lieutenant governor, Sept. 19, 1643-Feb. 4, 1645.

FORSTER, Josias, lieutenant governor, 1645-1647.

TURNOR, Thomas, lieutenant governor, Apr. 11, 1647-Sept. 25, 1649.

TRIMINGHAM, John, lieutenant governor, Sept. 25, 1649-Jan., 1650.

JENNINGS, Capt., lieutenant governor, 1650.

Forster, Josias, lieutenant governor, Nov., 1650-Sept., 1659.

Instructions, Jan. 1, 1650.

Lefroy, II, 2-8.

Instructions, Apr. 19, 1655.

Lefroy, II, 50-58.

Instructions, Oct. 14, 1656.

Lefroy, II, 88-93

SAYLE, William, lieutenant governor, June 30, 1658-Jan. 12, 1662.

Instructions, Sept. 13, 1658.

Lefroy, II, 119-123.

Instructions, Sept. 3, 1660.

Lefroy, II, 134-136.

Instructions, Aug. 30, 1661.

Lefroy, II, 152-156.

SEYMOUR, Florentia, lieutenant governor, Jan., 1662-May, 1668.

Instructions, Feb. 13, 1663.

Lefroy, II, 195.

Instructions, Dec. 4, 1663.

Lefroy, II, 206-210.

Instructions, Feb. 9, 1664.

Lefroy, II, 227.

Instructions, Mar. 1, 1664.

Lefroy, II, 227.

Instructions, Nov. 14, 1665.

Lefroy, II, 236.

WHATLEY, Samuel, lieutenant governor, May, 1668-May, 1669.

Instructions, Feb. 6, 1668.

Lefroy, II, 260-262.

Instructions [Sept.?], 1668.

Lefroy, II, 268-270.

HEYDON, Sir John, lieutenant governor, May, 1669-June, 1681.

Instructions, Feb. 28, 1670.

Lefroy, II, 304-310.

Instructions, Nov. 9, 1670.

Lefroy, II, 327-331.

Instructions, June 18, 1672.

Lefroy, II, 368-370.

Instructions, Sept., 1672.

Lefroy, II, 370-373.

Instructions, Aug., 1675.

Lefroy, II, 411-420.

Instructions, Oct. 26, 1676.

Lefroy, II, 444-447.

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HEYDON, Sir John, lieutenant governor-Continued.

Instructions, Oct. 1, 1677.

Lefroy, II, 458-460.

Instructions, Oct. 16, 1678.

Leiroy, II, 463-465.

Instructions, Feb. 11, 1680.

Lefroy, II, 491.

Instructions, Mar. 8, 1681.

Lefroy, II, 496-501.

SEYMOUR, Florentia, lieutenant governor, 1681-1683.

Instructions, March 8, 1681.

Lefroy, II, 502-503.

Instructions, Sept. 28, 1681.

Lefroy, II, 504-506.

Instructions, Oct. 6, 1682.

Lefroy, II, 509-510.

Instructions, Oct. 17, 1682.

Lefroy, II, 510-511.

CONY, Richard, lieutenant governor, 1683-1684.

Commission, Oct. 25, 1683.

Lefroy, II, 521-524.

Instructions, Oct. 25, 1683.

Lefroy, II, 517-520.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT

Royal governor.	Date of actual administra- tion.	Remarks.
Richard Cony. R. Robinson Isaac Richier. John Goddard Samuel Day Benjamin Bennett Henry Pulleine Council Benjamin Bennett John Hope John Pitt Andrew Auchinieck, president Alured Popple Francis Jones, president William Popple Francis Jones, president William Popple Francis Jones, president George James Bruere George Bruere George Bruere William Brown	Apr. 29, 1701 Autumn,1713 Apr. 20, 1715 Sept. 27, 1715 Mar. 17, 1722 Sept. 2, 1728 Sept. 2, 1728 Sept., 1737 July 10, 1738 Winter, 1744- 1745. June 22, 1747 Jen., 1755 Jen., 1764 Aug. 9, 1764 Aug. 9, 1764 Sept. 10, 1780	pointed by the Crown. Commission read Apr. 12. Appointed Nov. 12, 1712; die Apr. 20, 1715. Reappointed Feb. 25, 1715. Acting governor.

CONY Richard, heutenant governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 24, 1684.

Marked also "Jan. 1, 36th year of reign."

C. O. 38, 1, pp. 105-109; Lefroy, II, 527-534.

Commission, n. d.

Either "his late" Majesty's commission of which Cony acknowledges receipt on June 4, 1685, or one directed to be sent him by order in Council of Jan. 22, 1686.

C. O. 38, 1, pp. 132-148.

Rough notes of amendments for commission [?April, 1686].

C. O. 1, 59, No. 64.

ROBINSON, Sir Robert. lieutenant governor

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 24, 1686.

C. O. 38, 2, pp. 4-22.

Instructions, Oct. 31, 1686.

C. O. 38, 2, pp. 27-61.

Trade instructions, Nov 28, 1686.

C. O. 38, 2, pp. 76-89; Lefroy, II, 641-642.

Additional instructions (concerning certain prisoners), Dec. 15, 1686

C. O. 38, 2, pp. 97-93.

Instructions (wrecks and moiety of treasure for the Lord High Admiral), Oct. 21, 1687.

C. O. 38, 2, pp. 128-131.

RICHIER, Isaac, lieutenant governor

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 29, 1689

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 100-110

Commission, "date of Great Seal, Dec 8, 1689."

C. O. 38, 2, pp. 230-245.

Instructions, April 3, 1690.

C. O. 38, 2, pp. 246-267; 324, 22, pp. 222-233.

Additional instructions, or "order" (to admit S. Trott collector of customs), Oct. 27, 1690.

C. O. 38, 2, p. 286.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 15, 1692.

Adm, Reg. Mun. Bks., 4, fo. 102.

GODDARD, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 14, 1693.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 78-89.

('ommission, Mar. 1, 1693.

C. O. 38, 3, pp. 47-59.

Instructions [Mar., 1693].

C. O. 38, 3, pp. 60-83.

Instructions, Mar. 10, 1693.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 95-112.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 15, 1693; note only, that it was similar to that for Richier, fo. 102 of same book.

Adm Reg. Mun. Bks., 4, fo. 106.

DAY, Samuel, lieutenant governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 12, 1697.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 562-580.

Commission, Jan. 14, 1698.

C. O. 38. 4, pp. 52-72.

Instructions, Jan. 17, 1698.

C. O. 38, 4, pp. 72-107; 324, 24, pp. 581-612.

Trade instructions, n. d.

C. O. 324, 26, pp. 53-68.

Additional instructions (relating to martial law), May 18, 1699.

C. O. 38, 4, pp. 132-133.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 26, 1698; variations only from that to Gov.

Beeston, Jamaica, of Sept. 15, 1692.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 4, to. 197.

Bennett, Benjamin, lieutenant governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 10, 1700.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 165-184.

Commission, Sept. 24, 1700.

C. O. 38, 5, pp. 66-84.

Instructions, Sept. ... 1700.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 184-201.

Instructions, Sept. 24, 1700.

C. O. 39, 5, DD. 84-117.

Bennett, Benjamin, lieutenant governor-Continued.

Trade instructions, draft, in letter dated July 17, 1700.

C. O. 37, 3, No. 371-1v, 121 pp.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 31, 1701; variations only from that to Gov Blakiston, Maryland, of May 23, 1699.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 31.

BENNETT. Renewal.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 16, 1702.

C. O. 324, 29, pp. 64-78.

Instructions, Nov. 6, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 4, 371 pp.

Trade instructions, Jan. 7, 1703 C. O. 5, 188, No. 5, 29 pp.

Additional instructions (seamen and ships), July 17, 1704.

C. O. 38, 6, pp. 16-19; and circular, 324, 8, pp. 477-481.

Additional instructions (habeas corpus act), submitted Aug. 17, 1704.

C. O. 38, 6, pp. 57-63.

Additional instruction (devolution of government), May 3, 1707.

C. O. 38, 6, pp. 250-252.

Additional instruction (acts of trade), July 3, 1708, same as to Gov. Crowe, Barbadoes.

PULLEYN, PULLEINE, or PULLEN, Henry, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Jan 13, 1713.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 40-67.

Instructions, submitted Jan. 22, 1713.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 69-137.

Trade instructions, submitted Jan. 22, 1713.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 138-176.

Additional instruction (house rent, presents, and salary), n. d.—in a letter dated May 15, 1713.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 180-182.

Commission as vice admiral, May 30, 1713; variations only from that to Hunter. New York, of Dec. 14, 1709.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 113.

BENNETT, Benjamin, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 28, 1715.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 200-220.

Instructions, submitted June 30, 1715.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 228-285.

Trade instructions, submitted June 30, 1715.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 286-320.

Additional instruction (not to assent to acts affecting trade, without a suspending clause), Sept. 27, 1717. The like to seven others.

C. O. 324, 33, p. 102.

Additional instruction (credit bills to have a suspending clause), Sept. 27, 1720, see to Shute, Massachusetts.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 25, 1716; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 190.

HOPE, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Aug. 30, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 300-307.

Commission, in letter of Aug. 30, 1721, marked in margin: "Teste, 11 October." C. O. 38, 7, pp. 371-389.

Instructions, submitted Oct. 5, 1721.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 393-430 should be 450.

Instructions, Oct. 21, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 308-340.

HOPE, John, lieutenant governor-Continued.

Trade instructions, submitted Oct. 5, 1721.

C. O. 38, 7, pp. 430-458 should be 450-478.

Trade instructions, Oct. 21, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 341-353.

Additional instruction (touching appeals), marked in margin: "July 28, 1726." C. O. 38, 8, pp. 40-42.

The same, dated March 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 45-46.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 21. 1721; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 41

Pitt, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Oct 17, 1727

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 47-66.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Oct. 20, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 581-597.

Instructions, submitted May 3, 1728.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 70-144.

Instructions, June 18, 1728.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 605-667.

Trade instructions, June 18, 1728.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 671-703.

Additional instruction (whale fishery), Mar. 6, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, p. 453; and, circular, 324, 38, pp. 196-197.

Additional instruction (Bishop of London's jurisdiction), Apr. 28, 1730, see to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica.

Additional instruction (salary in lieu of profits from whale fishery), submitted Dec. 7, 1731.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 161-163.

The same, Dec. 29, 1731.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 297-298.

Additional instruction (Dunbar surveyor, to be of the Council), date in margin: "Aug. 8. 1733."

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 174-177.

The same, dated Nov. 30, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 443-144.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 10, 1728; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica, of Sept. 11, 1727.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 150.

POPPLE, Alured, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 12, 1738. [The word "lieutenant" has been erased throughout before "governor."]

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 7-27.

Commission, Jan. 23, 11th year [1738]. ("Lieutenant" struck through everywhere before "governor.")

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 188-209.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 7, 1738.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 215-294.

Instructions, Apr. 7, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 31-77.

Trade instructions, Apr. 7, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 79-111.

Additional instruction (powder duty), submitted June 13. 1741.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 323-325.

The same, July 30, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 223-224.

Additional instruction (colors worn by letters of marque), Sept. 17, 1741. C. O. 5, 199, p. 251. POPPLE, Alured, governor-Continued.

Instruction (clearance of vessels), submitted Nov. 23, 1743.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 343-349.

Instruction (revoking 73d instruction), Nov. 30, 1743.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 223-224; 324, 50. pp 144-145.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 9, 1738; variations only from that to Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun Bks. 8, fo. 129.

POPPLE, William, governor.

Commission submitted Mar. 19, 1745; first paragraph only; for rest refers to Alured Popple, in 1737, folio 189 of same book.

C. O. 38, 8, p. 357.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Apr. 11, 1745.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 61-76.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 30, 1745.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 363-448.

Instructions, May 1, 1745.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 79-126.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 30, 1745; memorandum only: "Vide Barbados L. fo. 164."

C. O. 38, 8, p. 448.

Trade instructions, May 1, 1745.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 129-161.

Additional instruction (to elect fresh assembly; to assent to act allowing money for repairs to his house), submitted June 23, 1748.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 474-478.

The same, dated only 22 Geo. II.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 504-505.

Additional instruction (to take the profits of licenses for whale fishing unless adequate salary is paid), submitted June 29, 1748.

C. O. 38, 8, pp. 480-483.

The same, without date.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 508-509.

Additional instruction (appointment of clerk of assembly), submitted Mar. 29, 1754.

C. O. 38, 9, pp. 28-29.

The same, dated Apr. 9, 1754.

C. O. 5, 200, pp 981-982.

Additional instruction (act for raising public revenue), submitted Mar. 29, 1754. C. O. 38, 3, pp. 29-32.

The same, dated Apr. 9, 1754.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 977-979.

Instruction (granting of lands), submitted June 6, 1758.

C. O. 38, 9, pp. 163-180.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg Mun. Bks. 9, fo 10.

Instructions, submitted May 2, 1755. (The representation explains that these are necessary because of so many additional instructions and alterations.)

C. O. 38, 9, pp. 52-144.

Commission, submitted Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 38, 10, pp. 7-41.

Instructions, June 30, 1761.

C. O. 38, 10, pp. 54-164.

Trade instructions, submitted May 6, 1761; memorandum only, that they are same as for Bahamas, "Vide Bahama entries C. folio 111."

C. O. 38, 10, p 164.

Additional instruction (commissions for judges) Dec. 2, 1761, see to Nova Scotia. Commission as vice admiral, May 2, 1761; variations only from that of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 137.

BRUERE, George James, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Apr. 5, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 20-38.

Instructions, submitted May 18, 1764.

C. O. 38, 10, pp. 211-306.

Instructions, dated May 23, 1764.

C. O. 5, 201, pp 301-355.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 16, 1764; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 41.

Bruere, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 25, 1780.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 355-356.

Browne, William, governor.

Commission (unfinished), submitted Jan. 19, 1781.

C. O. 38, 10, pp. 369-390.

Instructions, June 15, 1781.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 9; 38, 11, pp. 1-88.

Trade instructions, June 15, 1781.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 8.

Additional instruction (whale fishery to be open to all), submitted June 12, 1781. C. O. 38, 10, pp. 364-366.

The same, dated June 20, 1781.

C. O. 5, 32 (no page or number).

The same, without date; note: "This instruction makes void the 89th of his instructions." See p. 1 of the book.

C. O. 39, 11, pp. 88-90.

Additional instruction, Sept. 11, 1782; same as to Haldimand, Quebec, and others.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 26, 1781; variations only from that to Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 11, fo. 53.

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CANADA.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

Royal governors. Date of actual administration.		Remarks.
James Murray, Quebec Thomas Gage, Montreal R. Burton, Three Rivers	Oct. 8,1759 Feb. 22,1760 Feb. 22,1760	Lieutenant governor of Quebec by appointment of Gen. Monekton. [Lieutenant governors of Montreal and Three Rivers by proclamation of Gen. Amherst, Feb. 22, 1760, and des- patch of Secretary Egremont, Dec. 12, 1761.
	Crvi	L GOVERNMENT.
James Murray Paulus Æmilius Irving, president	Aug. 10, 1764 June 28, 1766 Sept., 1766 Winter 1768, between Nov. 20, 1768, and Feb. 1769.	Governor in chief. Receives news of his appointment Mar. 25, 1784, by letter from board of trade, Nov. 22, 1763. But civil government was not formally established until Aug. 10, 1764. Recalled to England Apr. 1, 1766. Acting governor. Lieutemant governor.
H. T. Cramahé, president H. T. Cramahé. Gny Carleton H. T. Cramahé. Frederick Haldimand Henry Hamilton	Aug. 1, 1770 July. 1771 Sept. 18, 1774 Sept. 1775 June 27, 1778 Nov. 14, 1784	Acting governor. Lieutenant governor. Do. Do.

TOWN OF QUEBEC AND DEPENDENCIES.

MURRAY, James, governor.

Commission, Oct. 27, 1760.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 150-151.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC AND TERRITORIES DEPENDENT.

MURRAY, James, governor.

Commission, Nov. 21, 1763.

C. O. 43, 1, pp. 13-40.

Instructions, Dec. 7, 1763.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 1-65; 43, 1, pp. 43-138; Can Arch. 1904, p. 193.

[There is no note as to trade instructions, but they are mentioned in the representation of Nov. 3, as submitted with the general ones]

Additional instruction (court of judicature), submitted Nov. 29, 1765.

C. O. 43, 1, pp. 285-287.

Additional instruction (Canadian subjects to act as jurors, &c.), Feb. 24, 1766. C. O. 324, 41, pp. 239-242.

Additional instruction (ordinance for establishing the currency), submitted Dec. 20, 1765.

C. O. 43, 1, pp. 289-290.

Additional instruction (coin), Feb. 24, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 242-243.

Additional instruction (relative to courts of judicature conformable to report of the attorney general and solicitor general), submitted June 3, 1766.

C. O. 43, 1, pp. 303-309.

Additional instruction (plan for courts of judicature, sections 1-11), submitted June 24, 1766.

C. O. 43, 1, pp. 311-330.

Additional instructions, Aug. 9, 1766. The like to the governor of every colony. C. O. 324, 18, p. 21; N. Y. Col. Docts., VII, 848; N. J. Arch. 1st ser. IX, 566.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 19, 1764; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 26.

CARLETON, Guy, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 255-256; 51, pp. 269-270.

CARLETON, Guy, governor.

Commission, Apr. 12, 8th yr. [1768].

C. O. 43, I, pp. 363-398.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 7, 1768.

C. O. 43, 1, pp. 399-516.

Trade instructions, Mar. 7, 1768.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 1-61.

Additional instruction (granting lands), submitted June 19, 1771.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 166-168.

Additional instruction (draft), approved June 27, 1771.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 171-173.

Additional instruction, submitted Feb. 13, 1772. The like to 25 others.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 406.

The same, dated Feb. 17, 1772.

C. O. 5, 241, p. 409.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 23, 1768; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 83.

CRAMARÉ, Hector Theophilus, lieutenant governor,

Commission, June 6, 1771.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 281-282.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, p. 164; 824, 53, p. 89.

CARLETON, Guy, governor.

Draft of fresh commission to correspond with provisions of act passed last session, submitted, Dec. 5, 1774.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 172-204.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 21, 1774

C. O. 5, 29, pp. 125-146.

Instructions (under new constitution, etc.), submitted Dec. 22, 1774.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 207-277.

Instructions, Jan. 3, 1775.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 3, 90 pp; Can. Arch. 1904, pp. 211, 229.

Trade instructions, Dec. 22, 1774; note only, that these were same as folio 1 of this book.

C. O. 43, 2, p. 277.

Trade instructions, Jan. 3, 1775.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 4; Can. Arch. 1904, p. 247.

Additional instructions, Mar. 13, 1775.

Can. Arch. 1904, p. 260.

Additional instructions, Dec. 14, 1775.

Can. Arch., 1904, p. 260.

Additional instruction, submitted Feb. 13, 1776. The like for 11 other governors. C. O. 324, 18, p. 488; N. Y. Col. Docts., VII, 668.

Commission as vice admiral, Dec. 30, 1774; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 158.

HALDIMAND, Frederick, governor.

Commission, submitted Sept. 3, 1777. No material addition from that to Carleton; one paragraph has a penciled insertion.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 287-320.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 15, 1778. Some pencil markings or amendments. C. O. 43, 2, pp. 323-392; Can. Arch., 1904, p. 261.

Instructions dated Apr. 15, 1778.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 12.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 13, 1778; note only, that these were same as folio 1 of this book.

C. O. 43, 2, p. 392.

Note only, that the usual trade instructions were signed and dated Apr. 15, 1778.

C. O. 5, 206, at end of No. 12.

Additional instruction (explaining 2d article of instructions as to powers of council), submitted Mar. 29, 1779.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 431-433; Can. Arch., 1904, p. 262.

Additional instruction (to communicate to council his instructions), submitted Mar. 29, 1779.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 429-430; Can. Arch., 1904, p. 263.

Additional instruction (to frame ordinance as to duties of chief justice, etc.), submitted July 16, 1779.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 444-448; Can. Arch., 1904, p. 263.

Additional instruction, Sept. 11, 1782. The like to W. Browne, W. Patterson, T. Shirley, and Pat. Tonyn.

C. O. 5, 82. 1½ pp.; 5, 242, p. 434.

Additional instruction (lands for loyalists), July 16, 1783.

C. O. 43, 3, pp. 1-10; Can. Arch., 1904, p. 264.

Additional instructions, Aug. 7, 1783.

C. O. 5, 242, p. 449.

Additional instruction (regulating trade with U. S.), approved May 4, 1785.

The same, dated May 26, 1785.

C. O. 43, 3, pp. 10-13; Can. Arch., 1904, p. 266.

Additional instruction (regulating the fishery), approved July 21, 1785.

G. O. 5, 33 Can. Arch., 1904, 287.

HALDIMAND, Frederick, governor-Continued.

The same, dated July 25, 1785.

C. O. 43, 8, pp. 14-17.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 16, 1777; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764. Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 211.

HAMILTON, Henry, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 23, 1782.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 511-512.

CARLETON, Sir Guy, Lord Dorchester, governor.

Draft of trade instructions to Sir Guy Carleton, Articles 1 to 15 only. n. d., placed about 1784 in volume.

C. O. 5, 208 (no page-3d paper in book).

Commission to Lord Dorchester, Aug. 23, 1786.

C. O. 43, 3, pp. 19-100. Instructions, Aug. 23, 1786.

Can. Arch., 1904, p. 268.

Trade instructions, see New Brunswick, under date of July 28, 1784, where Dorchester's name is substituted for that of Thomas Carleton.

Commission as vice admiral, May 4, 1786; variations only from that to Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 11, fo. 130.

CAROLINA.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

NORTHERN SETTLEMENTS.

(1663, September, see Virginia, commission to Sir Wm. Berkeley to constitute a governor for Albemarle and instructions to settle the same.)

STEPHENS, Samuel, governor of Albemarle County.

Commission from the proprietors, Oct., 1667.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 23, 3 p.; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 162.

Instructions from the proprietors, ? Oct., 1667.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 25-29; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 165.

Warrant from the lords proprietors to Stephens and council, to let, sell, or convey lands, etc., Oct., 1667 [query, similar to other commissions].

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 23-24.

Instructions to the governor and council from the proprietors, 1670.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 52-55; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 181.

EASTCHURCH, Thomas, governor of Albemarle County.

Commission from the proprietors, Nov. 21, 1676.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 114, N. C. Col. Rec. I, 232.

Note of similar commission as governor of fresh settlements, Nov. 21, 1676.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 114. Instructions from the proprietors to governor and council [see commission, Nov. 21, 1676].

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 116-118; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 230.

HARVEY, John, president of the council, Albemarle County (Sothell having been taken by the Turks; announcement of Sothell's appointment Feb. 8, 1679, N. C. Col. Rec. I, 285; see also I. 283, 349.)

Instructions Feb. 5, 1679.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 135-139; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 235.

WILKINSON, Capt. Henry, governor south of river Pamlico.

Instructions from proprietors [Feb. 28, 1681]. Identical with those to Harvey Feb. 5, 1679, but with additional articles.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 156-162; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 333.

Instructions to governor and council, Albemarle, July 13, 1681.

N. C. Col. R.c., I, 338.

LUDWELL, Philip, governor of North Carolina.

Commission from the proprietors, Dec. 5, 1689.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 157; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 360.

Instructions from the proprietors, Dec. 5, 1689.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 158; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 362.

(After four years Ludwell was transferred to Charleston, and for 20 years North Carolina was governed from that city.)

SOUTHERN SETTLEMENTS.

SAYLE, William, governor S. and W. of Cape Carteret.

Commission to governor and council from the proprietors, July 26, 1669.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 41-42; Rivers, Sketch of the History of South Carolina, 347.

Instructions from the proprietors, July 27, 1669.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 43-46; Rivers, Sketch of the History of South Carolina, 347.

YEAMANS, Sir John, governor of Clarendon County.

Commission from the proprietors, Jan. 11, 1665.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 18; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 97.

Commission to Yeamans and council from the proprietors (as to lands, &c.), Jan., 1665.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 19-20; N. C. Col. Rec. I, 95.

"Carolina Instructions" from the proprietors, May 1, 1671.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 62-65; S. C. Hist Soc. Coll., V, 322.

YEAMANS, Sir John, governor S. and W. of Cape Carteret.

Commission from the proprietors, Aug. 21, 1671.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 72-73.

governor and council, Charlestown on Ashley River.

Instructions from the proprietors, Dec. 16, 1671.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 79; S. C. Hist. Soc. Coll., V, 367.

West, Joseph, governor between Cape Carteret and 5 miles beyond Ashley River and west to the South Sea.

Commission from the proprietors, identical with that to Yeamans, 1671, with addition revoking previous commission, Apr. 25, 1674.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 91-92.

Commission same as above, but with memorandum that it is a copy examined Apr. 29, 1675.

C. O. 5, 287, . . .

Percivall, Andrew, governor of plantation on Edisto or Ashipow River.

Commission from the proprietors, May 20, 1674.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 99-100; Rivers, Sketch of the History of South Carolina, 387.

Instructions from the Earl of Shaftesbury, May 23, 1674.

Shaftesbury Papers, Bundle 48, No. 55, pp. 127-133 and 141; S. C Hist. Soc. Coll. V, 439.

Instructions from the proprietors (as to lands), May 23, 1674.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 98.

governor and council, settlement on Ashley River.

Instructions from the proprietors, May 23, 1674.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 97.

MORTON, Joseph, governor S. and W. of Cape Fear.

Commission from Lord Craven, May 18, 1682.

C. O. 5, 286, p. 206.

Instructions, May 10, 1682.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 184-194; 5, 287, . . .

KYRLE, Sir Richard, governor.

Instructions—four articles supplementary to those issued to Gov. Morton, sent by proprietors to Kyrle Apr. 29, 1684.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 29.

WEST, Joseph, governor S. and W. of Cape Fear.

Commission from Lord Craven, Mar. 12, 1685.

C. O. 5, 283, p. 57.

WEST, Joseph, governor—Continued.

Instructions from the proprietors, Mar. 11, 1685.

C. O. 5, 287, pp. 116-125; 5, 288, pp 44-49.

COLLETON, James, governor S. and W. of Cape Fear.

Commission from Lord Craven, Aug. 30, 1686.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 85.

Instrument (a) authorizing him to let land and instructions (b) for granting land, Aug. 30, 1686.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 87-97.

Instructions, Mar. 3, 1687.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 103-105.

Instrument from the proprietors to grant lands, Nov. 19, 1689.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 154-155.

Instruction from the proprietors, May 13, 1691.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 174.

SMITH, Thomas, governor.

Order appointing him governor (signed Craven), Oct. 6, 1690.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 166.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SETTLEMENTS.

LUDWELL, Col. Philip, governor of Carolina.

Commission from the Palatine, Nov. 2, 1691.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 199, N. C. Col Rec I. 373-380.

Commission from the proprietors, Nov. 8, 1691.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 193,

Instructions from the proprietors, Nov. 8, 1691.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 187-192; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 380.

Private instructions from the proprietors, Nov. 8, 1691.

C. O. 5, 288, pp. 194-196; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 381.

Additional instructions from the proprietors, Nov. 8, 1691.

C. O. 5, 288, p. 197.

SMITH, Thomas, governor of Carolina.

Commission from the Earl of Craven, Nov. 29, 1693.

C. O. 5, 289, p. 8. Instructions from the proprietors, Nov. 29, 1693.

Pencil note on top "These are the same mot à mot as those . . . to Ludwell 8 Nov., 1691,

only with addition to No. 27." C. O. 5, 289, pp. 3-7.

Additional instructions from the proprietors, Nov. 30, 1693.

C. O. 5, 289, p. 8

Archdale, John, governor of Carolina.

Commission from the proprietors, Aug. 31, 1694.

C. O. 5, 289, p. 17; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 389.

Instructions from the proprietors, Aug. 31, 1694.

C. O. 5, 289, p. 20.

Additional instructions from the proprietors, Oct. 17, 1694.

C. O. 5, 289, p. 21; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 391.

JOHNSON, Sir Nathaniel, governor of "South and North" or "North and South" Caroling.

Commission from the proprietors, June 18, 1702.

C. O. 5, 289, pp. 92-93; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 554.

Instructions from the proprietors, June 18, 1702.

C. O. 5, 289, pp. 93-94; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 555.

Trade instructions from the proprietors "for their governor"—no name given memorandum only, that they are the same as those entered in Virginia B. fol. 241. Submitted with representation of Oct. 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1290, p. 230.

JOHNSON, Sir Nathaniel, governor—Continued.

Additional instructions from the queen to the proprietors of Carolina and governor and company of Rhode Island (as to the number of seamen allowed in navigating ships), July . . . , 1704, page headed July 7.

C. O. 5, 1291, pp. 42-43.

Additional instruction (concerning acts of trade) July 3, 1708; same as to Dudley, Massachusetts Bay, of this date.

TYNTE, Edward, governor of "South and North" or "North and South" Carolina. Commission from the proprietors, Dec. 9, 1708.

C. O. 5, 289, pp. 158-160; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 694.

Trade instructions, 1-22, and additional instructions, n d. [1708-1709]. C. O. 5, 289, pp. 162-181.

Trade instructions, 1-25, and additional instructions, Feb. 19, 1909.

C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 100-131.

Further additional instructions (not trade), Mar. 24, 1709.

C. O. 5, 289, pp. 181-184; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 705.

NORTH CAROLINA.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

HYDE, Edward, deputy governor.

Trade instructions, from the queen to the lords proprietors, for Deputy Gov. Hyde, Jan. 12, 1712.

C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 337-371; N. C. Col. Rec. I. 844.

EDEN, Charles, deputy governor north and east of Cape Fear.

Commission from the proprietors, . . . 1713.

C. O. 5, 291, pp. 1-3.

Instructions from the proprietors, . . . 1713.

C. O. 5, 291, pp. 23-26.

Trade instructions, n. d. [1713].

C. O. 5, 291, pp. 3-22 and 27-28.

Trade instructions, to the proprietors, for Gov. Eden; memorandum only, that they were the same as to Hyde entered folio 337 of the same book, except the additional clause and the two clauses of an act at the end, which, having relation only to the late war, were left out in those to Mr. Eden. Accompanying letter of June 18, 1713.

C. O. 5, 1292, p. 387.

Burrington, George, deputy governor, north and east of Cape Fear, commission from the proprietors, June 3, 1723.

C. O. 5, 291, pp. 43-45.

Instructions from the proprietors, June 3, 1723.

C. O. 5, 291, pp. 46-63.

Trade instructions to the proprietors to give to Deputy Gov. Burrington, July 9, 1723.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 541-580.

Trade instructions—the words "Our," "Us," etc., altered in red ink to His Majesty, etc., these being made out by the lords justices in the king's absence, July 9, 1723.

C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 299-335.

EVERARD, Sir Richard, deputy governor.

Trade instructions to the lords proprietors to give to Deputy Gov. Everard, May 30, 1725.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 1-23.

Additional instruction to the lords proprietors or the governor, deputy governor, etc.; note only, same as to Rhode Island, submitted July 28, 1726.

C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 402-403.

Additional instruction to the lords proprietors, Mar. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 69-70.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

Royal governor.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
George Burrington Gabriel Johnston Nathaniel Rice, president Matthew Rowan, president Arthur Dobbs. William Tryon William Tryon Josiah Martin	Nov. 13, 1734 July 17, 1752 Jan. 29, 1753 Oct. 31, 1754 Mar. 28, 1765	Died July 17, 1752. Acting governor. Died Jan. 29, 1783. Died Mar. 23, 1785. Lieutemant governor. Appointed June 28, 1785.

BURRINGTON, Captain George, governor.

Commission (draft), submitted Jan. 15, 1730.

C. O. 5, 323, pp. 3-24; N. C. Col. Rec. III, 65-66.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 28, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 150-164.

Instructions, Dec. 14, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 167-217; 5, 323, pp. 37-99; cf. N. C. Col. Rec III, 86, 87.

Trade instructions, Dec. 14, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 219-247; N. C. Col. Rec. III, 90.

Commission as vice admiral, May 2, 1730; variations only from that to Lord Forbes, Leeward Islands, of Jan. 8, 1730.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 8, fo. 28.

Johnston, Gabriel, governor.

Commission, Apr. 5, 1733; beginning only, for the rest refers to Gov. Burrington's,

p. 3, of same volume.

C. O. 5, 323, pp. 123-124; N. C. Col. Rec. III, 439.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 10, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 777-793.

Instructions, submitted July 18, 1733.

·C. O. 5, 323, pp. 128-213.

Instructions, dated Aug. 3, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 799-861.

Trade instructions, Aug. 3, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 863-897.

Additional instructions, Nov. 30, 1733 (Phenney to be councillor extraordinary).

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 453-455

Instructions (outbreak of war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740; see Circular Instructions. Additional instruction, Sept. 17, 1741 (alteration of colors worn by letters of marque).

C. O. 5, 199, p. 271.

Instructions (on Lord Carteret's petition for quit rents), Apr. 25, 1743.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 212-217.

Additional instruction (lands for Palatines), submitted Dec. 14, 1748.

C. O. 5, 323, pp. 326-329.

Additional instruction (Palatines), Mar. 16, 1748-1749.

C. O. 5, 307, p. 1; N. C. Col. Rec. IV, 958.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 20, 1733; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo. 81.

Doess, Arthur, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb., 1753.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 729-746.

Instructions, submitted June 17, 1754.

C. O. 5, 324, pp. 15-152; cf. N. C. Col. Rec. V, 81, 1107.

Dobbs, Arthur, governor-Continued.

The same, dated June 24, 1754.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 1050-1149.

Trade instructions, June 24, 1754.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 994-1048.
Additional instruction (to pass acts for reestablishing certain towns and counties), submitted June 3, 1755.

C. O. 5, 324, pp. 176b-183; cf. N. C. Col. Rec. V, 399

Instruction (as to acts about public currency), submitted May 24, 1759.

C. O. 5, 324, pp 312-316.

The same, dated June 2, 1759.

C. O. 324, 39, pp. 8-11.

Instructions, two (as to Indian lands and commissions for judges), Dec. 2, 1761; see Circular Instructions.

Additional instructions, Dec. 9, 1761.

N. C. Col. Rec. VI, 591.

Commission, renewal, Apr. 4, 1761.

N. C. Col. Rec. VI, 524.

Instructions, Jan. 27, 1762.

N. C. Col. Rec. VI, 698.

Additional instruction (re boundary), Apr. 13, 1763.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 241-242.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 20, 1753; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 3, 10. 89. Commission as vice admiral, May 18, 1761; variations only as above.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 139.

TRYON, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 26, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 53-54; 324, 51, pp. 226-227.

TRYON, William, governor.

Commission found only on the patent rolls, 5 Geo III, Pt. V, 17, July 19, 1765.

Instructions, submitted Dec. 24, 1765.

C. O. 5, 325, pp. 257-405.

Additional instructions (to establish clergy), submitted July 13, 1767.

C. O. 5, 305, p. 53, 2 pp., rough draft; 5, 325, pp. 414-415; N. C. Col. Rec. VII, 507.

Additional instructions (same as above-clergy).

C. O 324, 41, pp. 352-353.

Commission as vice admiral, July 13, 1765; variations only from that to Gov. Grant. East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 64.

MERCER, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 14, 1768.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 62-63; 324, 51, p. 366; N. C. Col. Rec. XI, 218

MARTIN, Josish, governor.

Commission, submitted Dec. 14, 1770.

C. O. 5, 325, pp. 443-475.

Commission, dated Dec. 21, 1770.

C. O. 5, 332, pp. 53-81.

Instructions, approved Feb. 6, 1771.

C. O. 5, 324, pp. 4-122; N. C. Col. Rec. VIII, 313-315.

Instructions, dated Feb. 7, 1771.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 407-472.

Trade instructions, submitted Jan. 30, 1770.

C. O. 5, 326, pp. 123 177.
Trade instructions, Feb. 7, 1771; note only, that these are the same as to the Earl of Dunmore, governor of New York, of June 11, 1770.

O. O. 5, 203, p. 477.

MARTIN, Josiah, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (about boundary line), with report of May 29, 1771.

C. O. 5, 326, pp. 180-182; N. C. Col. Rec. VIII, 611.

The same, see under Montagu of S. Carolina.

C. O. 5, 305, p. 115.

The same, approved June 7, 1771.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 155-157.

The same, June 10, 1771.

C. O. 5, 332, pp. 87-88; N. C. Col. Rec. XI, 234.

Additional instruction (to pass another act re post office), submitted May 12, 1772.

C. O. 5, 305, p. 153 (rough draft); 326, pp. 217-219.

The same, dated May 20, 1772.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 239-241; 5, 332, pp. 108-109.

Additional instruction (objections to act for preventing tumults), submitted May 12, 1772.

C. O. 5, 305, p. 165, 41 pp. rough draft; 328, pp. 221-224.

The same, approved May 15, 1772.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 231-233; N. C. Col. Rec. IX, 289-295; XI, 240.

The same, dated May 20, 1772.

C. O. 5, 332, pp. 110-112.

Secret additional instructions; same as to Wm. Tryon, Apr. 3, 1775.

C. O. 5, 76, p. 137.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 2, 1771; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 131.

SOUTH CAROLINA

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT

CRAVEN, Charles, deputy governor, south and west of Cape Fear.

Commission from the proprietors, Feb. 21, 1711.

C. O. 5, 290, pp. 12-14.

Commission from the proprietors (not same as p. 12), Mar. 14, 1711.

C. O. 5, 290, pp. 15-17.

Instructions from the proprietors, June 6, 1711.

C. O. 5, 290, pp. 41-45.

Trade instructions to the lords proprietors, for Deputy Gov. Charles Czaven, Mar. 10, 1711.

C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 274-307.

Trade instructions from the proprietors, n. d. [March, 1711].

C. O. 5, 290, pp. 17-37, 38-40, 46-47.

Johnson, Robert, deputy governor.

Commission from the proprietors, Apr. 30, 1717.

C. O. 5, 290, pp. 103-108.

Instructions from the proprietors, Apr. 30, 1717.

C. O. 5, 290, pp. 108-113.

Trade instructions; note only: "Memorandum. The instructions for trade are the same to all governors."

C. O. 5, 290, p. 113.

Trade instructions to the lords proprietors, to give to Deputy Gov. Johnson, Mar. 11, 1717.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 297-317.

ROYAL PROVINCE

Royal governor.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
Francis Nicholson Arthur Middleton, president. Robert Johnson Thomas Broughton William Bull, president William Bull, president William Bull. 2d William Bull, 2d Thomas Boone William Bull, 2d Ld. Ch. Greville Montagu William Bull. 2d Ld. William Campbell	Dec. 15, 1730 May 3, 1735 Nov. 22, 1737 June —, 1738 Dec. 17, 1743 June 1, 1756 Apr. 5, 1760	1725. Acting governor. Appointed Nov. 22, 1729; died May 3, 1735 Lieutenant governor, died Nov. 22, 1737. Acting governor. Lieutenant governor. The sign manual is dated May 16. 1738. Lieutenant governor. Do. Embarked for Philadelphia and later sailed for England, May 20, 1768. Lieutenant governor. Sailed for England, Mar 10, 1773.

NICHOLSON, Francis, governor.

Commission (no name), submitted Aug. 16, 1720.

N. B.—In the commission as it passed the great seal the blanks were filled up to Francis Nicholson.

C. O. 5, 400, pp. 4-25.

Commission, not dated (1720).

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 614-629.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 30, 1720.

C. O. 5, 400, pp. 41-91; Rivers, Chapters in the History of South Carolina, 68.

Instructions, dated Sept. 27, 1720.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 630-661.

Trade instructions, submitted Aug. 30, 1720.

C. O. 5, 400, pp. 92-125.

Trade instructions, dated Sept. 27, 1720.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 662-672.

Additional instructions (bills of credit), Nov. 26, 1720.

C. O. 324, 34, pp. 23-24.

Additional instructions (Bishop of London's powers), Nov. 30, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 358-359; 324, 34, pp. 89-90

Additional instruction, submitted Mar. 29, 1723, see to Gov. Shute, New Hampshire.

Additional instruction (to suspend execution of decrees upon appeals), submitted July 28, 1726.

C. O. 5, 400, pp. 222-225.

Additional instruction (as to appeals), Mar. 23, 1726/27.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 65-67.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 18, 1720; variations only from that to Gov-Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 23.

Johnson, Robert, governor.

Commission (draft), submitted Dec. 9, 1729.

C. O. 5, 400, pp. 246-269.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 13, 1729.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 48-62.

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Johnson, Robert, governor—Continued.

Instructions, submitted June 10, 1730.

C. O. 5, 400, pp. 291-376.

Instructions, dated Sept. 17, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 65-118.

Trade instructions, Sept. 17, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 121-148.

Additional instructions (rough draft) as to settlement of 600 Swiss Protestants; with representation, dated Oct. 21, 1730.

Red ink: "N B.—The draft of another Additional Instruction upon this subject, was sent to the Lords of the Committee of Council, Nov. 30, 1731." C. O. 5, 381, p. 155

Copy of same, submitted Oct. 21, 1730.

C. O. 5, 401, pp. 5-7.

Additional instruction (same subject), submitted Nov. 30, 1731.

C. O. 5, 401, pp. 21-23.

Additional instruction (same subject), submitted June 16, 1732.

C. O. 5, 401, pp. 42-44.

The same, dated July 22, 1732.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 358-360.

Additional instruction (about Georgia charter and settlement), submitted Sept. 6.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 325 (rough draft), 2 pp.; 401, pp. 52-53; 324, 36, pp. 376-378.

Additional instruction (lands for Swiss Protestants), submitted June 19, 1733.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 251 (rough draft), 31 pp.; 401, pp. 67-69.

The same, dated July 20, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 903-905.

Additional instruction (surveyor general to be councillor extraordinary), Nov. 30, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 451-452

Additional instruction (township of Purrysburgh and foreign Protestants), submitted Dec. 19, 1734.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 347 (rough draft), 3 large pp., 401, pp. 129-132.

The same, dated Feb. 13, 1734/35.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 105-107; 324, 36, pp. 495-497.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 28, 1729/30: variations only from that to Lord Forbes, Leeward Islands, of Jan. 8, 1729/30.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo. 16.

BROUGHTON, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 1, 1730, as lieutenant governor.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 239-240; 324, 49, p. 64; 324, 50, pp. 88-89.

Additional instruction (discharge of public debts and sinking fund), submitted July 11, 1735.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 393 (rough draft), 31 pp.; 401, pp. 148-150

Additional instruction (to approve assistant judges), submitted Aug. 14, 1735.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 403 (rough draft), 21 pp.; 401, pp. 155-156.

Additional instruction, Oct. 14, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 132-133.

Additional instruction (for a common gaol to be erected), submitted June 18, 1736. C. O. 5, 381, p. 423 (draft), 11 pp.; 401, pp. 174-175.

Additional instruction [approved], July 15, 1736.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 190-191.

Additional instruction (common gaol), July 16, 1736.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 29-30.

Additional instruction (not to grant lands between Altamaha and Spanish Florida), submitted Dec. 3, 1736.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 461 (draft); 381, p. 463; 401, pp. 192-193.

Horsey, Samuel, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 21, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 257-302; cf. N. C. Col. Rec. XI, 30.

Drait of an article proposed to be inserted in his instructions (touching Indian trade), submitted June 21, 1738.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 555, rough draft, 12 pp. 5, 401, pp. 270-272.

Instruction (to obtain an act for settling Indian trade), annexed to instruction to to the trustees for Georgia of July 21, 1738.

C. O. 5, 668, p. 50.

Instructions, Aug. 1, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 315-383.

Trade instructions, Aug. 1, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 387-425.

Bull, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 16, 1738.

C. O. 324, 37, p. 111.

Additional instruction (about an act for paper money), submitted June 28, 1739, C. O. 5, 401, pp. 431-333.

GLEN, James, governor.

Commission (draft), submitted Nov. 28, 1738.

C. O. 5, 401, pp. 308-327.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 15, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 77-96.

Instructions, submitted July 19, 1739.

C. O. 5, 401, pp. 337-419.

Instructions, dated Sept. 7, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 101-158.

Trade instructions [submitted July 19, 1739]; note only, that these were the same as to Gov. Nicholson.

C. O. 5, 401, p. 419, 2 lines.

Trade instructions, Sept. 7, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 163-191.

Instructions (as to war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740, see to Belcher, Massachusetts. Additional instruction (colors worn by letters of marque), Sept. 17, 1741. C. O. 5. 199, p. 267.

Additional instruction (as to fort on Indian lands), submitted June 9, 1748. C. O. 5, 402, pp. 149-150.

The same but without date.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 1152-1153.

Additional instructions (appeals), see to Knowles of Jamaica, Dec. 5 or 18, 1753. Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 16, 1741; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo. 184.

LYTTELTON, William Henry, governor.

Commission found only on the Patent Rolls, 28 Geo. II, Pt. III. 1., Mar. 1, 1755. Cf. C. O. 5, 402, p. 453.

Instructions, submitted Nov. 4, 1755.

C. O. 5, 403, pp. 20-151.

Trade instructions; note only, same as to Reynolds, "vide Georgia Entries A, fo. 133.''

C. O. 5, 403, p. 151.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 6, 1755; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, Io. 99.

POWNALL, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Nov. 27, 1759; part only, rest same as to Glen, "vide Entries B. 308."

C. O. 5, 402, pp. 265-268.

Bull, William, lieutenant governor (son of William).

Commission, Dec. 6, 1759. Warrant dated Nov. 27, 1759.

C. O. 5, 403, p. 269; 324, 39, p. 22; 324, 51, pp. 179-180.

Boone, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 20-45.

Instructions, Nov. 11, 1761.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 70-160.

Trade instructions; note only, that they are the same as to the governor of New Hampshire, "Vide New Hampshire Entries S. fo. 163."

C. O. 5, 404, p. 160.

Instructions—two—(as to Indian lands and commissions for judges), Dec. 2, 1761. see drafts under Nova Scotia.

Instruction (as to establishing temporary line of jurisdiction between North and South Carolina), submitted Mar. 29, 1763.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 186-189; N. C. Col. Rec. XI, 152.

Additional instruction, Apr. 13, 1763; memorandum only, same as to Gov. Dobbs. of North Carolina (same as above).

C. O. 324, 40, p. 243.

Commission as vice admiral, June 13, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, 10. 146. Bull, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 47-48.

Commission, dated Apr. 14, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 112-113.

MONTAGU, Lord Charles Greville, governor.

Commission, beginning only, with note: "The remainder is the same mutatis mutandis, as Gov Boone's in the same vol., fol. 20." Annexed to representation of Dec. 24, 1765.

C. O. 5, 404, p. 238.

Commission, Feb. 15, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 207-226.

Instructions, Feb. 19, 1766.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 441-543; 404, pp. 239-359.

Trade instructions; note only: "For these which were signed by the King Feb. 19, 1766, vide N. Y. Entries."

C. O. 5, 404, p. 359.

Additional instruction (to get assembly to grant allowance to Gov. Boone), submitted Feb. 25, 1766.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 643 (draft).

The same, dated Mar. 1, 1766.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 365-366; 324, 41, pp. 207-226.

Additional instructions (to make transcripts of all patents for lands south of the Altamaha River), submitted July 13, 1767.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 665 (rough draft); 404, pp. 374-375.

The same, Sept. 11, 1767.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 365-366.

Additional instruction (not to assent to acts by which the assembly may be increased), submitted July 24, 1767.

C. O. 5, 381, p. 673 (draft), 2 pp.; 404, pp. 380-382.

The same, Sept. 11, 1767.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 357-358. Additional instruction (not to assent to certain bills about appropriation of money), submitted Apr. 4, 1770.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 426-431.

MONTAGU, Lord Charles Greville, governor-Continued.

The same, dated Apr. 14, 1770.

C. O. 5, 392, p. 59, 31 pp.; 408, pp. 36-39.

Additional instruction (re line of jurisdiction between the two provinces), submitted May 29, 1771. In margin is: "N. Carolina, Josiah Martin."

C. O. 5, 305, p. 115 (draft), 3 pp.; 404, pp. 449-451.

The same, approved June 7, 1771.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 159-161.

The same, dated June 10, 1771.

C. O. 5, 408, pp. 66-67.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 8, 1766; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

CAMPBELL, Lord William, governor.

Commission, submitted June 10, 1773.

Adm Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 65.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 464-495.

Commission, dated July 8, 1773.

C. O. 5, 408, pp. 100-118.

Instructions, submitted June 20, 1774.

C. O. 5, 405, pp. 7-99.

Instructions, dated Aug. 5, 1774.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 1.

Trade instructions, submitted June 20, 1774.

C. O. 5, 405, pp. 100-144.

Trade instructions, dated Aug. 5, 1774.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 2.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 23, 1773; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 146.

CONNECTICUT.

(Commissions as vice admiral, see New York under Governors Cornbury, Lovelace, Hunter, Burnet, Montgomerie, and Cosby.)

GOVERNOR AND COMPANY

Instructions, Nov. 10, 1698.

Hinman, Antiquaties of Connecticut, 263.

Additional instructions, July 17, 1704.

Hinman, Antiquities of Connecticut, 313.

Additional instructions (acts of trade), July 3, 1708, see to Dudley, Massachusetts. Trade instructions, June 1, 1722.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 480-513.

Additional instruction (appeals), July 28, 1726; note only, same as to Rhode Island.

C O. 5, 1293, p. 402.

Additional instruction (as to appeals), Mar. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 77-78.

Additional instruction (to assist surveyor of woods), see to Rhode Island, June 12, 1728, to New Hampshire, June 18, or to New York under Apr. 5, 1728.

Additional instructions (concerning the duty for Greenwich hospital), Feb. 2, 1780. Conn., Hist. Soc. Coll. IV. 194.

Additional instruction (destruction of woods), see to New York, Sept. 26, 1730. Additional instruction (re duties), May 5, 1732, see to Maryland.

Instructions (outbreak of war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740, see to Belcher, Massachusetts.

Instruction (to keep a well digested body of laws), submitted Mar. 12, 1752. C. O. 324, 15, pp. 301-303.

Instruction, June 15, 1763; note only, same as to James Hamilton, Pennsylvania. C. O. 324, 40, p. 268.

DOMINICA.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
William Young William Young William Stuart Thomas Shirley William Stuart	June, 1768 May, 1771 July 18, 1773 Nov. 15, 1774 July 25, 1778 French seized Dominica. Jan. 10, 1784	Lieutenant governor under governor of the Leeward Islands. Lieutenant governor. Lieutenant governor to Sept. 7, 1778.

WARNER, Col. Thomas, deputy governor of Dominica.

Commission from the President and Council of Barbadoes and the Caribbee Islands to windward of Guadeloupe, attested June 3, 1673.

C. O. 1, 30, No. 40, II.

Instructions from the same, attested June 3, 1673.

C. O. 1, 30, No. 40, III.

Under Jurisdiction of Grenada.

Scott, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 30. 3d yr of reign [1763].

C. O. 324, 49, pp. 223-225.

Commission, Aug. 9, 1763.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 280.

Young, William, lieutenant governor

Commission, Mar. 4, 1768.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 11-12; 324, 51, pp. 345-346.

SEPARATE GOVERNMENT AS DOMINICA AND TERRITORIES DEPENDENT

Young, Sir William, governor.

Commission [date inserted in red ink], Aug. 27, 10th year [1770].

C. O. 72, 1, pp. 2-38.

Instructions, submitted Nov. 7, 1770.

C. O. 72, 1, pp. 41-112.

Instructions, dated Nov. 16, 1770

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 277-307.

Trade instructions, submitted Nov. 7, 1770.

C. O. 72, 1, pp. 113-179.

Trade instructions, dated Nov. 16, 1770.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 309-347.

Additional instruction (grants and leases of land), submitted Feb 11, 1773. The like to the governor of the southern Caribbee Islands.

C. O. 72, 1, pp. 189-190.

Additional instruction (draft), Mar. 1, 1773.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 207-208.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 27, 1770.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 118.

STUART, William, lieutenant governor

Commission, Oct. 19, 1770.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 213-214.

SHIRLEY, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Feb. 7, 1774.

C. O. 72, 1, pp. 195-225.

Instructions, submitted May 5, 1774.

C. O. 72, 1, pp. 228-293.

SHIRLEY, Thomas, governor-Continued.

Instructions, dated June 2, 1774.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 463-503.

Trade instructions; note only: "same (mutatis mutandis) as that for Sir William Young, see folio 113 of this book."

C. O. 72, 1, p. 293.

Trade instructions; note only, that these were in the usual form and dated June 2, 1774.

C. O. 5, 205, p. 506.

Additional instruction (to pass an act regulating the manumission of slaves), submitted July 30, 1778.

C. O. 72, 1, pp. 417-419 (should be 317-319).

The same, approved Aug. 19, 1778.

C. O. 5, 31, pp. 89-90. Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 13, 1774; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 155.

Orde, John, governor.

Instructions, Oct. 8, 1783.

C. O. 72, 2, pp. 1-118.

Trade instructions, see indorsement under Grenada, Gov. Mathew, Oct. 8, 1783. Additional instruction (3 per cent duty on all produce exported for salary and upkeep of island), Oct. 8, 1783.

C. O. 72, 2, pp. 119-123; and circular, 101, 8. (No page).

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 28, 1783; variations only from that to Gov. Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 11, fo. 97.

FLORIDA, EAST.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administra- tion.	Remarks.
James Grant. John Moultrie, president. Patrick Tonyn	Aug. 29,1764 May 20,1771 Mar. 1,1774	Acting governor.

1 About.

GRANT, James, governor.

Commission, Nov. 21, 1763.

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 6-28.

Instructions, submitted Nov. 3, 1763.

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 35-120.

Instructions, dated Dec. 7, 1763.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 71-127.

Additional instructions (claims of lands under grants from the Spaniards), submitted Apr. 13, 1764.

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 138-142.

The same, dated Apr. 23, 1764. C. O. 5, 544, p. 67, 12 pp.; 545, p. 243, 12 pp.; 548, p. 41, 22 pp.; 549, p. 305, 12 pp.; 824, 41, pp. 47-49. Additional instruction (quit rents), submitted May 16, 1764.

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 159-161.

The same, dated May 25, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 77-78.

Additional instructions (lands frequented by sea cow), submitted May 28, 1764. C. O. 5, 563, pp. 163-164.

The same, approved June 6, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 97-98.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 4.

MOULTRIE, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 25, 1771.

C. O. 324, 42, p. 237.

TONYN, Patrick, governor.

Commission, submitted June 14, 1773, but with date of 22d July inserted.

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 306-339.

Commission, July 2, 1773.

C. O. 5, 566, pp. 65-68.

Instructions, Aug. 3, 1773.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 821-355; 563, pp. 344-411.

Trade instructions, Aug. 3, 1773.

C. O. 5, 205, pp 357-382; 563, pp. 412-471.

Additional instruction (granting lands to Georgia refugees), submitted Mar. 25, 1777.

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 507-512.

Additional instruction (to pass grants for lands to refugees), approved Jan. 23, 1778. C. O. 5, 31, pp. 5-9.

Additional instructions, Jan. 26, 1778.

C. O. 5, 566, pp. 145-150.

Additional instructions, Aug. 31,1782.

C. O. 5, 566, pp. 214-216.

Additional instructions; same as to Haldimand and others, Sept. 11, 1782. C. O. 5, 242, p. 434-435.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 23, 1773; variations only from that to Gov. Grant of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 145.

FLORIDA, WEST.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
George Johnstone Montfort Browne John Eliot Elias Durnford Peter Chester .	Oct. 21, 1764 Jan. 9, 1767 Apr. 3, 1769 Dec. 26, 1769 Aug. 10, 1770	Lieutenant governor Died May 2, 1789. Lucutenant governor.

JOHNSTONE, George, governor.

Commission, submitted Oct. 4, 1763.

C. O. 5, 599, pp. 5-21.

Instructions, submitted Nov. 3, 1763.

C. O. 5, 599, pp. 26-96.

Instructions, dated Dec. 7, 1763.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 131-181.

Twenty-fourth article of instructions, n. d.

C. O 5, 584, p. 331, 3 pp.

Preamble of instructions [inclosed in Johnstone's letter of Nov. 9, 1764].

C. O. 5, 574, p. 133.

Trade instructions, submitted Nov. 3, 1763.

C. O. 5, 599, pp. 97-160.

Additional instructions (as to claims on grants to Spaniards), Apr. 23, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 49-51.

Additional instruction (quit rents), accompanies report of May 16, 1764.

C. O. 5, 599, pp. 168-169.

The same, dated May 25, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 79-80.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 22, 1764; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 9.

Browne, Montfort, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 21, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 130-131; 324, 51, pp. 235-236.

ELIOT, John, governor.

Commission, May 15, 1767.

C. O. 5, 599, pp. 229-265.

Instructions, Aug. 12, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 230-295; 599, pp. 269-384.

Trade instructions, Aug. 12, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 297-333; 599, pp. 385-459.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 23, 1767; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls. 10, fo. 74.

DURNFORD, Elias, heutenant governor.

Commission, July 31, 1769.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 133-134, 324, 51, pp. 374-375.

CHESTER, Peter, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 10, 1770.

C. O. 5, 619, pp. 30-53.

Commission, dated Jan. 25, 1770.

C. O. 5, 600, pp. 2-28.

Extract of commission, inclosed in letter of Mar. 15, 1779.

C. O. 5, 595, p. 505.

Instructions, Mar. 2, 1770.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 111-163; 600, pp. 35-141.

Trade instructions, Mar. 2, 1770.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 165-187; 600, pp. 142-208.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 15, 1770; variations only from that to Gov. Grant of East Florida of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks, 10, to. 112.

GEORGIA.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

Trustees for establishing the province.

Instruction (to settle Indian trade), submitted June 21, 1738.

C. O. 5, 401, pp. 266-268.

The same, with copy of that to Gov. Horsey, of South Carolina, July 21, 1738. C. O. 5, 668, pp. 49-50.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
Henry Parker, president John Reynolds. Henry Ellis 1. Henry Ellis 2. James Wright. James Wright. James Habersham, president James Wright. John Graham. James Wright.	Apr. 8,1751 Oct. 29,1754 Feb. 1757 Feb. 5,1759 Nov. 2,1760 July, 1761 July 10,1771 Feb. 11,1773 May 5,1780	Acting governor. Ordered to return to England. Returned Feb., 1757. Lieutenant governor. Do. Gazetted Apr. 14, 1761; com. received and published probably in July. Wright sailed for England July 10, 1771. Acting governor. Did not serve, because he and Gov. Wright were saized by the Americans.

¹ Ellis was appointed in Sept., 1755, when in London, but Reynolds was still governor in Georgia. The latter embarked for England in Feb., 1757, was captured by a French privateer, threw overboard his commission and instructions and other public papers, and was taken to Bayonne. He finally reached England in Oct., 1757.
² The commission to Ellis was probably in a packet thrown overboard by the captain of the ship mentioned in Ellis' letter of Aug. 30, 1758. Ellis learned of his appointment as governor indirectly in November, but did not receive his commission until Feb. 5, 1759.

REYNOLDS, John, governor.

Commission, submitted Aug. 6, 1754.

C. O. 5, 672, pp. 68-96.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 6, 1754.

C. O. 5, 872, pp. 108-232. Trade instructions, submitted Aug. 6, 1754.

C. O. 5, 672, pp. 233-318.

Additional instruction (about grants of lands), submitted Aug. 6, 1755.

C. O. 5, 672, pp. 363-369.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 13, 1754; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 93.

ELLIS, Henry, lieutenant governor.

Commission to be lieutenant governor and to act in Reynold's absence, submitted Aug. 4, 1756.

C O. 5, 653 .. rough draft, 672, pp. 427-428; 324, 38, pp. 466-467; 324, 51, pp. 90-91.

Ellis, Henry, governor.

Commission; note only, that it is the same as to Reynolds but for the insertion of sixteen lines which then follow. Submitted May 12, 1758.

C. O. 5, 673, p. 47.

Instructions, submitted June 29, 1758.

C O. 5, 673, pp. 51-174.

Trade instructions; note only, same as to Reynolds "& entries A. fo. 233." C. O. 5, 673, p. 174.

Instructions (Bosomworth lands), submitted Jan. 31, 1759.

C. O. 5, 673, pp. 212-218.

The same, dated Feb. 9, 1759.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 521-529.

Instruction, appointing councillors, July 6, 1759.

C. O. 5, 673, pp. 240-241; 324; 38, p. 534.

Commission as vice admiral, July 15, 1758; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 124.

WRIGHT, James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 30, 1760.

C. O. 324, 39, pp. 26-27; 324, 51, pp. 193-194.

Wright, Sir James, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 41-67.

Instructions, July 6, 1761.

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 87-188.

Additional instruction (as to grants of lands), submitted Apr. 14, 1761.

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 80-82.

The same, dated May 1, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 122-123.

Additional instructions as to Indian lands and commissions for judges (two), see to Nova Scotia, Dec. 2, 1761.

Additional instructions (about lands south of the Altamaha), submitted July 13. 1767.

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 322-326.

The same, dated Sept. 11, 1767.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 367-369.

Instruction (to admit A. Stokes to the council), Mar. 5, 1771.

C. O. 5, 665, p. 225.

Additional instructions, submitted Feb. 1, 1772.

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 369-370.

The same, dated Feb. 4, 1772.

C. O. 5, 677, pp. 70-71.

WRIGHT, Sir James, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (constitution of new council), submitted Mar. 25, 1779. C. O. 5, 674, pp. 410-412.

The same, dated Mar. 29, 1779.

C. O. 5, 677, pp. 143-145.

Commission as vice admiral, June 6, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 144.

Graham, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 29, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, pp. 210-211.

Commission, Jan. 17, 1780.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 313-315.

GRENADA.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks
George Scott. Robert Melville. Ulysses Fitz Maurice. Robert Melville. Ulysses Fitz Maurice. William L. Leyborne. Sir William Young. Lord George Macartney John Graham George Ferguson. Edward Mathew.	July 17, 1762 Dec. 13, 1764 Sept 2, 1764 Apr. 5, 1770 July 1771 Apr. 16, 1775 May 4, 1776 July 5, 1779 Feb. 23, 1780 Jan. 6, 1784	Lientenant governor Returned Aug., 170x Lieutenant governor Do. d. Apr. 16, 1775. Lieutenant governor. Taken prisoner by the French. Lieutenant governor; Grenada taken by the French. Lieutenant governor. Grenada retaken by the English, Jan. 6, 1784.

Scott, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission; memorandum only: "In the same form mutatis mutandis as in p 197" [of this volume] July 30, 1762. [See Martinique.]

C. O. 324, 40, p. 200.

GRENADA AND THE GRENADINES.

GORE, Francis, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Aug. 9, 1763.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 272.

GRENADA, THE GRENADINES, DOMINICA, ST. VINCENT, AND TOBAGO AND TERRITORIES DEPENDING, OR THE WINDWARD ISLES.

MELVILLE, Robert, governor.

Commission, submitted Oct. 4, 1763.

C. O. 102, 1, pp. 10-42.

Instructions, Dec. 7, 1763.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 183-231; 102, 1, pp. 45-120.

Trade instructions; note only: "Same as those given to the governor of Bahama Islands vide Bahama Entries C. fol. III."

C. O. 102, 1, p. 120.

Additional instructions (regulations relative to council of Grenada), submitted Apr. 30, 1764.

C. O. 102, 1, pp. 239-244.

Additional instructions (calling a council), May 9, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 65-69.

Additional instruction (calling an assembly, and re titles to lands), submitted Feb. 27, 1766.

C. O. 102, 1, pp. 259-264.

MELVILLE, Robert, governor-Continued.

Additional instructions (establishing separate councils and assemblies in Grenada and the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago), Oct. 12, 8th year. [1768].

C. O. 102, 1, pp. 362-378.

Additional instructions (altering 11th article, relating to levying money, etc.), submitted July 6, 1769.

C. O. 102, 1, pp. 389-391.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr 7, 1764; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 40.

GRENADA, THE GRENADINES, ST. VINCENT, TOBAGO, OR SOUTHERN CARIBBEES

LEYBORNE, William Leyborne, governor.

Commission, May 14, 11th year [1771], submitted Mar 6, 1771. C. O. 102, 1, pp. 454-498.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 6, 1771.

C. O. 102, 2, pp. 1-127.

Instructions, July 9, 1771.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 515-572.

Trade instructions, submitted Mar. 6, 1771.

C. O. 102, 2, pp. 128-193.

Trade instructions; note only, that these were signed July 9, 1771.

C. O. 5, 203, p. 574.

Additional instruction (additional salary), submitted May 15, 1771. C. O. 102, 2, pp. 211-212.

Additional instructions, draft, submitted May 24, 1771

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 115-116.

Additional instruction (grants and leases of lands in Dominica), submitted Feb. 11, 1773.

C. O. 102, 2, pp. 231-232.

The same, see note under Sir William Young, Dominica.

Additional instruction, draft, Mar. 1, 1773.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 203-204.

Commission as vice admiral, May 20, 1771; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, to. 133.

GRENADA, THE GRENADINES, TOBAGO, AND TERRITORIES DEPENDING.

MACARINEY, Sir George, governor.

Commission, submitted Dec. 12, 1775.

C.O.102, 2, pp 266-288.

Instructions, Feb. 16, 1776.

C O. 5, 206, No. 7, 102, 2, pp 289-383.

Trade instructions; note only: "same (mutatis mutandis) as that for William Leyborne Leyborne, Esq. See fol. 128 of this book "

C. O. 102, 2, p. 382.

Note only, that the usual trade instructions were signed Feb. 16, 1776.

C. O. 5, 208, at end of No. 7.

Additional instruction (additional salary), Feb. 21, 1776. In margin in red ink, "N. B.—This instruction was not prepared in this [Plantation] office." C. O. 102, 2, pp. 399-400.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 9, 1776; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks 10, fo. 161.

GRENADA, AND THE GRENADINES, TO THE SOUTHWARD OF THE ISLAND OF CARRIACOU.

MATHEW, Edward, governor.

Instructions, submitted Oct. 8, 1783.

C O. 101, 8, 110 pp. (draft form); 102, 3, pp. 1-92.

MATHEW, Edward, governor-Continued.

Trade instructions (draft), submitted Oct. S, 1783 Indorsed "Draft of Trade Instructions also to St. Vincent and Dominica"

C. O. 101, 8.

Additional instruction (to appropriate 3 per cent of the 41 per cent duty on all produce, for salary and upkeep of the island, submitted Oct. 8, 1783

C. O. 101. 8 . . . 34 pp . 102, 3, pp. 33-95.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 28, 1783; variations only from that to Gov. Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bis. 11, 50. 95.

Two corrected drafts of an additional instruction for Grenada, without date, rela-

tive to suits at law commenced during the late capture by France.

C. O. 101, 8.

Rough draft of an additional instruction, without names or date, relative to bill

Rough draft of an additional instruction, without names or date, relative to bills of credit and to duties on British shipping.

C. O. 101, 8.

GUADELOUPE.

GUADELOUPE AND GRANDTERRE AND ISLANDS BELONGING.

DALRYMPLE, Campbell, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 27, 1760.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 35.

MELVILLE, Robert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 27, 1760.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 35-36.

TAMAICA.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
Hender Molesworth Sir Philip Howard Hender Molesworth Earl of Albemarie	Mar. 5,1686	Lieutenant governor. Died before taking office. Lieutenant governor. Arrived in Port Royal Harbor Dec. 19, 1687. Died Oct. 6, 1688.
Francis Watson, president Earl of Inchiquin Council Sir William Beeston W. Selwyn	1 Jan 16 1692	Acting governor. Died Jan. 16, 1692.
Peter Beckford	Apr. 5,1702	Died Apr. 4, 1702. Lieutenant governor. Do.
Thomas Handasyd. Lord Archibald Hamilton. Peter Heywood Sir Nicholas Lewes. Duke of Portland.		Died July 4, 1726.
Duke of Portland John Ayscough, president Robert Hunter John Ayscough, president		Acting governor. Died Mar. 31, 1734. Acting governor. Died Sept.
John Gregory, president Henry Cunningham John Gregory, president Edward Trelswny Charles Knowles	Sept. 29,1735 Dec. 18,1735 Feb. 15,1736 Apr. 29,1738 Sept. 10,1752	Acting governor. Died Feb. 15, 1736.
Charles Knowles Henry Moore. George Haldane. Henry Moore. William Henry Lyttelton.	Oct,1756 Apr. 3,1759 July 27,1759 Jan. 20,1762	Lieutenant governor. Died July 27, 1759. Lieutenant governor.
Robert Hope Elletson Sir William Trelawny. John Dalling Sir Basil Keith. John Dalling.	Sept. 30,1768 Dec. 11,1772 Jan. 5,1774	Do. Died Dec. 11,1772. Lieutenant governor. Died June 15, 1777. Lieutenant governor.
John Dalling Archibald Campbell Archibald Campbell	Feb. 13,1778 Nov. 25,1781	Do.

¹The date is usually given Oct. 1, but the logbook of the Assatuace says the 6th. As Albemarie wrote important dispetches to Lord Craven on Oct. 1, the later date seems the more probable.

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D'OYLEY, Col. Edward, governor.
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Commission, Feb. 8, 1661.

C. O. 1, 15, No. 10, 2 pp.; 138, 1, pp. 3-5.

Instructions [Feb. ?], 1661.

C. O. 1, 15, No. 11, 2 pp.; 138, 1, pp. 6-8.

WINDSOR, Lord, governor.1

Commission, Aug. 2, 1661.

C. O. 1, 15, No. 76, 14 pp.; 138, 1. pp. 9-12; 324, 1, pp. 59-66.

Instructions, Mar. 21, 1662.

C. O. 1, 16, No. 35, 6 pp.; also No. 36, 10½ pp; 138, 1, pp. 13-19; 324; 1, pp. 37-56.

Additional instruction (to preserve good correspondence and trade with Spaniards), Apr. 8, 1662.

C. O. 1, 16, No. 44, 1 p.; 138, 1, p. 19; 324, 1, pp. 57-58.

[Further] additional instructions (as to disbanding soldiers), Apr. 23, 1662.

C. O. I, 16, No. 48, 1 p.; also No. 49, 2 pp.; 324, 1, pp. 33-36.

Additional instruction (leave to return if necessary deputing a fit person in his absence), May 3, 1662.

C. O. 138, 1, p. 20

MORGAN, Col. [Edward], deputy governor.

Commission, Jan. 18, 1664.

Dom. Entry Book. Chas. II, 20, p. 7.

Instructions, Feb. 27, 1664.

C. O. 324, 1, pp. 393-394.

MODYFORD, Sir Thomas, governor.

Commission, draft with corrections in Williamson's hand [Feb. ?], 1664.

C. O. 1, 18, No. 21.

Heads of commission, in Williamson's hand [Feb. ?], 1664.

C. O. 1, 18, No. 22.

Commission, Feb. 15, 1664.

C. O. 1, 18, No. 20, 11 pp.; 138, 1, pp. 23-28; 324, 1, pp. 95-107.

Instructions, Feb. 18, 1664.

C. O. 1, 18, No. 26, 13 pp., 138, 1, pp. 29-35; 324, 1, pp. 109-127.

Extract of instructions [Jan. 31, 1671]

C. O. 1, 26, No. 15.
Revocation of commission, Jan. "first," 1670/1, marked on the back in pencil "21

C. O. 1, 26, No. 1.

Jan. 1674.''

Revocation of commission (rough draft), n. d. marked in pencil on the back "4 Jan. 1674."

C. O. 1, 26, No. 2.

Revocation of commission, Jan. 4, 1671.

C. O. 138, 1, p. 85; 324, 1, pp. 471-473; 389, 4, fo. 16.

LYNCH, Sir Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, draft, with corrections by Williamson, Sept. ? 1670.

C. O. 1, 25, No. 65.

Commission, corrected by Williamson, Sept. 23, 1670.

C. O. 1, 25, No. 64 (parchment).

Commission, Jan. 5, 1671.

C. O. 1, 23, No. 3, 138, 1, p. 86; 324, 1, pp. 473-475; 389, 4, fos. 16b-17.

Amendments to his instructions, in the handwriting of Williamson [? Dec. 1670]. C. O. 1, 25, No. 106.

Alterations and additions to be made in several articles of his instructions, by the commissioners of the treasury, Dec. 28, 1670.

C. O. 1, 25, No. 105.

Instructions, Dec. 31, 1670.

C. O. 1, 25, No. 107.

¹ Copies of Windsor's, Morgan's, Modyford's, and Lynch's commissions and some instructions are in B. M., Sloane 3918.

LYNCH, Sir Thomas, lieutenant governor-Continued.

Instructions, "past the Signe Manuall." Jan. 31, 1671.

C. O. 138, 1, pp. 85-95; 324, 1, pp. 475-499.

Instructions, Feb. 24, 1671.

C O. 359, 4, fos. 17-21.

Private instructions (to seize Modyford, &c), [?] Mar. 10, 1671.

C. O. 140, 1, pp. 228-229; Dom. Entry Booi, Chas. II, 24, pp. 49-50.

Revocation, Nov. 3, 1674, of commission of Jan. 5, 1671.

C O. 389, 6. pp. 28-30.

Commission from the Duke of York, as vice admiral. Jan. 13, 1671.

C O. 138, 1, p. 87.

Vaughan, John, Lord, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Mar. 31, 1674.

C. O. 389, 4, fos. 99-102.

Commission, dated Apr. 3, 1674.

C. O. 1, 31, Nos. 30 and 82, 51 and 61 pp , two copies; 138, 3, pp. 1-11; 369, 6, pp. 1-11.

Instructions, May 18, 1674; note at end: "The added articles were dated the 3d Dec., 1674."

C O. 389, 4, fos. 925-98; 389, 6, pp. 11-27.

Instructions, Dec. 3, 1674.

C. O. 1, 31, No. 82 (second paper).

Copy of the foregoing with alterations and additions written out on a separate page. C. O. 1, 31, No. 83.

Instructions, same as No. 82 above. Dec. 3, 1674.

C. O. 138, 3, pp. 12-27.

Additional instruction, Nov. 27, 1674.

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 27-28.

Additional instructions, Dec. 31, 1674.

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 31-32.

MORGAN, Col. Henry, deputy or lieutenant governor

Commission, submitted Mar. 23, 1674.

C. O. 1, 31, No. 28; 138, 1, pp. 185-186.

Commission, Nov. 6, 1674.

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 33-35.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 23, 1674. "Delivered to the Earl of Arlington 27 March."

C. O. 138, 1, p. 189.

CARLISLE, Earl of, governor.

Commission, draft, offered Mar. 23, 1674. [Lord Vaughan's name inserted beneath the King's title.]

C. O. 1, 31, No. 26.

Commission, offered Mar. 23, 1674.

C. O. 138, 1, pp. 171-177.

Instructions, offered Mar. 23, 1674. [Lord Vaugnan's name inserted as above.]

6. 0. 1, 31, No. 27.

Instructions, same as above but with note that the commission appears not to have taken place as his lordship was not governor till 1678.

C. O. 138, 1, pp. 177-185.

Commission, Mar. 1, 1678.

C. O. 138, 3, pp. 198-214; 389, 6, pp. 247-254.

Instructions, Mar. 30, 1678.

C. O. 138, 3, pp. 216-241; 389, 6, pp. 255-267.

Abstract of commission and instructions, stating wherein they differ from those given to Vaughan. n. d. [1679.]

C. O. 1, 43, No. 185 (fos. 368-369).

Suggested instruction to erect a mint received from Lord Carlisle in his letter of Aug. 14, 1678. Read at the committee, Dec. 6, 1678.

C. O. 1, 42, No. 118, 138, 3, p. 247.

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CARLISLE, Earl of, governor-Continued.
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Powers for making laws, Nov. 3, 1680.

C. O. 138, 3, pp. 444-447.

Instructions for making laws, Nov. 3, 1680.

C. O. 138, 8, pp. 447-453.

Private instructions (to endeavor to obtain a law for raising public revenue), Nov. 3, 1680.

C. O. 1, 46, No. 31, 2 pp.; 138, 3, pp. 453-454.

LYNCH, Sir Thomas, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Aug. 6, 1681.

C. O. 138, 4, pp. 1-16; 389, 8, pp. 53-63.

Instructions, Sept. 8, 1681.

C. O. 138, 4, pp. 17-39; 389, 8, pp. 64-82.

Additional instruction, Oct. 19, 1681.

C. O. 138, 4, p. 40; 389, 8, p. 91.

Additional instruction, Dec. 15, 1682, see under Culpeper, Virginia.

Molesworth, Hender, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Nov. 18, 1683.

C. O. 389, 8, pp. 248-249.

Commission, Sept. 27, 1685.

C. O., 138, 5, pp 69-70. Howard, Sir Philip, governor.

Commission, . . . 1684. (Great seal dated Oct. 28, 1685.)

C. O. 138, 4, pp. 300-316.

Instructions, Nov. 25, 1685.

C. O. 138, 4, pp. 319-342.

Clause of instructions headed "Proviso," supposed for insertion in Sir Philip Howard's. Indorsed: "Approved Jan. 20, 1685."

C. O. 1, 57, No. 6 (fo. 24).

ALBEMARLE, Christopher, Duke of.

Commission, Nov. 25, 1686.

C. O. 138, 5, pp. 220-241.

Commission, 1687 [calendared at July], to take upon him, in his passage out, command of forces in any colony.

C. O. 138, 5, pp. 333-334.

Instructions, Mar. 15, 1687.

C. O. 138, 5, pp. 261-296.

Additional instructions, July 3, 1687.

C. O. 138, 5, pp. 302-303. Additional instructions, July 10, 1687.

C. O. 138, 5, pp. 306-307.

Additional instruction Aug. 15, 1687.

C. O. 1, 63, No. 16, 1 p., 1 novemor 334-335.

Additional instructions, Sept. 18, 1687 (to enforce the acts of trade and navigation).

C. O. 138, 5, pp. 310-323.

MOLESWORTH, Col. Hender, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 8, 1689. "Great seal, 25 July."

C. O. 138, 6, pp. 186-202; 324, 22, pp. 32-42.

Inchiquin, William, Earl of, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 19, 1689.

C. O. 138, 6, pp. 230-246; 324, 22, pp. 73-85.

Instructions, Dec. 5, 1689.

C. O. 138, 6, pp. 247-273; 324, 22, pp. 137-152.

BEESTON, Sir William, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Aug. 23, 1692.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 21-33.

Commission, Sept. 20, 1692.

C. O. 138, 7, pp. 51-66.

BEESTON, Sir William, governor-Continued.

Extract (relating to the Admiralty) from commission, May 3, 1693.

C. O. 323, 1, No. 52.

Instructions, Sept. 20, 1692.

C. O. 135, 7, pp. 54-107; 324, 24, pp. 44-60.

Additional instructions (no ships to sail without convoy), Oct. 7, 1692.

C. O. 138, 7, p. 154.

Draft of an instruction, Nov. . . . 1692.

C 0.137, 44, No. 27.

Additional instructions, Nov. 24, 1692.

C. O. 138, 7, pp 126-127; 324, 24, p. 69.

Instructions, Dec. 23, 1694.

C. O. 138, 7, pp. 365-370; 324, 28, pp. 9-14.

Copy of an instruction, delivered to the board Oct. 2, 1696 [supposed extract of those of Dec. 23, 1694].

C. O. 137, 4, No. 21; 138, 9, pp. 12-13.

Additional instruction, May 18, 1699.

C. O. 133, 9, pp. 316-317.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 15, 1692.

Adm Reg. Mun. Bks. 4, 10. 98. BEESTON, Sir William, governor.

Commission, submitted Nov. 29, 1699.

C. O 138, 9, pp. 404-406.

Instructions (as to salary), submitted Dec. 14, 1699.

C. O 138, 9, p. 411.

The same, dated Jan. 15, 1700.

C. O. 324, 27, p. 109.

Private instructions (revenue act), May 24, 1701.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 255-257.

Commission as vice admiral, 1696.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls. 4, fo. 148.

BERNARD, Samuel, lieutenant governor.

Dormant commission in case of death or absence of Gov. Beeston, July 7, 1693.

C O. 29, 4, pp. 345-347; 137, 3, No. 18; 138, 7, pp. 158-159.

BERNARD, Samuel, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 20, 169# (sic.).

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 196-197.

Beckford, Col. Peter, lieutenant governor.

Dormant commission, n. d. [with a minute of July 4, 1695]

C. O. 138, 8, pp. 28-30.

SELWYN, William, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 22, 1701 Bill signed July 24.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 308-321.

Commission, dated July 31, 1701.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 171-192.

Instructions, delivered in Council, Aug. 12, 1701.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 193-234.

Trade instructions, Aug. 13, 1701.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 246-273.

Trade instructions, two articles only, n. d. [about 1701].

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 396-398.

Additional instructions (as to ordnance stores, with list of them), Aug. 14, 1701.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 274-275, 324, 27, pp. 339-340.

Private instructions (settling the revenue), Aug. 14, 1701.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 374-376.

Additional instruction (re stores of war), submitted Sept. 9, 1701, dated Sept. 30, sent in Oct.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 297-298.

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Selwyn, William, governor-Continued.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 14, 1701; variations only from that to Gov.

Blakiston, Maryland, of May 23, 1699.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 40.

Brewer, Richard, lieutenant governor.

Commission, in absence of Col. Selwyn, May 30, 1702.

C. O. 324, 29, p. 13.

Commission, Col. Selwyn being dead, June 13, 1702.

C. O. 324, 29, p. 17.

HANDASYD, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, in absence or death of governor, or in Brewer's absence, June 20, 1702. C. O. 138, 10, pp. 395-396, 324, 29, p. 18.

Peterborough, Earl of, governor.

Commission, endorsed Dec. 5, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 1.

Instructions, endorsed Dec. 6, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 2.

Trade instructions, endorsed Dec. 6, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 3.

Private instructions (giving till October next to pass revenue act), Dec. 7, 1702. C. O 324, 29, pp. 160-162.

HANDASYD, Thomas, lieutenant governor and commander in chief.

Commission, Jan. 11, 1703.

C. O. 324, 29, pp. 165-166.

Instructions, submitted Feb. 23, 1703.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 406-408.

Instructions, July 26, 1703.

C O. 138, 11, pp 195-256.

Private instructions (relative to the revenue), Feb. 25, 1703.

The page of 138, 10, is headed Mar. 11.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 415-417; 324, 29, pp. 172-174.

Instructions (revenue act), not same as 172. Feb. 25, 1703.

C O. 324, 29, pp. 174-176.

HANDASYD, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted March 2, 1704.

C. O. 138, 11, pp. 171-194.

Additional instruction (quarters for soldiers), submitted Mar. 2, 1704.

C. O. 138, 11, pp 152-153.

The same, dated Apr. 2, 1704.

C. O. 324, 29, pp. 279-280.

Additional instruction (navigation of English ships), July 17, 1704.

C. O. 138, 11, pp. 289-292.

Instructions (as to encouraging Spaniards to shake off French rule), Jan 14, 1706.

C. O. 324, 30, pp. 55-57.

Additional instruction (devolution of government), May 3, 1707.

C. O. 138, 12, pp. 77-78.

Additional instruction (as to acts of trade), July 3, 1708, see to Gov. Crowe, Barbadoes.

HAMILTON, Lord Archibald, governor.

Commission, Aug. 15, 9th year [1710].

C. O. 138, 13, pp. 168-188.

Instructions, Sept. 9, 1710.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 66-102; 138, 13, pp. 192-246.

Trade instructions, Sept. 9, 1710.

C. O. 138, 13, pp. 246-281.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 8, 1710; variations only from that to Gov.

Hunter, New York, of Dec. 14, 1709.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 88,

HAMILTON, Lord Archibald, governor-Continued.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 12, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp 31-38, 138, 14, pp. 147-165.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 25, 1715.

C O. 138, 14, pp. 230-283.

Instructions, dated May 6, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 199-236.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 25, 1715

C. O. 138, 14, pp. 284-315.

Trade instructions, dated May 6, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 236-257.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 29, 1715, variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm Reg. Mun. Bls. 6, fo. 178.

HEYWOOD, Peter, governor.

Commission (to act as governor and commander in chief in place of Lord Archibald Hamilton), transmitted in letter of May 19, 1716.

C. O. 138, 14, pp. 421-423.

Commission, May 21, 1716.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 339-341.

Instructions, transmitted in letter of May 21, 1716.

C. O. 138, 14, pp. 424-428.

Instructions (to inquire into practices of the late Gov. Hamilton and others, and to seize persons and effects), May 28, 1716.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 344-346.

Additional instructions (not to seize effects, etc.), June 5, 1716.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 348-349.

PITT, Thomas, sr., governor.

Commission, to be found only on the Patent Rolls, 2 Geo. I, Pt. V, 1, July 13, 1715.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 18, 1716; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 196.

governor.

Instruction (concerning S. Page and W. Adlington), transmitted in letter of Nov. 29, 1716.

C. O. 138, 15, pp. 53-54.

Lawes, Sir Nicholas, governor.

Commission, Aug. 23, 1717.

C. O. 138, 15, pp. 234-256.

Commission, 1717 (3 Geo. I).

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 318-333.

Instructions, Jan. 1, 1718. C. O. 5, 189, pp. 334-375; 138, 15, pp. 355-422.

Trade instructions, submitted Oct. 11, 1717.

C. O. 138, 15, pp. 423-457.

Trade instructions, Jan. 1, 1718.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 384-409.

Additional instructions (duty on negroes), Jan. 16, 1718.

C. O 324, 33, pp. 118-120.

Additional instruction (credit bills to have a suspending clause), Sept. 27, 1720; see to Shute, Massachusetts.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 15, 1717; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, to. 209.

BERNARD, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 31, 1717.

C. O. 324, 33, pp. 109-110.

DU BOURGAY, Charles, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Nov. 2, 1721.

C. O. 324, 34, p. 83.

PORTLAND, Duke of, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Oct. 3, 1721.

C O. 5, 191, pp. 207-221.

Commission, dated Oct. 31, 1721.

C. O. 138, 16, pp. 311-334.

Instructions, submitted Dec. 13, 1721.

C. O. 138, 16, pp. 346-400.

Instructions, Mar. 16, 1722.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 222-271.

Trade instructions, Mar. 16, 1722.

C. O 5, 191, pp. 272-299.

Additional instruction (salary of lieutenant governor), May 21, 1722.

C. O. 324, 34, pp. 120-121.

Additional instruction (revenues for 21 years), July 19, 1722.

C. O. 324, 34, pp. 165-167.

Additional instruction (revenue act), July 30, 1724.

C. O. 138, 16, pp. 486-490; 324, 25, pp. 79-80.

Additional instruction (to pass revenue act for 1 year), transmitted in letter of May 27, 1725.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 50-51.

The same, dated June 1, 1725

C. O. 324, 35, pp. 136-137.

Additional instruction (concerning appeals), submitted July 28, 1726.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 106-109

The same, dated Mar. 23, 1727.

'C. O. 5, 193, pp. 37-39.

Commission as vice admiral, Dec. 13, 1721; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo 42.

Ayscough, John, president of the council.

Commission as vice admiral, Nov. 1, 1726 (Latin).

Adm Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo 91.

LAWES, James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 28, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 406-407; 324, 50, p. 11

HUNTER, Robert, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 14, 1727.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 114-134.

Commission, submitted July 19, 1727.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 212-230.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Aug. 8, 1727.

C. O 5, 193, pp. 357-371.

Instructions, Aug. 12, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 377-427; 138, 17, pp. 153-210.

Trade instructions, Aug. 12, 1727.

C. O 5, 193, pp. 429-457.

Additional instruction (entries to be made of exports and imports), transmitted in letter of Oct. 4, 1727.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 237-238.

Additional instruction, Oct. 12, 1727.

C. O 5, 193, pp 465-466.

Additional instruction (duty on negroes), Nov. 13, 1727.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 239-240; 324, 36, pp. 18-19.

Additional instruction, Dec. 26, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 473-474.

HUNTER, Robert, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (salary for Lilly, engineer), submitted July 4, 1728. C. O. 133, 17, pp 243-244.

Additional instruction (whale fishery), Mar. 6, 1730.

The like to Barbadoes, Bermuda, Bahamas, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and Nova Scotia.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 196-197.

Additional instruction, Mar. 6, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 441.

Additional instruction (Bishop of London's jurisdiction), Apr. 28, 1730

The like to Barbadoes, Bahamas, Bermuda, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Nova Scotia.

C. O. 324, 36, pp 217-218.

Additional instruction (no import duties on slaves or felons), submitted Nov. 30, 1731.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 351-353.

The same, dated Dec. 10, 1731.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 247-248; 324, 36, pp 287-288.

Additional instruction (J. Ayscough, president of the council, to take charge during absence), submitted Aug. 2, 1732.

C. O 138, 17, pp. 362-364.

The same, dated Aug. 11, 1732.

C O. 324, 36, pp. 365-366.

Additional instruction (Phenney to be councillor extraordinary), Nov. 30, 1733. C. O. 324, 36, pp. 437-439; 324, 50, pp. 13-16.

Commission as vice admiral, June 2, 1727; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York., etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 7, fo. 102.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 11, 1727 (Latin)

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 7, fo. 120.

CUNNINGHAM, Henry, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 25, 1734, one page only; the rest same as to Gov. Hunter entered "folio 115 of this book."

C. O. 138, 17, p. 399.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 13, 1734.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 1-16.

Instructions, submitted July 10, 1734.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 424-482.

Instructions, dated Aug. 9, 1734.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 21-70.

Trade instructions, Aug. 9, 1734.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 72-103.

Additional instruction (duty on negroes), submitted June 5, 1735.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 16-17.

Additional instruction (relating to the settling and peopling the island), submitted July 9, 1735.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 28-30.

Additional instruction, July 10, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 121-122.

Additional instructions (relating to the settling and peopling the island), submitted July 24, 1735.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 40-43.

Additional instruction, July 31, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 125-127.

Additional instruction (not to pass act restraining officers from enlisting recruits), submitted Nov. 26, 1735.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 56-57.

CUNNINGHAM, Henry, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction, Dec. 19, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 139-141.

Additional instruction (taxation of Jews), submitted Mar. 18, 1736.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 66-67.

Commission as vice admiral, June 15, 1734; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733 (the first commission in English). 'Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 8, 10, 95

STEWART, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 15, 1737.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 78-79, 324, 50, p 142.

TRELAWNEY, Edward, governor.

Commission, submitted June 30, 1737.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 110-129.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 21, 1737. C O. 5, 196, pp. 351-370

Instructions, submitted Sept. 14, 1737.

C O. 138, 18, pp. 135-216.

Instructions, Jan. 12, 1738.

C O. 5, 196, pp. 376-438.

Trade instructions, submitted Sept. 14, 1737.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 217-268. Trade instructions, Jan. 12, 1738.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 439-409.

Additional instructions, Jan. 12, 1738.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 373-374.

Additional instruction (royal mines), submitted Feb. 16, 1738.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 278-285.

Additional instruction, May 26, 1738.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 470-474.

Additional instruction (grant of land to Gray and Maynard, victualling agents), submitted Feb. 26, 1741.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 326-327.

Additional instructions, Apr. 24, 1741.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 463-464.

Additional instruction (powder duty), submitted June 18, 1741.

C. O. 138, 18, pp. 336-337.

The same, dated July 30, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 215-216.Additional instruction, Sept. 17, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, p. 239.

Additional instruction (on petition of M. Philp and W. Perrin for grant of royal mines), submitted Jan. 10, 1746

C. O. 138, 19, pp. 36-44.

Additional instruction (not to assent to excessive taxation of absentees), submitted June 29, 1748.

C. O. 138, 19, pp. 85-87.

The same, without date, entered in volume among papers of 1751.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 665-666.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 27, 1737; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun Bks., 8, fo. 123.

Knowles, Charles, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 28, 1752,

C. O. 138, 19, pp. 173-193.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Apr. 16, 1752.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 677-696.

Instructions, May 28, 1752,

C. O. 138, 19, pp. 202-292.

Knowles, Charles, governor-Continued.

Trade instructions, submitted May 14, 1752

C. O. 138, 19, pp. 293-353

Additional instruction (concerning appeals), submitted Dec. 5, 1753. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 15, p. 341.

The same, dated Dec. 18, 1753. The like to other governors.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 969-972.

Additional instruction (as to repeal of several acts), Mar. 1, 1754

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 985-989; 138, 20, pp. 11-14.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 27, 1752; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun Bks , 9, fo. 86

Moore, Henry, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Feb. 19, 1756.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 447-448; 324, 51, pp. 85-86.

Instruction (to dissolve present assembly and call another to consider removal of seat of government), submitted Mar. 9, 1756.

C. O. 138, 20, pp 173-176.

HALDANE, George, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 31, 1758.

C. O. 138, 20, pp 240-263.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 22, 1758.

C. O. 138, 20, pp. 274-395.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 3, 1758; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, to. 120.

MOORE, Henry, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 138, 22, pp. 46-47.

Commission, dated Apr. 14, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 96-97.

LYTTELTON, William Henry, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 138, 22, pp. 10-37.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 28, 1761.

C. O 138, 22, pp. 55-173.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 28, 1761; note only, "same as to the Gov*. of the Bahama Isles vide Bahama Entries C., fo. 111."

C. O. 138, 22, p 173.

Additional instruction (commissions for judges), Dec. 2, 1761, see to Nova Scotia. The same, dated Dec. 9, 1761. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 169-171.

Additional instruction (privileges for the House of Assembly and Council), submitted June 3, 1766.

C. O. 138, 22, pp. 334-336.

Id., June 18, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 265-267.

Commission as vice admiral, July 22, 1760; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 129.

Commission as vice admiral, May 2, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 138.

ELLETSON, Richard Hope.

Commission, Feb. 5, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 244-245.

TRELAWNEY, Sir William, governor.

Commission, Aug. 15 [1767].

C. O 138, 22, pp. 346-381.

Instructions, Aug. 12, 1767.

C. O 5, 202, pp. 447-530; 138, 22, pp. 384-518.

Trade instructions, July 29, 1767.

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 1-67.

Trade instructions, Aug 12, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 531-569.

Additional instructions (draft), Jan. 15, 1771.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 9-12.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 8, 1767; variations only from that to Gov.

Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks, 10, fo. 80. DALLING, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 5, 1771.

C. O. 324, 42, p. 238.

Instruction (parish of St. James's), submitted Mar. 18, 1773.

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 140-141

Additional instruction (draft), Apr. 1, 1773.

C. O. 5, 28, pp. 33-34.

Keith, Sir Basil, governor.

Commission, May 15, 13th year [1773].

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 143-168

Instructions, submitted July 1, 1773.

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 173-290.

Instructions, dated Aug. 3, 1773.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 211-282

Trade instructions, submitted July 1, 1773.

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 291-333.

Trade instructions, Aug. 3, 1773.

C O. 5, 205, pp. 285-317.

Additional instruction (not to assent to acts altering duties on slaves), submitted Feb. 23, 1775.

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 352-354.

The same, approved Feb. 27, 1775.

C. O. 5, 30, pp. 17-19.

Commission as vice admiral, June 18, 1773; variations only from that to Gov.

Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 144.

Dalling, John, governor.

Commission, submitted Aug. 20, 1777.

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 393-423.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 14, 1778.

C. O. 138, 23, pp. 432-508.

Instructions, dated July 15, 1778.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 1.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 14, 1778; note only, referring to p. 291 (see Keith).

C. O. 138, 23, p. 508.

Note only, that the usual instructions for trade were signed July 15, 1778.

C. O. 5, 207, at end of No. 1.

Additional instruction (removal of judges), submitted Jan. 8, 1782.

C. O. 138, 24, pp. 15-17.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 9, 1777; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 211.

CAMPBELL, Archibald, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Nov. 12, 1779.

C O. 324 44. np. 350-351.

CAMPBELL, Archibald, governor.

Commission, to be found only on the Patent Rolls, 22 Geo. III, Pt IX, 5, July 29, 1782.

Instructions, Aug. 31, 1782.

C. O. 5, 207, No 12; 138, 25, pp. 1-126.

Note only, that the usual instructions for trade were signed Aug 31, 1782 C 0.5, 207, at end of No 12.

Additional instruction (bills of credit), Oct. 2, 1782, see under Parr. Nova Scotia. Commission as vice admiral, July 30, 1782; variations only from that to Gov. Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bl.e. 11, fo. 75.

STUART, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 12, 1782.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 518-519.

LEEWARD ISLANDS.

ANTIGUA, MONTSERRAT, ST. CHRISTOPHER, NEVIS.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson. Winter, 1686 Christopher Codrington, 2d. July 25, 1689 Sir William Mathew July 14, 1704 Daniel Parke. July 14, 1706 Walter Hamilton, president July 14, 1706 Walter Douglas. July 10, 1711 William Mathew July 10, 1711 William Mathew July 10, 1711 John Hart. Dec. 19, 1721 John Hart. Dec. 19, 1721 William Mathew July 14, 1727 William Mathew July 14, 1727 William Mathew July 10, 1711 John Hart. Dec. 19, 1721 William Mathew July 10, 1712 William Mathew July 10, 1713 James Verchild, president of council of St. Christopher July 2, 1753 James Verchild, president of council of St. Christopher July 2, 1768 William Woodley Bichard of council of St. Christopher July 2, 1768 William Woodley Bichard of council of St. Christopher July 2, 1768 William Woodley Bichard of council of St. Christopher July 2, 1768 William Woodley Bichard of council of St. Christopher July 3, 1770 Do. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Lieutenant governor. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Lieutenant governor. Died Agr. 1, 1752 Acting governor. Do. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Do. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Lieutenant governor. Died Agr. 1, 1752 Acting governor. Died Agr. 1, 1762 Acting governor. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Do. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Died Nov. 4, 1704 Died Nov. 4, 1704 Lieutenant governor. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Died Nov. 4, 1704 Died Nov. 4, 1704 Died Nov. 4, 1704 Lieutenant governor. Died Sept. 12, 1729 Died Sept. 1724 Died Nov. 4, 1704 Died Nov	Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
topher. Ralph Payne. Craistar Greatheed, president of council of St. Christopher. Wilham Matthew Burt. Anthony Johnson, president of council of St. Christopher. Thomas Shirley Feb. 1, 1772 1776 Apr. 21, 1777 Jan. 27, 1781 Acting governor.	Christopher Codrington, 2d. Christopher Codrington, 2d. Sir William Mathew John Johnson. Daniel Parke. Walter Hamilton, president. Walter Douglas William Mathew. William Mathew. William Hart. William Mathew. Lord Londonderry. William Mathew. William Mathew. Gibert Fleming, president. George Thomas. James Verchild, president of council of St. Christopher. William Washew. Lord Londondery. Kichard Hawkshaw Losack, president of council of St. Christopher. Ralph Payne. Craitar Greatheed, president of council of St. Christopher. William Matthew Burt. Anthony Johnson, president of council of St. Christopher. Anthony Johnson, president of council of St. Christopher.	July 25, 1689 July 14, 1704 Nov. 4, 1704 Nov. 4, 1704 July 14, 1706 Dec. 7, 1710 July 10, 1711 June 30, 1715 Feb. 7, 1716 July 10, 1711 June 14, 1727 Aug. or Sept. 12, 1729 Sept. 12, 1729 July 2, 1733 June 14, 1752 July 2, 1733 June 14, 1752 July 2, 1733 June 1, 1766 Apr. 10, 1768 Apr. 10, 1768 Apr. 21, 1777 Jan. 27, 1781	Died July 20, 1698. Died Nov. 4, 1704. Lieutenant governor Murdered Dec. 7, 1710. Acting governor. Do. Died Sept. 12, 1729. Lieutenant governor. Lieutenant governor. Do. Died Sept. 12, 1729. Lieutenant governor. Died Aug. 14, 1752. Acting governor. Do. Do. Do. Do. Died Jan. 27, 1781.

WARNER, Sir Thomas, governor of St. Christopher, alias Merwar's Hope, Nevis, Barbadoes [for Barbuda], and Montserrat.

Commission, Sept. 13, 1625. Has pencil marks and underscorings.

C. O. 1, 3, No. 44; C. S. P., I, p. 75.

Commission, Sept. 13, 1625. Fair copy.

C O. 1, 3, No. 45.

Commission from the Earl of Carlisle, Sept. 29, 1629.

C. O. 29, 1, pp. 13-16.

Commission from the Earl of Warwick and other commissioners for the plantations, as governor under the Earl of Warwick, Nov. 24, 1643.

C. O. 1, 10, No. 97.

WILLOUGHBY of Parham, Francis, Lord.

Patent from the Earl of Carlisle constituting him lieutanant general of the Caribbee Islands for 21 years, for the better settling, etc. . . . also to make laws, etc., Feb. 26, 1647.

WARD, Col. Philip, governor of the Isle or Islands of St. Christopher.

Commission from the Council of State, Apr. 24, 1660.

C. O. 1, 14, No. 2, C. S. P., I, p. 479.

WATTS, Col. William, governor of St. Christopher and Anguilla.

Commission from Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lt. Gen. of the Caribbee Islands, Oct. 27, 1660.

C. O. 29, 1, pp. 17-24.

WILLOUGHBY of Parham, William, Lord, governor of St. Christopher.

Commission; fragment of a draft, struck through with a large X on each page. [?1667].

. C. O. 1, 66. No. 65 (fo. 183)

Wheeler, Sir Charles, governor of the Leeward Islands (St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbadoes, Anguilla).

Commission, Jan. 25, 1671

C. O. 1, 26, No. 7, 18 pp; No. 8, 324, 1, pp. 419-431; 389, 4, fos. 22-25.

Commission, same as above, transmitted by the Council of Plantations to Lord Arlington, Jan. 25, 1671.

C. O 153, I, pp. 4-10.

Draft of preamble to commission, in Williamson's hand, n. d.

C. O. 1, 26, No. 9.

Draft of two clauses in commission, one in Williamson's hand. [See Jan. 25, 1671.] C. O 1, 26, No. 10.

Clause to be inserted in commission, Feb., 1671.

C. O. 1, 26, No. 23.

Instructions, Jan. 31, 1671.

C. O. 1, 26, No. 11, 14 pp; No. 12, 6 pp; 153, 1, pp. 11-16; 324, 1, pp. 432-444, 389, 4, fos. 26-28b Draft of commission to appoint deputy governors, etc., in Williamson's hand, Feb. 24, 1671.

C. O 1, 26, No. 24.

Commission as above, Feb. 24, 1671.

C. O. 153, 1, p. 17, 324, 1, pp 444-446; 389, 4, fos. 28b-29.

Revocation of commissions; draft, agreed to, Dec. 20, 1671.

C. O. 1, 27, No. 61.

STAPLETON, Lt. Col. William, governor.

Commission, draft [Dec. 20, 1671].

C. O. 1, 27, No. 59.

Memorandum that the commission was the same, mutatis mutandis, as to Wheeler,

n. d. [Dec. 20, 1671.]

C. O. 324, 1, p. 454.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 24, 1672.

C. O. 389, 4. fos. 40-43.

Commission, Jan. 24, 1672; also marked in margin, "Jan. 31."

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 94-107.

Commission, Feb. 10, 1672.

C. O. 1, 28, No. 13, 8 pp.; 153, 1, pp 41-47.

Instructions, draft [Dec. 20, 1671].

C. O 1, 27, No. 60.

Instructions, clause only, for addition, with memorandum that otherwise they were the same as to Wheeler, n. d. [Dec. 20, 1671].

C. O. 324, 1, pp. 454-455.

Instructions, Jan. 31, 1672.

C. O 389, 4, fos. 45-47.

"Powers and instructions" (so headed), to make laws, etc., May 7, 1683.

C. O. 153, 3, pp. 86-92; 389, 8, pp. 207-212.

Memorandum for new commission and instructions [Dec. 2, 1685].

C. O. 1, 58, No. 105.

Johnson, Sir Nathaniel, governor.

Commission, Sept. 12, 1686.

C. O. 153, 3, pp. 201-211.

JOHNSON, Sir Nathaniel, governor-Continued.

Instructions, Nov. 28, 1686.

C O. 153, 3, pp. 213-229.

Trade instructions, Feb. 13, 1687.

C. O 153, 3. pp. 234-241.

NEVIS, ST. CHRISTOPHER, MONTSERRAT, ANTIGUA, BARBADOES, ANGUILLA, AND THE REST OF THE LEEWARD AND CARIBBEE ISLANDS

CODRINGTON, Col. Christopher, governor.

Commission . . . 1689; memorandum, the warrant was dated Sept. 19 and the great seal Oct. 26 following.

C O. 153, 4, pp.2-17.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 23, 1689.

C O. 324, 22, pp. 86-97.

Instructions, Dec. 5, 1689.

C. O 153. 4. pp. 18-45; 324, 22, pp. 174-186.

Draft of two clauses apparently for instructions, Dec., 1689.

C. O. 152, 37, No. 68.

Additional instructions (to confer with Capt. Wright about defense), Dec. 6, 1689. C. O. 153, 4, pp. 46-49; 324, 22, pp. 153-156.

Additional instructions (about the regiment, to supply vacancies), Dec. 26, 1689. C. O. 153, 4, p. 50; 324, 22, p. 191.

Additional instructions (Capt. Zanespool and Guadeloupe), Jan. 23, 1690.

C O. 153, 4, pp. 181-183.

Additional instructions (all ships to sail under convoy), Oct. 7, 1692.

C. O. 153, 5, pp. 106-107, and, repeated, 118-119; 324, 5, pp. 295-296.

Instructions (to assert King's right to the Virgin Islands), Dec. 5, 1694.

C. O. 153, 5, pp. 205-206; 324, 23, p. 22, 324, 28, pp. 3-4.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 26, 1697; variations only from that to Gov. Beeston, Jamaica, of Sept. 15, 1692.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 4, fo. 155.

HILL, Col. Thomas.

Commission as lieutenant general [it being agreed thus, instead of the words "lieutenant governor"] and to act as governor on death or absence of the chief. Nov. 14, 1689.

C. O. 153, 4, pp. 60-61.

CODRINGTON, Col. Christopher (2d), governor.

Commission, May 13, 1699.

C. O. 153, 6, pp. 421-447.

Instructions, Sept. 7, 1699.

C. O. 153, 6, pp. 448-488.

Instructions, Sept. 27, 1699.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 16-48.

(There seems to be an error in the date of one of these sets of instructions, but we know that the instructions issued to Codrington in 1699 were a long time in the hands of the Board of Trade, being "perfected;" consequently more drafts than one may exist.)

Trade instructions, submitted July 20, 1699; note only, that they were same as entered in Plan. Gen. A., fo. 145.

C. O. 153, 6, p. 490.

Trade instructions, Sept. 27, 1699.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 49-69.

Additional instruction (for recovery of goods plundered by Kidd), submitted Dec. 7, 1699.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 23-24.

The same, Dec. 13, 1699; marked as delivered to himself Dec. 20. 0. 0. 324, 27, pp. 98-99.

CODRINGTON, Col Christopher 2d . governor-Continued.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 1, 1700; variations only from that to Gov.

Blackiston, Md., of May 23, 1669.

Adm Reg. Mun Bla., 5, to. 29.

Commission as governor, submitted July 8, 1702.

C. O. 153, 7, pp 445-40

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 16, 1702. C. O. 324, 29, pp. 47-43.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 1s, 1762.

C. O. 153, 8, pp. 9-59

Instructions, Sept. 30, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 6

Trade instructions, submitted Oct. 16, 1702.

C. O. 153, 8, pp. \$8-113

Trade instructions, Dec. 9, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 7.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls. 5, fo 134

COLLINGWOOD, Col. Francis.

Commission as lieutenant general, but same as lieutenant governor, the office vacant by death of Hill, June 13, 1699; communicated to the board June 22.

C O. 153, 6, pp. 158-490; 324, 27, pp 2-3.

Fox, Edward.

Commission as lieutenant general, but to act as governor on death or absence of the chief, Nov. 15, 1699.

C. O. 152, 3, No. 43; 153, 7, pp. 10-11; 324, 27, fos. 86-86b.

MATHEW, William, governor.

Commission, submitted Jan. 5, 1704.

C. O. 153, 8, pp. 333-363.

Instructions, submitted Feb. 17, 1704.

C. O. 153, 8, pp 364-437.

Trade instructions, submitted Feb. 17, 1704.

C. O 153, 9, pp. 1-31

Additional instruction (number of seamen on ships), submitted July 7, 1704. C. O. 153, 8, pp. 322-326; (carcular) 324, 8, pp. 477-481.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 24, 1704; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls., 5, fo. 165.

PARKE, Daniel, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 29, 1705.

C. O. 153, 9, pp. 95-117.

Instructions, June 18, 4th year of reign [1705].

C. O. 153, 9, pp. 138-196.

Trade instructions [June 18, 1705].

C. O. 153, 9, pp. 197-232.

Additional instruction (devolution of government), May 3, 1707.

C. O. 153, 9, pp. 479-481.

Additional instruction (house rent for the governor), Feb. 14, 1708.

C. O. 153, 10, pp. 116-119.

Additional instruction (re acts of trade), July 3, 1708, see under Crowe, Barbadoes.

Commission as vice admiral, Dec. 10, 1705; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington of Sept. 7, 1702

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 182.

HAMILTON, Walter, president of the council.

Commission as lieutenant general, to act as governor on death or absence of Col. Parke, Feb. 25, 1910.

C. O. 153, 11, pp. 15-16.

Douglas, Walter, governor.

Commission, Apr. 11, 1711.

C O. 153, 11, pp. 145-167.

Additional commission, relating to punishment of offenders in late rebellion in Antigua. In warrant to prepare, Apr. 11, 1711.

C O. 153, 11, pp. 175-180

Clause to be inserted in instructions (same subject), submitted by Douglas, Mar. 26, 1711.

C. O. 153, 11, p 168.

Instructions, Apr. 12 [1711].

C. O. 153, 11, pp. 186-242.

Trade instructions, Apr. 12, 1711.

C. O. 153, 11, pp. 243-272.

Additional instructions (trial of offenders in late rebellion in Antigua), Apr. 13 1711.

C. O. 153, 11, pp. 310-311; 324, 32, pp 70-71, 359, 42, pp 67-68, 3d part.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 14, 1711; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, New York, of Dec. 14, 1709.

Adm. Reg Mun. Bks , 6, fo. 104.

HAMILTON, Walter, governor.

Commission, Aug. 23 [1715], 2d year.

C. O 153, 12, pp. 154-178.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 31, 1715.

C. O. 153, 12, pp. 229-293.

Trade instructions, submitted Aug. 31, 1715. C. O. 153, 12, pp. 294-331.

Additional instruction (not to pass acts affecting trade without suspending clause), Sept. 18 or 27, 1717, see under Lowther, Barbadoes, or Bennett, Bermuda.

Additional instruction (credit bills to have a suspending clause), Sept. 27, 1720, same as to Shute, Massachusetts.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 17, 1715; variations only from that to Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks , 6, fo. 169

HART, John, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 13, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 101-117.

Commission, May 22, 1721.

C. O. 153, 13, pp. 464-486.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 25, 8th year [1721].

C. O. 153, 14, pp. 15-75

Instructions, Sept. 30, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 126-183.

Trade instructions, Sept. 30, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 184-206.

Additional instruction (concerning appeals), submitted July 28, 1726.

C. O. 153, 14, pp. 222–225.

The same, dated Mar. 23, 1727.

C O. 5, 193, pp. 41-43.

Commission as vice admiral, June 8, 1721; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 36.

LONDONDERRY, Earl of, governor.

Commission, submitted June 7, 1727.

C. O. 153, 14, pp. 236-261,

Commission, submitted Jan. 9, 1728.

C. O. 153, 14, pp. 279-306.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 20, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 5-27.

LONDONDERRY, Earl of, governor-Continued.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 12, 1728.

C. O. 153, 14, pp. 332-402.

Instructions, Apr. 18, 1728.

C. O 5, 194, pp 29-76.

Trade instructions, Apr 18, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 81-111.

Additional instruction (accommodation of H M. ships in English Harbor, Antigua), submitted Sept. 23, 1729.

C. O. 153, 15, pp. 33-36.

Additional instruction, Nov. 21, 1729.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 43-45.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr 15, 1728; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica, of Sept. 11, 1727.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 158.

Forbes, Lord, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 13, 1729.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 25-40.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 8, 1730.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo. 10.

Cosby, William, governor.

Commission, May 11, 1731.

C. O. 153, 15, pp. 73-98.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 22, 1731.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 521-540.

SMITH, Michael, president of the council.

Additional instructions (courts of chancery), submitted Dec. 15, 1731. C. O. 153, 15, pp. 118-121.

The same, dated Jan. 28, 1732.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 311-313.

FLEMING, Gilbert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 3, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 411-413; 324, 49, p. 117.

MATHEW, William, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 10, 1733. In margin is "28 May." C. O. 5, 185, pp. 465-484.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 25, 1733.

C. O. 153, 15, pp. 143-224.

Instructions, dated July 20, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 493-552.

Trade instructions, July 20, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 555-587.

Additional instruction (additional salary), submitted July 3, 1733.

C. O. 153, 15, pp. 230-231.

Additional instruction, July 20, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 595-596.

Additional instruction (Charles Dunbar, surveyor general, councillor extraordinary), Aug. 8, 1733.

C. O. 153, 15, pp. 297-300.

The same, dated Nov. 30, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp 440-442; 324, 50, pp. 41-43.

Additional instruction (powder duty on shipping), Feb. 21, 1735.

C. O. 153, 15, pp. 293-294.

Additional instruction, Apr. 4, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 113-114.

Additional instruction (powder duty to be continued), submitted June 18, 1735.

C. O. 153, 16, pp. 2-3. Additional instruction, July 10, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 117-118.

MATHEW, William, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (powder duty at Montserrat,, submitted Aug 13, 1735. C. O 153, 16, pp 7-9.

Additional instruction, Nov 7, 1735.

C. O 5, 196, pp 135-136

Additional instruction (powder duty at Antigua, etc., submitted Nov. 20, 1740. C. O 133, 16, pp. 166-168

Additional instruction (to appoint storekeepers, submitted Nov. 20, 1740.

C. O 153, 16, pp 169-171.

The same, submitted Mar. 11, 1741.

C O. 153, 16, pp. 188-190.

The same, dated Apr. 24, 1741.

C O. 5, 198, p. 449.

Additional instruction (to pass law for powder duty), Apr. 24, 1741. C O. 5, 198, p 457.

Additional instructions, Sept. 17, 1741

C O. 5, 199, p 247.

Additional instruction (office of ordinary not to be deputed except to the lieutenant governor, etc.), submitted Jan. 14, 1751.

C. O. 153, 17, pp. 97-99.

The same, dated Apr. 30, 1751.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 661-662.

Additional instruction (presidency of courts of chancery in Antigua), submitted Feb. 27, 1751.

C. O. 153, 17, pp. 103-108.

The same, dated Apr. 30, 1751.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 653-656.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo 59

THOMAS, George, governor.

Commission, submitted Jan. 31, 1753.

C O. 153, 17, pp. 173-205.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. ... 1753.

C O. 5, 200, pp. 751-772.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 18, 1753.

C. O. 153, 17, pp. 224-334.

Instructions, dated May 10, 1753.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 777-849.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 18, 1753.

C. O. 153, 17, pp. 335-410.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 19, 1753; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 89.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 153, 19, pp. 17-49.

Instructions, submitted May 19, 1761.

C. O. 153, 19, pp. 80-187.

Trade instructions, submitted May 19, 1761; memorandum only: "same as to the Bahama Islands vide Bahama, Entries C. fol. III."

C. O. 153, 19, p. 186.

Additional instructions (commissions to judges), Dec. 2, 1761, see to Nova Scotia.

Commission as vice admiral, June 20, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 147.

FLEMING, Gilbert.

Commission as lieutenant general, and to act on death or absence of governor, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 153, 19, pp. 51-53.

WOODLEY, William, governor.

Commission, Dec. 18, 1766.

C. O. 153, 19, pp. 229-266.

Instructions, submitted July 29, 1767.

C. O. 153, 19, pp 272-392.

Instructions, dated Aug. 12, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 335-407.

Trade instructions, submitted July 29, 1767.

C. O. 153, 19, pp 392-457.

Trade instructions, dated Aug. 12, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 411-445

Commission as vice admiral, Nov. 24, 1766; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 72.

Losack, Richard Hawkshaw.

Commission as lieutenant general, and to act on death or absence of governor, Dec. 19, 1767.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 385-386; 324, 51, pp. 332-334.

PAYNE, Sir Ralph, governor.

Commission, May 15, 1771.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 4-35.

Instructions, June 14, 1771.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 55-153.

Instructions, dated Aug. 9, 1771.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 575-671.

Trade instructions, submitted June 6, 1771.

C O. 153, 20, pp. 154-205.

Trade instructions; note only, "that these were signed Aug. 9, 1771."

C. O. 5, 203, p. 674.

Additional instruction (House of Assembly of St. Christopher), submitted May 21, 1772.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 212-214.

Additional instruction (draft), July 1, 1772.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 251-252.

Additional instruction (act for arbitration in Antigua), submitted Apr. 29, 1773. C. O. 153, 20, pp. 229-231.

Additional instruction, May 11, 1773.

C. O. 5, 28, pp. 53-54.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 14, 1771; variations only from that to Gov.

Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 134.

BURT, William, Mathew, governor.

Commission, submitted Sept. 13, 1776.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 263-304.

Instructions, submitted Dec. 10, 1776.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 311-442.

Instructions, Jan. 28, 1777.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 9.

Trade instructions, submitted Dec. 10, 1776; note only, "see Instructions to Sir R. Payne, fo. 154 of this volume."

C. O. 153, 20, p. 442.

Note only, that the usual trade instructions were signed and dated Jan. 28, 1777. C 0.5, 206, at end of No. 9.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 19, 1776; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 206.

SHIRLEY, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted March 23, 1781.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 500-529.

SHIRLEY. Thomas, governor-Continued.

Instructions, submitted April 10, 1781

C. O 153, 21, pp. 8-133.

Instructions, dated May 2, 1781.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 6.

Trade instructions, May 2, 1781.

C O 5, 207, No. 7.

Additional instruction (directions upon assent to bills from the Virgin Islands), approved May 10, 1782.

C 0. 5. 32 [not numbered].

Additional instruction, Sept. 11, 1782, see to Haldimand, governor of Quebec.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 28. 1781; variations only from that to Gov. Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun Bks., 11, fo. 56.

MAINE.

Commission from Sir Ferdinando Gorges appointing Sir Thomas Joscelyn, Richard Vines, Francis Champernoun, his nephew, Henry Joscelyn, Richard Bonithon, Will. Hooke, and Edward Godfrey, council of the province. With ordinances or, as indorsed, instructions. Mar. 10, 1640.

C. O. 1, 10, No. 58; also No. 59.

MARTINIQUE.

RUFANE, William, governor.

Commission, July 30, 1762.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 197.

DARBY, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 30, 1762.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 197-198.

ERSKINE, David, lieutenant governor of the fort of St. Pierre.

Commission, July 30, 1762.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 199-200.

MARYLAND.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.1

CALVERT, Leonard, and others.

Eighth article of instructions from Lord Baltimore, Sept. 4, 1634.

C. O. 1, 39, No. 44 XII.

Instructions, Aug. 8, 1636.

Md. Arch. III, 47.

Commission, Apr. 15, 1637.

Md. Arch. III, 49.

Commission, Sept. 4, 1642.

Md. Arch. III, 108.

Commission, 1644.

Md. Arch. III, 151.

STONE, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Aug. 6, 1648.

Md. Arch. III, 201.

FENDALL, Josias, governor.

Commission, July 10, 1656.

Md. Arch. III, 523.

Instructions, Oct. 23, 1656.

Md. Arck. III, 324.

¹ For complete list of the Maryland governors, from Claiborne, 1831, to Copley, 1891, with references to the whereabouts of their commissions and instructions, see Steiner in *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, 98-101; and for the same, 1631 to 1776, id. in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 321-328.

CALVERT, Philip, lieutenant governor.

Commission, June 24, 1660.

Md. Arch. III, 391.

CALVERT. Charles, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 30, 1661.

Md. Arch. III, 439.

Commission, Feb. 16, 1666.

Md. Arch. III, 542.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administra-	Remarks.	
Lionel Copley. Sir Edmund Andros, governor of Virginia. Sir Thomas Lawrence Francis Nicholson. Nathsadiel Blakiston. John Seymour. Edward Lloyd, president John Hart.	July 26, 1694 Dec. 24, 1698 Apr. 12, 1704	Died Sept 9, 1693 Acting governor. Do. Commission read Jan 2, 1699. Died July 30, 1709. Acting governor.	

COPLEY, Lionel, governor.

Draft commission. [Note from Calendar of State Papers: "In the usual terms as to king's governors but in Lord Baltimore's name." Aug., 1690.]

C. O. 5, 713, No. 27, 5 pp; Md. Arch. VIII, 263.

Draft commission. [Note from Calendar of State Papers: "Differs in no essential particular from that issued to colonies immediately under the Crown."] Jan. 21, 1691. Warrant signed Feb. 14; Great Seal, June 27, 1691.

C. O. 5, 713, No. 42, 32 pp.; 724. pp. 1-17; Md. Arch. VIII, 263, 271.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 14, 1691.

C. O. 324, 23, pp. 1-11.

Instructions, Aug. 26, 1691.

C. O. 5, 724, pp. 18-36; Md. Arch. VIII, 271.

Instructions, Nov. 2, 1691.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 387-400.

Instructions (circular—ships to sail in fleets), Oct. 7, 1692.

C. O. 5, 724, pp. 50-51; Md. Arch. VIII, 380.

Instructions, to assist New York, Mar. 1, 1693.

C. O. 5, 724, pp 51-52, 99-100; Md. Arch. VIII, 456.

Commission as vice admiral, to "Leoline" Copley, Jan. 20, 1692.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 4, to. 58.

NICHOLSON, Francis, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Feb. 24, 1692.

C. O. 5, 724, pp. 41-42, 324, 22, p. 521; Md. Arch. VIII, 299.

Andros, Sir Edmund (governor of Virginia).

Commission to command in chief in Maryland and act in case of death of Nicholson and absence of Copley, Mar. 3, 1692.

C. O. 5, 724, pp. 43-44; 324, 22, p. 520.

NICHOLSON, Francis, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 23, 1694. "This passed the great seal on 10 Feb., 1692."

C. O. 5, 724, pp. 131-149; 324, 24, pp. 170-182; Md. Arch. XX, 83.

Instructions, March 8, 1694.

C. O. 5, 724, pp. 150-171; 324, 24, pp. 198-214; Md. Arch. XXIII, 540.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 5, 1694,

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 4, to. 112.

BLAKISTON, Nathaniel, governor.

Amended clause for commission, annexed to Order of Council of Sept. 29, 1698.

C. O. 5, 714, No. 59 ¹; 725, p. 219.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Oct. 9, 1698.

C. O. 324, 25, pp. 83-107.

Commission, Oct. 19, 1698.

C. O. 5, 725, pp. 227-252.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Oct. 24, 1698.

C O. 324, 26, pp. 145-155.

Instructions, Oct. 4, 1698.

C. O. 5, 725, pp. 253-239, 321, 25, pp. 109-144, 324, 26, pp. 166-194.

Trade instructions, Oct. 4, 1698.

C. O. 324, 26, pp. 134-217.

Additional instructions, May 18, 1699.

C. O. 5, 725, pp 375-376.

Commission as vice admiral, May 23, 1699.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 5, fo. 1.

Clause or clauses of commission of vice admiralty. In Popple's letter of Sept. 19, 1699.

C. O. 5, 714, No. 73^I; 725, p. 401.

BLAKISTON. Renewal.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 16, 1702.

C. O. 324, 29, pp. 79-93.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 11, 1701; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 5, fo. 139, 1 p.; Md. Arch. XXV, 61-67.

TENCH, Thomas, president, and rest of the council.

Additional instruction (no ships to sail without convoy), Jan. 7, 1703.

C. O. 5, 183, No. 18, 1360, p. 360 (note only).

The same, dated Jan. 11, 1703.

C. O. 5, 728, pp. 146-147. SEYMOUR, Col. John, governor.

Commission, headed Jan. 13, 1703, but at end is Feb. 12.

C. O. 5, 726, pp. 152-168.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 22, 1703.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 20.

Instructions (receiving gifts from the assembly), Apr. 20, 1703.

Md. Arch. XXIV, 358-359.

Instructions, May 4, 1703.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 21; 728, pp. 177-221; cf. Md. Arch. XXIV, 330-334, 387-371.

Trade instructions, May 4, 1703.

C. O., 5, 188, No. 22; 726, pp. 222-253.

Additional instructions (number of seamen allowed for ships), July 17, 1704.

C. O. 5, 726, pp. 284-286.

Additional instructions (as to settling ports), May 3, 1705.

C. O. 5, 721, fo. 136; 725, pp. 309-310.

Additional instructions (devolution of Government), May 3, 1707.

C. O. 5, 726, pp. 432-434.

Additional instruction (relative to acts of trade), July 3, 1708.

C.O. 5, 727, pp. 47-50.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 22, 1703; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands, of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 160.

Commander in chief for the time being (Maj. Gen. Edward Lloyd was acting governor).

Additional instructions (gauge for hogsheads), submitted June 25, 1711. C. O. 5, 727, pp. 265-271.

The same, dated June 26, 1711.

C. O. 324, 33, pp. 94-98; 389, 42, pp. 86-92.

Phips, Sir William, governor—Continued.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 5, 1691.

C O. 324, 22, pp. 401-407.

Instructions, Dec. 31, 1691.

C. O. 5, 905, pp. 365-394; 324, 22, pp. 411-419.

Commission as vice admiral, Dec. 29, 1691. Adm. Reg. Mun Bks. 4, fo. 63.

STOUGHTON, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 14, 1691.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 409-410.

BELLOMONT, Earl of, governor.

Commission, June 18, 1697.

C. O. 5, 907, pp. 252-259.

Instructions, Aug. 31, 1697.

C. O. 5, 907, pp. 260-272; 324, 24, pp. 431-452.

Instruction, to establish a post office, etc., Aug. 31, 1697.

C. O. 5, 882, p. 269.

Commission as vice admiral, including New York and New Hampshire, Oct. 10, 1698; variations only from that to Gov. Beeston, Jamaica, of Sept. 15, 1692. Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 4, fo. 204.

Povey, Capt. Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 11, 1702.

C. O. 5, 910, pp. 194-196.

DUDLEY, Col. Joseph, governor.

Commission by the Lords Justices, in warrant to prepare, June 28, 1701.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 339-351.

Commission, page headed Dec. 11, 1701; memorandum in margin: "This was signed by H. M. 10 Mar, 1701/2."

C. O. 5, 910, pp. 17-29.

Instructions, page headed Dec. 11, 1701; note: "V. Repn. on p. 183," which is March 5, 1701/2.

C. O. 5, 910, pp. 30-60; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d ser. IX, 101.

Trade instructions; memorandum only, that they are the same as for New Hampshire.

C. O. 5, 910, p. 151.

Additional instruction (seamen for ships), July 17, 1704.

C. O. 5, 911, pp. 354-358.

Additional instruction (devolution of government on decease or absence of governor), May 3, 1707.

C. O. 5, 912, pp. 352-353.

Additional instruction (laws of trade), July 3, 1708.

C. O. 5, 912, pp. 427-430; 324, 9, pp. 211-214.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 23, 1701.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks 5 to. 65.

TAILER, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1711.

C. O. 324, 32, pp. 68-69; 389, 42, pp. 65-66 (3d pt.).

BURGES, Elizeus, governor.

Commission, transmitted in letter to secretary of state, dated Feb. 8, 1715.

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 149-163.

Instructions, transmitted in letter dated Sept. 8, 1715.

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 187-227.

Trade instructions, transmitted in letter dated Sept. 8, 1715.

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 261-293.

Commission as vice admiral, including New Hampshire, Mar. 22, 1714/5; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 170.

SHUTE, Samuel, governor.

Commission, in letter dated May 10, 1716; memorandum in margin. "Teste June 15, 1716."

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 331-346.

Commission, 1716 (2 Geo. I).

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 248-259.

Instructions, 1716 (2 Geo. I).

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 260-296

Instructions, sent in letter dated July 18, 1716.

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 374-418.

Instructions, 1-81, no date.

C. O. 5, 933, fo. 291, 321 pp.

Trade instructions, sent in letter dated July 18, 1716.

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 467-501.

Trade instructions, 1716 (2 Geo. I).

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 232-247.

Additional instructions (not to pass acts affecting the trade of the kingdom without a royal prerogative clause), Sept. 27, 1717.

C. O. 5, 868, X 45, 1 p.; also part of X 46.

Additional instructions (acts for bills of credit to have a suspending clause), Sept. 20, 1720. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 10, pp. 287-288; 324, 34, pp. 13-14, N. H. Prov. Pap. III, 813; N. H. State Papers, XVIII, 750.

Additional instruction, submitted Mar. 29, 1723, see to New Hampshire; dated July 23, see to New Jersey.

Instructions (referring to four acts of Parliament), n. d., marked in pencil on the back "1723."

C. O. 5, 752, p. 32 (draft form).

Commission as vice admiral, including New Hampshire, June 13, 1716; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, 10, 192.5

DUMMER, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 28, 1716.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 356-357.

BURNET, William, governor

Commission (draft), submitted Dec. 19, 1727.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 16, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 203-216.

Instructions, Mar. 28, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 219-249, 916, pp. 67-109.

Trade instructions, Mar. 28, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 251-277.

Additional instruction, same as to New Hampshire, see June 12 and 18, 1728, or under New York, Apr. 5, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, p. 412.

Commission as vice admiral, including New Hampshire, Mar. 14, 1728; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica, of Sept. 11, 1727.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 153b.

DUMMER, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 20-21; 324, 50, pp. 52-53.

Additional instructions (upon issuing of public money and taking of fees), submitted Nov. 12, 1729.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 218-220.

Additional instruction, dated Jan. 2, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 431-432.

TAILER, William, lieutenant governor.

Phips, Spencer, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 29, 1732.

C. O. 324, 36, p. 326; 324, 50, pp. 59-60.

Belcher, Jonathan, governor.

Commission, submitted Dec. 11, 1729.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 226-241.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 16, 1729.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 345-359.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 20, 1730.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 276-327.

Instructions, dated May 8, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 361-400.

Trade instructions, May 8, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 405-427.

Trade instructions; note only, that they were the same as to Col. Montgomerie, New York, of Sept. 28, 1727.

C. O. 5, 916, p. 381.

Additional instruction, to the governor of New England and to Col. Dunbar in accordance with act for importation of naval stores and penalties for destroying woods, submitted June 25, 1730.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 389-390.

Additional instruction (penalties for destruction of woods), Sept. 26, 1730, same as to Montgomerie, New York.

Additional instruction (about support offered by the assembly), submitted Aug. 10, 1731.

C. O. 5, 897, p. 25 (rough draft); 916, pp. 429-431.

The same, dated Aug. 13, 1731.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 282-284.

Additional instruction (to assent to act granting £3,000 toward his support), submitted Feb. 2, 1733.

C. O. 5, 897, p. 133 (draft); 917, p. 79.

The same, dated Feb. 21, 1732/3.

C. O. 5, 10, p. 202; 324, 36, pp. 395-396.

Additional instruction (similar subject), submitted Dec. 11, 1733.

C. O. 5, 897, p. 147 (draft); 917, p. 93.

The same, dated Jan. 11, 1733/4.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 431-432.

Additional instruction (similar subject), submitted Nov. 4, 1734.

C. O. 5, 897, p. 169 (rough draft); 917, p. 104.

The same, dated Nov 8, 1734.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 487-488.

Additional instruction (similar subject), submitted Oct. 31, 1735. [The draft in vol. 897 is also marked "Nov., 1735."]

C. O. 5, 897, p. 199; 917, pp. 149-150.

Additional instruction (bills of credit), submitted Mar. 9, 1737. [The copy in 917 is marked in red: "This was dated 30 Apr., 1737."]

C. O. 5, 897, p. 275; 917, pp. 213-215.

The same, dated Apr. 30, 1737.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 56-58.

Instructions (first draft—on the outbreak of war with Spain), 1739/40.

C. O. 5, 10, fos. 206-213.

Amended draft, Apr. 2, 1740, with list of nine governors to whom sent. C. O. 5, 10, fos. 214-221; 752, 338; N. H. State Papers, XVIII, 103.

The same, Apr. 2, 1740.

C. O. 5, 899, p. 342.

Additional instruction (settling boundaries), submitted June 17, 1740. C. O. 5, 917, pp. 300-306.

The same, dated Aug. 5, 1740.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 319-323.

Belcher, Jonathan, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (on the proposed land bank), submitted Mar. 13, 1741.

C. O. 5, 917, pp. 340-341.

Commission as vice admiral, New Hampshire included, Mar. 2, 1730; variations only from that to Lord Forbes, Leeward Islands, of Jan. 8, 1730 Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls. 8, to. 23.

Shirley, William, governor.

Commission (draft), submitted May 2, 1741.

C. O. 5, 917, pp. 343-360.

Commission, June 25, 1741. This date is only in the index to volume.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 111-120.

Instructions, submitted July 22, 1741.

C. O 5, 918, p. 8.

Instructions, dated Sept 10, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 127-168.

Trade instructions, Sept 10, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 171-205.

Additional instruction (bills of credit), submitted June 14, 1743.

C. O. 5, 918, p. 97.

Additional instruction (re new townships), submitted July 27, 1743.

C. O. 5, 918, p. 109.

Instruction (re bills of credit), submitted Aug. 9, 1744.

C. O. 5, 918, p. 136.

The same, dated Sept. 9, 1744.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 49-50; 324, 37, pp. 319-320.

Additional instructions (appeals), see to Knowles of Jamaica, Dec. 5 or 18, 1753.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 21, 1741; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew. Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 8, fo. 182.

Pownall, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Feb. 17, 1757.

C. O. 5, 918, p. 354.

Instructions, submitted Feb. 17, 1757.

C. O. 5, 918, p. 378.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 28, 1757; variations only from that to Gov.

Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 114.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, page headed Jan. 16, 1758.

C. O. 324, 51, pp. 113-114.

Commission, dated Feb. 10, 1758.

C. O. 324, 38, p. 498.

BERNARD, Francis, governor.

Instructions, Mar. 18, 1760.

C. O. 5, 897, p. 413.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 12, 1760; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks , 9, fo. 127.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 7-31.

Trade instructions, June 30, 1761.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 54-123.

Additional instruction (impost and tonnage of shipping), submitted July 24, 1767. C. O. 5, 920, pp. 240-242.

The same, dated Sept. 11, 1767.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 376-377.

Commission as vice admiral, May 18, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 139.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 33-35.

Commission, dated Mar. 13, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 57.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 11, 1770.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 282-303.

Commission, dated Apr. 13, 1770. This bears red-ink alterations for Gov. Gage. C. O. 5, 765, pp. 96-113.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 6, 1771.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 315-363.

Instructions, dated Apr. 13, 1771.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 481-511.

Trade instructions, submitted Mar. 6, 1771.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 364-405.

Trade instructions; note only, that they were signed the same day (Apr. 13, 1771). C. O. 5, 203, p. 514.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 4, 1771; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 128.

OLIVER, Andrew, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 19, 1770.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 211-212 GAGE, Lt. Gen. Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 31, 1774.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 427-443.

Commission, Apr 7, 1774; memorandum only, directing to Hutchinson's, p. 96, of same volume [in 1770].

C. O. 5, 765, p. 294.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 31, 1774.

C. O. 5, 920, pp. 444-492.

Instructions, dated Apr. 5, 1774.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 427-461.

Trade instructions, submitted Mar. 31, 1774; note only, same as those for Hutchinson, fo. 364 of this book.

C. O. 5, 920, p. 492.

Trade instructions; note only, that they were in the usual form and dated Apr. 5, 1774.

C. O. 5, 205, p. 462.

Instructions, submitted May 20, 1774.

C. O. 5, 921, pp. 19-25.

Additional instruction, approved June 1, 1774.

C. O 5, 29, pp. 49-56.

Additional instructions, June 3, 1774.

C. O. 5, 765, pp. 321-326.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 5, 1774; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 155.

OLIVER, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 28, 1774.

C. O. 324, 43, pp. 89-90.

MONTSERRAT.

STAPLETON, Lieut. Col. William, lieutenant governor.

Commission as governor, to obey Wheeler, governor in chief of the Leeward Islands, May 23, 1671.

C. O. 1, 26, No. 65; 389, 4, fo. 38.

STAPLETON, Lieut. Col. William, lieutenant governor.

Rough draft of commission to Robert (sic) Stapleton, with corrections by Williamson, also fair copy. [May 23, 1671].

C. O. 1, 28, No. 66; and No. 67.

BLAKISTON, Nathaniel, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 6. 1689.

C. O. 153, 4, p. 66; 324, 22, p. 98.

DELAVAL, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Nov. 28, 1695.

C. O. 324, 24, p. 256.

Hodges, Anthony, lieutenant governor.

Commission; memorandum only, that it is same as to Yeamans, Antigua, Sept. 7, 1702.

C. O. 324, 29, p. 125.

PEARNE, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Aug. 4, 1710.

C. O. 389, 42, pp. 8-9, 3d part.

HAY, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 1, 1714.

C. O. 5, 190, p. 43.

TALMASH, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission; note only that it is same as that of Oct. 1, 1714; May 20, 1715. C. O. 5, 190, p. 279.

DILKE, Charles, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 25, 1722.

C. O. 324, 34, pp. 133-134.

George, Paul, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 36, p. 24; 324, 50, p. 35.

DIGGES, or DIGGS, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 14, 1729.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 113-114; 324, 49, p. 58.

FORBES, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 26, 1734.

C. O. 324, 38, p. 467.

CARPENTER, Lieut. Col. Robert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 7, 1738.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 122-123.

Commission, May 27, 1738.

C. O. 324, 50, p. 170.
(Either there is an error in the date of one of these commissions or else two commissions were issued, which is unlikely.)

CARPENTER, Benjamin, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 13, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 59.

NEVIS.

WARD, Col. Philip, governor.

Commission, Nov. 17, 1659.

C. O. 1, 13, No. 75.

MACPHERSON, Sir Eneas, governor.

Commission, Aug. 10, 1688.

C. O. 1, 65, No. 41.

NETHEWAY, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 26, 1692.

C. O. 324, 22, p. 522.

GARDINER, Samuel, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 8, 1692

C O. 324, 24, p. 70.

ELRINGTON, Capt. Roger, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Dec. 20, 1699.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 27-28.

Commission, Jan. 2, 1700.

C O. 324, 27, pp. 103-104.

HAMILTON, Walter, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 5, 1707.

C O. 153, 10, pp. 45-46

SMITH, Daniel, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 2, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, p. 100

SIBOURG, Maj. Gen. Charles, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May . . . 1722.

C. O. 324, 34, p. 118.

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 49, pp 50-51, 324, 50, p. 33.

SMITH, Michael, president of council.

Additional instructions, 1731, see under Leeward Islands.

HANMER, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 26, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp 404-405; 324, 49, p. 115.

JOHNSTON, James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 153, 19, pp. 65-67.

Commission, Apr. 14, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 97-98.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

CARLETON, Thomas, governor.

Commission, draft, approved in council, July 28, 1784.

C. O 5, 208 (sixth paper in book).

Commission, without date.

C. O. 324, 20, pp. 1-23

Draft of instructions, no name filled in. Articles 1-12; 27 to part of 30; 52-54; 94-96, n. d. [? 1784].

C. O. 5, 208 (fourth paper in book).

Draft of trade instructions to Thomas Carleton, articles 1-17. Approved in council, July 28, 1784. With corrections and the names of Lord Dorchester and Quebec substituted.

C. O. 5, 208 (ninth paper).

Additional instruction (regulating trade with U.S.). Approved May 4, 1785. C.O. 5, 32 (not numbered).

DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND.

DUDLEY, Joseph, president.

Commission for the government of New England by a president and council, Sept. 27, 1685.

C. O. 5, 904, pp. 252-258; Mass. Col. Soc. Publ. II; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll, 1st ser., V, 244, 5th ser, IV, 145; N. H. Prov. Pap. I, 590; Toppan, Edward Randolph, IV. 51.

Commission as vice admiral, Nov. 13, 1685; beginning only given and reference made to that to Lord Willoughby in the "Parchment Book of Barbados," p 88.

C. O. 29. 1.

C. O. 5, 904, pp 266-267; Mass Col. Soc. Publ., II, 199-202.

Andros, Sir Edmund, governor.

Commission, June 3, 1686.

C O. 5, 904, pp. 270-281; Mass Hist. Soc. Coll , 3d series, VII, 123; R. I. Coll Rec. III, 212; Mass. Col. Soc. Publ. II, N. H Prot. Pap. II, 1, N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll VIII, 208, Force's Tracts, IV, No. 8.

Instructions, Sept. 12, 1686.

C. O. 5, 904, pp. 283-296

Additional instruction (to demand surrender of Rhode Island charter, etc.), Sept. 13, 1686.

C. O 5, 904, pp. 308-307, 1260, No. 3, XI, Mass. Hist Soc Coll, 3d series, VII, 162, R. I Col Rec., III, 218.

"Additional Instructions about Trade," Oct 31, 1686.

C O. 5, 904, pp 330-332

Commission as vice admiral, calendared at June, 1686, but entered in the volume at Oct.; beginning only given with reference to Lord Willoughby's as above under Dudley.

C O. 5, 904, pp 316-317.

Andros. Renewal.

Commission as governor, Apr. 7, 1688, including New York and East and West Jersey.

C. O. 5, 904, pp. 381-391; N. Y. Col. Docts. III, 537.

Instructions, Apr. 16, 1688.

C. O. 5, 904, pp. 392-404, N. Y. Col Docts. III, 543

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 30, 1688; beginning and end only, referring for text to Lord Willoughby's of 1666.

C. O. 5, 904, pp. 405-406; Batchellor's Laws of New Hampshire, I, 830 (translation).

NICHOLSON, Capt. Francis, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 20, 1688.

C. O. 5, 904, pp. 406-407, 1040, No. 87, II.

DUDLEY, Col. Joseph.

Commission as vice admiral of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Providence, and the King's Province; variations only from that to Gov. Crowe, Barbadoes, of the same date, Feb. 26, 1702.

Adm. Reg Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 161, Mass Col. Soc Publ , II, 220-224.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

(For the period of military government see "Nova Scotia and Newfoundland").

The government of Newfoundland was separated from that of Nova Scotia in 1729. Civil government was established by order in council May 22 of the same year. Henceforth a commodore was annually appointed for this station as governor of the island and commander in chief both of the land and sea forces. The commodore-governor usually arrived in June or July and remained until the end of September. In 1738 courts of justice were erected; in 1741 naval officer, collector, and comptroller were appointed, and in the same year the question was raised whether or not Newfoundland, which had hitherto appeared solely in light of a fishery, should in the future be considered as one of the plantations. The first governor of importance, as marking the civil development of the colony, was Palliser. The dates given below are often only approximate, as the commodores rarely mention the exact date of their arrival at St. John's and the publishing of their commissions. Many Newfoundland records were destroyed in 1748.

Royal governors. Date of actual adminstration.		Remarks.
Henry Osborn George Clinton Edward Falkingham Robert MacCarthy Lord Muskerry Fitzroy Henry Lee Philip Vanbrugh H. Medley Thomas Smith John Byng Thomas Smith Charles Hardy Richard Edwards Charles Watson George Bridges Rodney	About Sept. 1,1729. About July 25,1731. July 13,1732. July, 1733. July, 1733. July, 1734. July, 1741. June 19,1742. July, 1743. July, 1744. July, 1745. July, 1745. Sully, 1745. Summer,1749.	Governor and commander in chief of the island of Newfoundland, of the garrison of Placentia, and of all other forts and garrisons.
Francis William Draké. Hugh Bonfoy Richard Dorrill Richard Edwards James Webb Thomas Graves Hugh Palliser John Byron Molmeux Shuldham Robert Duff John Montague Richard Edwards John Campbell	Summer,1750. Summer,1753. Summer,1755. Summer,1765. Summer,1762. June 18,1769 June, 1769 June, 22,1772 July 11,1775 May 6,1776 Summer,1779. July 31,1782	

¹ Capt. Webb died in May, 1761, Craves was appointed in his place but did not go out till 1762, and Capt. Ross, commander at St. John's, acted as governor in 1761. *Put Corresp.*, II, 479.

NEWFOUNDLAND, FORT AND GARRISON OF PLACENTIA, AND ALL OTHER FORTS AND FORTRESSES, ETC.

OSBORN, Henry, governor.

Commission, submitted May 14, 1729. Name, and the date of May 31, are inserted in red ink. [This commission revokes such part of Phillips's commission, Nova Scotia, as relates to Placentia.]

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 183-192.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 26, 1729.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 604-610.

Instructions, name not filled in, submitted May 14, 1729.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 193-204.

Instructions, June 3, 1729.

C.O. 5, 194, pp. 614-648, 5, 195, pp. 1-11.

CLINTON, Capt. George, governor.1

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 11, 1731.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 545-552.

Instructions, May 20, 1731.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 559-597.

FALKINGHAM, Edward, governor.

Commission, submitted May 5, 1732.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 269-277.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 18, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 263-268.

Instructions, May 20, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 275-317.

 $^{^{1}}$. The commission and instructions to Clinton do not appear in the Newfoundland volume, C. 0.195, 7. A representation of Apr. 23, 1731, states that they were copied from those to Osborn.

MUSKERRY, Lord, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 5, 1733.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 280-289.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 10, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 713-719.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 19, 1733.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 292-339.

Instructions, May 10, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 729-762.

LEE, Fitzroy Henry, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 28, 1735.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 345-350.

Commission, annexed to order in council of May 16, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 143-148.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 30, 1735.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 357-401.

Instructions, May 16, 1735. [Query, date on which they were approved.]

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 150-182.

VANBRUGH, Philip, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 13, 1738.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 417-427. Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 25, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 119-124.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 13, 1738,

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 428-477.

Instructions, May 26, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 129-161.

MEDLEY, Henry, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 11, 1739; note only, in margin of representation, that the commission and instructions were the same, mutatis mutandis, as those to Vanbrugh the previous year.

C. O. 195, 7, p. 479.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 15, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 25-30.

Instructions, June 15, 1739.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 37-39.

SMITH, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 25, 1741.

C. O. 195, 7, pp. 489-496.

Commission, endorsed Apr. 1741 (list of contents has it Apr. 23).

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 460-474

Instructions, Apr. 23, 1741.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 477-505; 195, 7, pp. 499-539.

BYNG, John, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 2, 1742.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 3-9.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Mar. 10, 1742

C. O. 5, 199, pp 411-416.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 2, 1742.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 9-45.

Instructions, Mar. 10, 1742.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 419-445.

SMITH, Thomas, governor.

Commission and instructions the same as those issued to Byng; see representations of May 13, 15, 1743.

C. O. 195, 8, p. 46 and p. 49.

HARDY, Charles, governor.

Id. See representations of May 24, 29, 1744.

C. O. 195, 8, p. 51 and p. 53.

Commission, 1744.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 1-9.

Instructions, June 5, 1744.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 13-47.

EDWARDS, Richard, governor.

Commission, Jan. 22, 1745, same as that to Byng.

See letter, C O 195, 8, p. 55.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 7, 1745.

C. O. 5, 200, pp 53-58.

Instructions, Feb. 7, 1745.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 163-169, 195, 8, pp. 59-96.

WATSON, Charles, governor.

Commission, Apr. 21, 1748, same as that to Byng.

See letter C. O. 195, 8, p. 132

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 5, 1748. C. O. 5, 200, pp. 457-464

Instructions, submitted Apr. 27, 1748.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 138-178.

Instructions, May 5, 1748.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 473-502.

RODNEY, George Bridges, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 14, 1749, same as that to Byng.

See letter, C O. 195, 8, p. 184.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 2, 1749.

C. O. 5, 200, pp 560-564

Instructions, submitted Apr. 20, 1749. Articles 63-69 only—for rest, see those to Watson.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 188-195.

Instructions, May 2, 1749.

C. O. 5, 200, pp 568-603.

DRAKE, Francis William, governor.

Notes only: against representation of Jan. 20, 1750, that the commission was same as to Byng, and against representation of Feb. 6, that instructions were same as to Rodney.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 196, 200.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 22, 1750.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 605-608.

New commission with amended clause, submitted Apr. 6, 1750 (revokes previous one "of Jan. 26").

C. O. 195, 8, pp 210-219.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Apr. 11, 1750.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 625-630

Instructions, submitted Apr. 6, 1750.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 220-263.

Instructions, Apr. 11, 1750.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 633-651.

Commission, submitted May 8, 1751; note only, referring to folio 210, the previous year's commission.

C. O. 195, 8, p. 267.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 15, 1751.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 669-675.

Instructions, submitted May 17, 1751.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 278-320.

Bonfoy, Hugh, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 24, 1753.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 721–727. (Instructions not found—the representation of May 17, 1753, C. O.195, 8,p. 323, refers to them as being same as to Drake in 1751).

DORRILL, Richard, governor.

Commussion and instructions not found: a representation of May 30, 1755, alludes to the commission as being in the usual form, and another of June 5, to the instructions as being same as to Bonfoy.

C. O. 195, 8, p. 334.

EDWARDS, Richard, governor.

Commission and instructions not found; representations of Mar. 15 and 22, 1757, refer to the commission as in the usual form and the instructions same as to Dorrill or Drake.

C. O. 195, 8, p. 338.

WEBB, James, governor.

Commission, submitted May 8, 1760.

C. O. 195, 8, pp. 348-361.

Instructions, note only, "vide folio 278", see to Drake above. Commission, submitted Apr. 29, 1761.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 6-19.

Instructions, submitted May 1, 1761.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 21-79.

GRAVES, Thomas, governor.

Commission and instructions are not given; a representation of May 19, 1761, has a note that they are in the same form as to Webb.

C. O. 195, 9, p. 81.

"Draught of instructions" for the governor of Newfoundland, fort of Placentia, and forts dependent, for the year 1763. Submitted Mar. 21.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 95-148.

NEWFOUNDLAND, ANTICOSTI, LABRADOR, AND THE MAGDALEN ISLANDS.

GRAVES, Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 25, 1763.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 150-161.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 29, 1763.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 164-216.

Additional instructions (not to interrupt French fishing), covering letter is dated Mar. 14, 1764.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 240-248.

PALLISER, Hugh, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 20, 1764.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 250-259.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, March 27, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 9-19.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 10, 1764.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 276-327.

Additional instructions (not to interrupt French fishing), submitted Mar. 30, 1764. C. O. 195, 9, pp 266-273.

Additional instructions (fishery regulations), submitted May 6, 1765.

C. O. 195, 9, pp. 434-436.

Byron, John, governor

Commission, submitted Apr. 7, 1769.

C. O. 195, 10, pp. 9-23.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 7, 1769.

C. O. 195, 10, pp. 24-107.

Instructions, May 10, 1769.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 1-55.

SHULDHAM, Molineux, governor.

Commission, submitted Feb. 21, 1772.

C. O. 195, 19, p. 122.

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SHULDHAM, Molineux, gorcenor-Continued.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 18, 1772.

C. O. 195, 10, pp. 152-221.

Instructions, Mar. 28, 1772.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 41-85.

DUFF, Robert, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 16, 1775.

C. O. 195, 10, p. 264.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 16, 1775.

C. O. 195, 10, pp. 277-347.

Instructions, Apr. 21, 1775.

C. O. 5. 206, No. 5.

Montagu, John, governor.

Note that commission and instructions were same as to Duff [Mar. 5, 1776].

C. O. 195, 10, p. 350.

Instructions, Mar. 8, 1776.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 8.

Additional instructions, submitted Mar. 3, 1778.

C. O. 195, 10, p. 353.

Secret instructions, Apr. 30, 1778.

C. O. 194, 23.

EDWARDS, Richard, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar 12, 1779.

C. O. 195, 19, p. 358.

Instructions, May 6, 1779.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 2, 32 pp.; 195, 10, pp. 373-427.

Additional instructions, submitted Mar. 27, 1781.

C. Q. 195, 10, p. 431.

CAMPBELL, Vice Admiral John, governor.

Instructions, May 10, 1782.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 10.

Draft of an additional instruction to the governor of Newfoundland (alteration in fishery by articles of peace), May, 1783.

C. O. 194, 23.

Copy of above addressed to Campbell and dated May 17.

Adm. Secretary, In Letters, 4150, No. 47.

ELLIOT, John, governor.

Instructions 1-11 and one other sheet (incomplete), 1786.

C. O. 5, 208, seventh paper in book.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
William Partridge Earl of Bellomont. Joseph Dudley John Usher George Vanghan Samnel Shuite John Wentworth William Burnst. Jonathan Belcher David Dunbar Benning Wentworth John Temple. John Temple. John Wentworth	June 10,1702 Oct. 18,1715 Oct. 17,1715 Dec. 7,1717 Nov. 2,1718 Aug. 25,1730	Lisutenant governor. Do. Do. Do.

CUTT, John, president of the province.

Printed copy of commission. Sept. 18, 1679 (fragment of published laws, 1771).

C. O. 5, 939, p. 31, N. H. Prov. Pap., I, 373.

Clause of commission (used in Benning Wentworth's dispute with the assembly in 1745).

C. O. 5, 925, part of A 36-37.

Chanfield, Edward, lieutenant governor and commander in chief.

Commission, Mar. .., 1682. Passed the great seal May 9.

C. O. 5, 849, pp. 34-51; 389, 8, pp. 129-143; N. H. Hut. Soc. Coll. VIII, 75; N. H. Prov. Pap, I, 433. Instructions, n. d.

C. O. 5, 940, pp. 51-62.

Instructions, dated Apr. 29, 34th year of reign [1682].

C. O. 389, 8, pp. 147-157; N. H. Prov. Pap., I, 443.

BAREFOOT[E], Walter, deputy governor.

Commission from Lieut. Gov. Cranfield, June 8, 1685.

C. O. 5, 940, pp. 148-149.

[1685-1692, see New England under President Dudley and Gov. Andros.]

ALLEN, Samuel, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 11, 1692.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 428-435.

Commission, Mar. 1, 1692.

C. O. 5, 940, pp. 183-193, N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 57

Clause of commission (used in Benning Wentworth's dispute with the assembly in 1745).

C. O. 5, 925, part of A 36-37.

Instructions, Mar. 3, 1692.

C. O. 5, 940, pp. 194-206; N. H. Prot Pap., II, 63.

Instructions, Mar. 7, 1692.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 505-517.

Commission as vice admiral of part of New Hampshire and the Isles of Shoals, Apr. 7, 1692.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 4, fo. 70

Bellomont, Earl of, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, 1697.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 371-394.

Commission, June 18, 1697.

C. O. 5, 907, pp. 273-286; N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 305.

Instructions, Aug. 31, 1697.

C. O. 5, 907, pp. 286-299, 324, 24, pp. 486-510.

Additional instructions (seal), Jan. 10, 1699.

N. H. Prov. Pap., III, 80.

Additional instructions (maintaining bonds), Jah. 19, 1701.

N H. Prov. Pap., III, 130.

Additional instructions (piracies), Feb. 2, 1701.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 339.

Commission as vice admiral, see Massachusetts.

PARTRIDGE, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, June 26, 1697.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 259.

DUDLEY, Joseph, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 28, 1701.

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 352-370.

Commission, page headed Dec. 11, 1701, marked "V. Rep. N. E. C., p. 439," which representation is Mar. 5, 1702.

C.O. 5, 910, pp. 61-81.

Instructions, ditto.

C. O. 5, 918, pp. 82-117.

DUDLEY, Joseph, governor—Continued.

Trade instructions, ditto.

C.O. 5, 910, pp. 118-151.

Commission, Apr. 1, 1702.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 366.

Instructions, Apr. 6, 1702.

Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 2d ser , VIII, 93; Coll., 3d ser., IX, 101.

Additional instructions (case of Allen rs. Waldron), Apr. 20, 1703.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 550.

Additional instructions (about Allen's dispute;, submitted June 16, 1703.

C. O. 5, 911, pp. 66-67.

Additional instructions (Allen and inhabitants of New Hampshire), July 26, 1703.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 405.

Additional instruction (seamen for ships), same as for Massachusetts, July 17, 1704. N. H. Prov. Pap., III, 312.

Additional instructions (seal), May 3, 1705.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 469.

Additional instruction (devolution of government), same as for Massachusetts. May 3, 1707.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 580.

Additional instructions (suspension of councillor), Nov. 20, 1707.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 582.

Additional instructions (acts of trade), same as to Massachusetts, July 3, 1708.

Additional instructions (seal), Oct. 29, 1709.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 610

Additional instructions (concerning raising and equipping of troops), Feb. 6, 1711. N. H. Prov. Pap., III, 480

Additional instructions (to appoint John Wentworth member of council), Feb. 14, 1712.

N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 636.

Commission as vice admiral, see New England.

USHER, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 30, 1703.

C. O. 5, 911, pp. 24-27.

Commission, dated June 14, 1703.

C. O. 324, 29, p. 239; N. H. Prov. Pap., II, 406.

Instructions (about Allen's dispute), submitted June 16, 1703.

C. O. 5, 911, pp. 68-69.

Burges, Elizeus, governor.

Commission (draft), transmitted in letter to the Secretary of State of Feb. 8, 1715. C. O. 5, 914, pp. 164-184.

Instructions, transmitted in letter to the Secretary of State of Feb. 8, 1715. C. O. 5, 914, pp. 228-260.

[Trade instructions are mentioned in the above letter as also sent, but are not found. No doubt they were the same as for Massachusetts.]

Commission as vice admiral, see Massachusetts

VAUGHAN, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 18, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 291-292.

SHUTE, Samuel, governor.

Commission (draft) accompanying letter of May 10, 1716, marked: "This was dated June 15, 1716."

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 347-368.

Commission, n. d. [1716].

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 185-200.

Instructions, accompanying letter of July 18, 1716.

C. O. 5, 914, pp. 418-467.

SHUTE, Samuel, goreinor-Continued.

Instructions, 2, Geo. I, 1716.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 201-231.

Additional instructions, Sept. 27, 1717, and Sept. 27, 1720, see Massachusetts.

Additional instructions (not to pass private acts without a clause for the King's pleasure), submitted Mar. 29, 1723. The like to other governors, supposed same as to New Jersey dated July 23.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 7-9.

Additional instruction (to suspend decrees in cases of appeal), submitted July 23, 1726.

C. O. 5, 915, pp. 461-464.

Additional instruction (same subject), Mar. 23, 1727, cf. the foregoing.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 61-63.

Commission as vice admiral, see Massachusetts.

WENTWORTH, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 12, 1717.

C. O. 5, 888, v. 147; 324, 33, pp. 97-98, N. H. Pror. Pap., II, 712; N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 142; Greene, Provincial Governor.

Wentworth. Renewal.

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 19-21; 324, 50, pp. 51-52.

BURNET, William, governor.

Commission (draft), submitted Dec. 19, 1727.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 33-54.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 16, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 117-138.

Instructions, Mar. 28, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 139-168; 5, 916, pp. 110-1t5.

Trade instructions, Mar. 28, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 171-197.

Additional instruction (to aid surveyor of woods), annexed to Order in Council of June 12, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, p. 412.

The same, dated June 18, 1728. The like to Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 73-74.

Commission as vice admiral, see Massachusetts.

BELCHER, Jonathan, governor.

Commission (draft), submitted Dec. 11, 1729.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 242-260.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 16, 1729.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 251-264.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 20, 1730.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 328-381.

Instructions, May 8, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 267-309.

Trade instructions, May 8, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 315-341.

Trade instructions; note only that these were the same as to Gov. Montgomerie, of New York, Sept. 28, 1727.

C. O. 5, 916, p. 381,

Additional instruction to the governor of New England and to Col. Dunbar in accordance with act for importation of naval stores and penalties for destroying woods, submitted June 25, 1730.

C. O. 5, 916, pp. 389-390.

Additional instruction (penalties for destruction of woods), Sept. 26, 1730, same as to Montgomerie, New York.

Belcher, Jonathan, governor—Continued.

Additional instruction, Nov. 30, 1733; memorandum only, "like that to Cosby, New York."

C. O. 324, 50, p. 73.

Additional instruction (concerning Spanish prizes, June 15, 1739.

N. H. Prov. Pap., V, 43.

Additional instructions (on the outbreak of war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740, see "Circular Instructions."

Additional instructions (boundary dispute with Massachusetts), Aug. 5, 1740. N H. Prov. Pap., VII, 224.

Commission as vice admiral, see Massachusetts.

DUNBAR, David, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Feb. 27, 1731.

C. O. 324, 36, p 267; 49, p. 68, 50, pp. 57-58; cf. N. H. Prov. Pap , IV, 600.

Additional instruction (lands and reservation for royal navy), May 12, 4th year [1731].

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 274-276.

Wentworth, Benning, governor.

Draft of commission, submitted June 4, 1741.

C. O. 5, 941, pp. 3-25.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 25, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 1-17.

Instructions, submitted July 21, 1741, resubmitted amended, Aug. 13.

C. O. 5, 941, pp. 33-102. Instructions, dated Sept. 10, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 25-71.

Trade instructions, submitted July 21, 1741.

C. O. 5, 941, pp. 102-141.

Trade instructions, dated Sept. 10, 1741.

C O. 5, 199, pp. 71-105.

Additional instruction (on his dispute with the assembly), submitted June 9,

C. O. 5, 941, pp. 202-204; N. H. Prov. Pap., XVIII, 339.

The same, without date.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 337-339.

Additional instructions (appeals), see to Knowles of Jamaica, Dec. 5 or 18, 1753. Additional instruction (extension of appeals), submitted Aug. 6, 1755.

C. O. 5, 941, pp. 375-376.

Additional instruction (to protect frontier settlements), submitted Aug. 6, 1755. C. O. 5, 941, pp. 378-380.

Additional instruction (salaries to justices), submitted Nov. 24, 1758.

C. O. 5, 941, pp. 410-413; N. H. Prov. Pap., XVIII, 496.

The same, dated Dec. 22, 1758.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 511-514.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 24, 1741; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bke. 8, fo. 183.

WENTWORTH. Renewal.

Draft of fresh commission, submitted Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 5, 942, p. 6; N. H. Prov. Pap., VI, 908.

Instructions, June 30, 1761.

C. O. 5, 942, p. 52.

Trade instructions, June 30, 1761.

C. O. 5, 942, p. 163.

Additional instructions (two) as to Indian lands and commissions to judges, see to Nova Scotia, Dec. 2, 1761.

Commission as vice admiral, June 20, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg., Mun. Bks. 9, fo. 144.

TEMPLE, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, June 15, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 145; N. H. Prot. Pap , VI, 630.

WENTWORTH, John, governor.

Draft of commission, submitted July 29, 1766.

C. O. 5, 942, pp. 313-343; Acts and Laws of New Hampshire.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 30, 1766.

C. O. 5, 942, pp. 349-436.

Instructions, dated Sept. 13, 1766.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 625-701.

Trade instructions, submitted Jan. 2, 1767.

C. O. 5, 942, pp. 439-488.

Trade instructions, Apr. 24, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 77-111; 5, 933, pp. 309-334.

Additional instruction (as to coin), submitted July 5, 1770.

C. O. 5, 896, p. 146, 2 pp.; 5, 943, p. 12.

Additional instructions, Dec. 10, 1770.

C. O. 5, 28, pp. 277-278; 5, 947, p. 54.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 9, 1766; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls., 10, 10. 69. Fox, Edward, lieutenant governor.

Commission, June 9, 1774.

C. O. 324, 43, pp. 100-101; 324, 53, p. 29.

NEW JERSEY.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

CARTERET, Philip, governor.

Commission, Feb. 10, 1664.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 20.

Instructions, Feb. 10, 1664.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 21.

Instruction from Charles II, directing him to sustain the authority of Sir George Carteret in New Jersey.

N. Y. Col. Docts. XIII, 472; Learning and Spicer, Grants and Concessions, 49.

Instructions, July 31, 1674.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 187.

LAWRIE, Gawen, deputy governor.

Commission, July, 1683.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 423.

Instructions, July 25, 1683.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 426.

Instructions, Sept. 1, 1683.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 434.

Instructions, Jan. 2, 1684.

N. J. Arck. 1st ser., I, 446.

Instructions, Aug. 1, 1684.

N. J. Arck. 1st ser., I, 459.

Instructions, May 3, 1684.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 470.

Instructions, Nov. 30, 1684.

N. J. Arch. 1st. ser., I, 476.

Instructions, July 3, 1684.
N. J. Arck. 1st ser., I, 492.

Instructions, Oct. 21, 1685.

N. J. Arck. 1st ser., I, 502.

Instructions, Apr. 29, 1686.

N. J. Arck. 1st ser., I, 508.

HAMILTON, Andrew, deputy governor

Instructions, Mar. 26, 1686, June 4, 1686.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 508.

Instructions, June 14, 1686

N J. Arck. 1st ser., I, 514.

Instructions, Sept. 24, 1687.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 541.

Instructions (West Jersey), June, 1692.

N. J. Arch. 1st sec., II, 93.

Commission (West Jersey), June, 1692.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., II, 87.

Basse, Jeremiah, deputy governor.

Commission, May 18, 1697.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., II, 143.

Instructions, Apr. 14, 1698.

N. J. Arch. 1st. ser., II, 209.

HAMILTON, Andrew, deputy governor.

Commission (West Jersey), Aug. 19, 1699.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., 11, 301.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

Royal governors	Date of actual admin- istration.	Remarks.	
Lord Cornbury Lord Lovelace Richard Ingoldesby Robert Hunter Lewis Morris, president William Burnet J. Montgomene Lewis Morris, president W. Cosby John Anderson, president	Aug. 11,1703 Mar. 3,1709 May 6,1709 1710 July 21,1710 Oct. 2,1720 Dec,1728 June 30,1731 Mar. 10,1736	Published his commission at Burlington on Aug. 13. Died May 6, 1709. Lieutenant governor; dismissed Oct. 29, 1709. Acting governor. Reached New York July 3, 1728; died Julie 30, 1731. Acting governor. Died Mar. 10, 1736. Morris absent in England. Acting governor; died Mar. 28,	
John Hamilton, president	Mar. 28,1736	1736. Acting governor. Morris returning, claimed the presidency of the council, Oct. 18-19, 1736, but council voted against him. He was appointed governor Jan. 13, 1738. Received commission Aug. 26: published it Aug. 29, 1738.	
John Hamilton, president John Reading, president Jonathan Beicher John Reading, president	May 21, 1746 June 14, 1747 Aug. 10, 1747 Aug. 31, 1757	Died May 21, 1746. Acting governor; died June 17, 1747. Acting governor. Died Aug. 31, 1757. Too ill to serve, practically no head of the Government for a month.	
Thomas Pownall. John Reading, president, and council. Francis Bernard. Thomas Boone. Josah Hardy. William Franklin.	Sept. 20, 1757 Sept. 24, 1757 June 14, 1758 July 4, 1760 Oct. 29, 1761 May 10, 1763	a monn. Lieutenant governor. ¹ Returned to Boston, where he was governor.	

¹ New Jersey had but two lieutenant governors, Ingoldesby and Pownall.

CORNBURY, Lord, governor.

Commission, submitted Aug. 18, 1702.

C. O. 5, 894, pp. 23-40; Smith, History of New Jersey, 220; Learning and Spicer, Grants and Concessions, 647; N. J. Arck., 1st ser., II, 488; Field, Provincial Courts of New Jersey, Appendix B. Commission, Dec. 5, 1702.

N. J. Hist. Soc. Coll., III, 244; Learning and Spicer, Grouts and Concessions, 647.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 21, 1702.

C. O. 5, 394, pp. 43-90.

Instructions, dated Nov. 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 183, No. 14; N. J. Hist. Soc. Coll., III, 310; Smith, History of New Jersey, 230; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., II, 506; Learning and Spicer, Grants and Concessions, 619.

CORNBURY. Lord, governor-Continued

Trade instructions, submitted Oct 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 994, pp. 94-123.

Trade instructions, dated Dec. 18, 1702

C. O. 5, 188, No. 15. Additional instructions (seamen and ships), July 17, 1704.

C. O. 5, 994, pp. 164-168.

Additional instructions (choosing representatives, etc.), Apr. 20, 1705.

C. O. 5, 994, pp. 191-195; N. J. Arch. 1st. ser., III, 96.

Additional instruction devolution of government, May 3, 1707.

C. O. 5, 994, pp. 291-293; N. J. Arch., 1st ser , III, 169.

Commission as vice admiral, see New York.

INGOLDESBY, Maj. Richard, lieutenant governor,

Commission, Nov. 26, 1702.

C. O. 5, 994., pp. 128-129; N. Y. Col. Docts., IV, 1002.

Revocation of commission, Oct. 29, 1709.

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 29-30.

LOVELACE, Lord, governor,

Commission, May 13, 1708.

C. O. 5, 994, pp. 331-348.

Instructions, June 27, 1708.

C. O. 5, 994, pp. 355-406.

Trade instructions, June 27, 1708. C. O. 5, 994, pp. 417-447.

Commission as vice admiral, see New York.

HUNTER, Robert, governor.

Commission, submitted Sept. 15, 1709.

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 1-19.

Instructions, submitted Dec. 23, 1709, note, in pencil, "These were dated 27 Dec. 1709."

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 34-95; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IV, 1.

Trade instructions, pages headed Dec. 23, 1709.

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 96-130.

Additional instruction (to inquire into complaints), page headed Dec. 23, 1709.

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 131-132.

Commission as vice admiral (1709), see New York.

HUNTER, renewal.

Commission, submitted Feb. 11, 1715.

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 178-189.

Commission 1, Geo. I [see Mar. 17, 1715, as governor of New York].

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 396-410.

Instructions, submitted May 6, 1715.

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 192-264.

Instructions 1, Geo. I. [see July 1, 1715, for New York].

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 410-427.

Trade instructions, submitted May 6, 1715.

C. O. 5, 995, pp. 265-299.

Additional instruction (not to pass acts affecting trade of the kingdom without a royal prerogative clause), 18 or 27 Sept., 1717, see to Lowther, Barbadoes, and Bennett. Bermuda.

Commission as vice admiral (1715), see New York.

BURNEY, William, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 7, 1720.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 474-485.

Commission, marked in margin: "Teste June 24, 1720."

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 2-25.

Instructions, submitted May 31, 1720.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 29-98; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, L.

BURNET, William, governor-Continued.

Instructions, headed June 3, 1720. [The order in council approving them is dated June 11.]

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 545-579.

Trade instructions, June 3, 1720. [See note on general instructions.]

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 590-591.

Trade instructions; note only: "Vide New York."

C. O. 5, 996, p. 98.

Additional instructions, Sept. 27, 1720, see Shute, Massachusetts.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, 3.

Additional instructions (ecclesiastical preferments), Nov. 30, 1721,

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 356-357; 324, 34, pp. 87-88; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., V, 23.

Additional instructions, June 3, 1722.

N. J. Arck. 1st ser., V, 46.

Additional instruction (not to pass private acts without suspending clause), July 23, 1723. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 35, pp. 12-13; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, 71.

Additional instruction (election of representatives), submitted Jan. 7, 1724.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 131-133; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, 83-84.

The same, dated Jan. 31, 1724.

C. O. 324, 35, pp. 52-53.
Additional instruction (appeals), submitted July 28, 1726.

C, O, 5, 996, pp. 141-142,

Additional instruction (appeals), Mar. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 57-59; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, 157; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 816.

Commission as vice admiral, see New York.

MONTGOMERIE, Col. John, governor.

Commission, submitted Aug. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 149-168; N. Y. Col Docts., V, 824; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, 167.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 22, 1727.

C O. 5, 193, pp. 225-241.

Instructions, submitted Sept. 28, 1727.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 175-248; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 833; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, 169-171.

Instructions, dated Oct. 20, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 245-307.

Trade instructions; memorandum only, that they are same as for New York. Submitted Sept. 28, 1727.

C. O. 5, 996, p. 249.

Trade instructions, Oct. 20, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 309-335.

Additional instruction, Dec. 26, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 349-350.

Additional instruction, same as to New Hampshire, see draft annexed to Order in Council of June 12, 1728. [See also under New York, Apr. 5, 1728.]

C. O. 5, 194, p. 412.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 465.

Additional instruction, Mar. 6, 1730, the same as to New York.

Additional instruction (jurisdiction of the Bishop of London), Apr. 28, 1730, see to Hunter. Jamaica.

Additional instruction (destruction of woods), see to New York, Sept. 26, 1730.

Commission as vice admiral, see New York.

Cosby, Col. William, governor.

Commission; memorandum only, same as Col. Montgomerie's [1727]. Submitted Feb. 4, 1732.

C. O. 5, 996, p. 282.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 25, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 138-152.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 28, 1732.

C. O. 5, 996, DD. 287-386.

COSBY, Col. William, governor-Continued

The same, dated May 19, 1732

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 161-212.

Trade instructions, May 19, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 215-241.

Additional instructions (salary to eldest councillor in governor's absence), Feb. 9, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 389-392

Additional instruction (surveyor to vote in council), Aug 8, 1733.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 371-378.

Commission as vice admiral, see New York.

(Province without a governor).

Additional instruction (duty on copper ore), in report dated May 13, 1736.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 387-389.

DELAWARE, Lord, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 21, 1737.

C. O. 5, 196, pp 211-225.

Morris, Lewis, governor.

Commission, submitted Jan. 25, 1738.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 403-407.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 16, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 165-182; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., VI, 2.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 14, 1738.

C. O. 5, 996, pp. 413-498; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., VI, 15.

Instructions, dated July 21, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 189-238.

Trade instructions, July 21, 1738.

C. O. 5, 197, pp. 243-277.

Additional instructions (on the outbreak of war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740, see circular instructions.

Additional instructions (colors worn by letters of marque), Sept. 17, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, p. 263.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 23, 1738; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733.

Adm. Reg., Mun. Bks., 8, to. 131.

BELCHER, Jonathan, governor.

Commission, submitted July 24, 1746.

C. O. 5, 997, pp. 57-76; cf. N. J. Arch. 1st ser., III, 2, 4

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Aug. 26, 1746.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 199-211.

Instructions, submitted Nov. 27, 1746.

C. O. 5, 997, pp. 81-144.

Instructions, dated Feb. 12, 1747.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 385-419.

Trade instructions, Feb. 12, 1747.

rade instructions, reb. C. O. 5, **200**, pp. 421–447.

Trade instructions; first article only and memorandum, "rest same as those given to all other governors on the continent." Submitted Nov. 27, 1746.

C. O. 5, 997, pp. 145-151.

Additional instructions, submitted Oct. 23, 1751.

C. O. 5, 997, pp. 359-365; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., VIII, 631.

Additional instruction (bills of credit), transmitted Apr. 4, 1754.

C. O. 5, 997, pp. 422-428.

The same, dated Apr. 9, 1754.

C. O. 5, 208, pp. 990-992.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 2, 1746/7; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, to. 50.

POWNALL, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission from the lords justices, submitted May 13, 1755.

C. O. 5, 997, pp. 445-448; 324, 51, pp. 61-62; cf. N. J. Arch. 1st ser., VIII, pt. II, 192.

BERNARD, Francis, governor.

Commission, submitted Jan. 31, 1758 [qy. Jan. 21, as the Order of Council approving it is dated January 27].

C. O. 5, 998, pp. 25-54; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 23; Greene, Provincial Governor, 226.

Instructions, dated Jan. 31, 1758, but these were only submitted in representation of Feb. 23.

C. O. 5, 998, pp. 69-165; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 40; Greene, Procincial Governor, 234,

Trade instructions, "Jan. 31, 1758," pencil date inserted: "17. Feb.," but the representation submitting them is Feb. 23.

C. O. 5, 998, pp. 166-249; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 36, 38, 77.

Instruction (bills of credit), submitted Feb. 8, 1759.

C. O. 5, 998, pp. 273-278; N. J. Arch. 1st ser. IX, 156.

The same, dated Feb. 12, 1759.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 517-521.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 21, 1758; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 119.

Boone, Thomas, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, submitted Nov. 27, 1759; beginning only, for rest refers to that to Gov. Bernard, of Jan. 31, 1758.

C. O. 5, 998, pp. 286-287; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 190.

Memorandum that his commission was signed Dec. 6, 1759; also that the instructions (general and trade) were dated Mar. 18, 1760.

C. O. 324, 39, p. 19, p. 25; cf. N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 193.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 13, 1760; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 128; N. J. Arch. IX.

HARDY, Josiah, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 5, 999, pp. 3-29; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 270.

Instructions, June 30, 1761.

C. O. 5, 999, pp. 39-119; cf. N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 272-274.

Trade instructions, June 30, 1761; note only that they are the same as to the governor of New Hampshire, "vide N. H. Entries B, fol. 163."

C. O. 5, 999, p. 119.

Additional instruction (commissions to judges), Dec. 2, 1761, see to Nova Scotia. Commission as vice admiral, June 13, 1761; variations only from that to Gov.

Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Blz., 9, to. 145.

FRANKLIN, William, governor.

Commission; note only, that it is the same as to Josiah Hardy, p. 3 of same volume. Submitted Aug. 25, 1762.

C. O. 5, 909, p. 141; cf. N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 368, 372.

Instructions, 1-40, and note that remaining 51 are same as to Hardy, see p. 76 of same vol. Submitted Sept. 1, 1762.

C. O. 5, 999, pp. 146-176: cf. N. J. Arch. 1st ser., IX, 375, 376.

Trade instructions; note only, that they are the same as for New Hampshire vide N. H. Entries B, p. 163. Submitted Sept. 1, 1762.

C. O. 5, 988, p. 176.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 3, 1762; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, to. 166.

NEW YORK.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	
Henry Sloughter Richard Ingoldesby Benjamin Fletcher Earl of Bellomont John Nanfan	May 3,1702	Lieutenant governor.
Lord Lovelsce. Richard Ingoldesby Gernard Beekman. Robert Hunter. Philip Schuyler, president. W. Burnet.	May 6,1709 Apr. 10,1710 June 16,1710 July 21,1719 Sept. 17,1720	D.ed May 6, 1709. Lucutenant governor. Acting governor.
J. Montgomene.	July 3,1728	Died June 30, 1731. Acting governor. Died Mar. 10, 1736 Acting governor. Lieutenant governor.
RIP Van Dam, president W. Cosby. George Clarke, president George Clarke. George Clinton Sir Danvers Osborn. James DeLancey. Sir Charles Hardy. James DeLancey.		Died Oct. 12, 1753. Lieutenant governor. Lieutenant governor. Died July 30, 1760.
Cadwallader Colden, president. Cadwallader Colden. Robert Monokton. Cadwallader Colden. Sir Henry Moore. Cadwallader Colden. Earl of Dummore. William Targon	July 30,1760 Mar. 30,1761 Oct. 26,1761 Nov. 13,1761 Nov. 13,1765	Acting governor. Lieutenant governor. Do.
Cadwaliader Colden. Earl of Dunmore. William Tryon. Cadwaliader Colden. William Tryon. James Robertson.	Apr. 7,1774 June 28,1775	Do. Do. Superseded Mar. 22, 1780. Leave of absence. Dec. 30.
Andrew Elhot.	Apr. 17,1783	1783. Lieutenant governor.

NICOLLS, Richard, deputy governor of all the lands in New England and elsewhere granted to the Duke of York.

Commission from the Duke of York, Apr. 2, 1664.

C. O. 1, 18, No. 40; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 695; Pa. Arch , 2d ser., V, 509.

LOVELACE, Francis, deputy governor.

The commission and instructions of Lovelace have never been discovered. Evidently he came over without instructions (N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 174-175), but he must have had a commission, as he refers to his own "Commission & Authority unto mee given by his Royall Highnesse James Duke of York & Albany" (Executive Council Minutes, II, 804, 1669; I, 386, 1670; 372-374, 1673). We know that when Lovelace arrived Nicolls was still governor and for several months coached Lovelace as his successor in the duties that would devolve upon him. Just before Nicolls left, in August, 1668, joint instructions were given to Capt. John Baker, as commander at Albany, by Nicolls and Lovelace (Executive Council Minutes, II, 387-390). I owe this note to Mr. Paltsits.

Andress, Edmund. "The duke's lieutenant and governor."

Commission from the Duke of York, July 1, 1674.

C. O. 1, 31, No. 47; 5, 1112, p. 1; N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publ., II, 523; N. Y. Col. Docts., III., 215; Pa. Arch. 2d ser., V, 639; N. J. Arch. 1st ser., I, 156; Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. 2d ser., VII, 226.

Instructions from the Duke of York, July 1, 1674.

C. O. 5, 1112, pp. 4-9; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 216; Pa. Arch., 2d ser., V, 640.

Vice admiralty commission from the Duke of York; memorandum only, May 18, 1678.

C. O. 5, 1112, p. 26; Adm. 2, 1848.

Dongan, Col Thomas, governor.

Commission from the Duke of York, Sept. 30, 1682.

C O. 5, 1112, pp. 39-40; N. Y. Col. Docts , III, 328.

Instructions, Jan. 27, 1683.

C. O. 5, 1112, pp. 41-45, N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 331.

"Commission of vice admiralty," Oct. 3, 1682.

C. O. 5, 1112, p. 41.

Commission from the King, June 10, 1686, with memorandum that warrant was signed May 16, 1686.

C. O. 5, 1111, pp. 85-107, 1136, p. 2-17; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 377.

Instructions, May 29, 1686.

C. O. 5, 1111, pp. 108-132; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 369.

Instructions (for enforcement of acts of trade and navigation, June 20, 1686.

C. O. 5, 1111, pp. 136-147; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 382

[1628. See New England, commission to Sir Edmund Andros.]

NICHOLSON, Francis, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 30, 1689.

C O. 5, 902, pp. 194-195; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 606.

SLOUGHTER, Henry, governor.

Commission (draft), marked: "ordered to pass the Great Seal Nov. 14, 1689."

C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 204-222, N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 623.
Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 1, 1689.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 123-134.

Instructions, Jan. 31, 1690.

C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 223-244; 324, 22, pp. 212-221; N. Y. Col. Docts . III, 685.

Warrant to use the seal of New York, May 31, 1690.

N. Y. Col. Docks. III, 726.

FLETCHER, Benjamin, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 11, 1691/2.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 447-460.

Commission, dated Mar. 18, 1692.

C. O. 5, 1113, p. 322; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 827; Pa. Col. Rec., I, 352, 357; House of Lords Manuscripts, new ser., II, 431-437.

Instructions, Mar. 7 (not 17, as in C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2131), 1692.

C. O. 5, 1112, pp. 340-361; 324, 22, pp. 487-504; N. Y. Col. Docts , III, 818.

(For commission and instructions, 1692, for the government of Pennsylvania, and revocation of commission, 1694, see Pennsylvania.)

Commission as commander in chief of militia of Connecticut for assistance of New York, Mar. 17, 1692/3.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 113-115.

The same, dated May 1, 1693.

C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 29-32.

Commission as vice admiral, including East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Newcastle, Apr. 13, 1692.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 4, 10. 85.

BELLOMONT, Earl of, governor.

Commission from the lords justices, in warrant to prepare, May 28, 1697.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 346-370.

Commission, dated June 18, 1697.

C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 190-215; N. Y. Col. Docts., IV, 266.

Instructions from the lords justices, Aug. 31, 1697.

C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 216-245; 324, 24, pp. 453-485; N. Y. Col. Docts., IV, 284.

Clause of [above] instructions, as to allowance to lieutenant governor, n. d. [covering letter, May 25, 1698.]

C. O. 5, 1040, No. 70 IV.

Additional instructions (to go first to New York), Sept. 9, 1697.

C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 245-246; 324, 24, pp. 513-514; N. Y. Col. Docts., IV, 292.

BELLOMONT, Earl of, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (power to suspend the lieutenant governor), draft submitted Aug. 2 (not 28, as in C. S. P., 1697-1698, \$ 781, 1698.

C. O 5, 1115, pp. 389-391; N. Y. Col. Docts , IV, 351.

The same, dated Aug. 9. 1698.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 630-631.

Additional instruction (as to salary of lieutenant governor in governor's absence). submitted Oct. 19, 1698.

C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 504-505.

The same, dated Oct. 25, 1698.

C. O. 324, 25, pp. 145-147; 324, 26, pp. 224-225; N. Y. Col Docts., IV. 415.

Additional instructions (to inquire into the misdemeanors of the government of Rhode Island), Feb. 16, 1699. Approved, same date.

C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 318-320, 339; 1257, No. 49.

Additional instructions, Nov. 10, 1698.

N. Y. Col. Docts., IV, 424.

Additional instructions (as to soldiers in pay, to obtain passing of an act against mutiny), submitted May 18, 1699.

C. O. 5, 1042, No. 44, 5, 1116, pp. 298-299; C. S. P., 1699, § 407.

Additional instruction, May 31, 1699 (same as above.

C. O. 5, 1045, No. 18 V: 5, 1083, No. 49 V.

Additional instructions (defense of frontiers), Jan. 19, 1701.

N. Y. Col. Docts., IV, 838.

Additional instructions (piracies), Feb. 2, 1701.

N. H. Prov. Paps., II, 339.

[See also governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His vice admiralty commission is entered under Massachusetts.]

NANFAN, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission from the lords justices, July 1, 1697.

C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 247-249; 324, 24, pp. 428-429.

Instructions, July 1, 1697.

C. O. 5, 1040, No. 87 1.

Commission from the lords justices, Aug. 9, 1698.

C. O. 324, 24, pp. 628-629.

CORNBURY, Lord, governor.

Commission from the lords justices, in warrant to prepare, July 8, 1701; memorandum: "Bill signed 29 August."

C. O. 324, 27, pp. 287-307.

Commission, dated Nov. 26, 1701.

C. O. 5, 1118, pp. 426-439.

Instructions, Nov. 26, 1701.

C. O. 5, 1118, pp. 440-465.

Trade instructions, Nov. 26, 1701.

C. O. 5, 1118, pp. 466-487.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 3, 1701; variations only from that to Gov. Blakiston, Maryland, of May 23, 1699.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 41.

CORNBURY, renewal.

Commission, submitted July 8, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1119, pp. 145-164.

Commission, Nov. 5, 1702 [supposed date of warrant].

C. O. 5, 188, No. 13.

Instructions, submitted Dec. 31, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1119, pp. 277-325.

Instructions, dated Jan. 29, 1703.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 16.

Trade instructions, Jan. 29, 1703.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 17

CORNBURY. Renewal-Continued.

Trade instructions; memorandum only, that they were the same as those given in his late Majesty's time.

C. O. 5, 1119, p. 330.

Additional instruction (as to number of seamen on ships, etc.), July 17, 1704. The like to other governors.

C. O. 5, 1120, pp. 107-110; 324, 29, pp. 305-307.

Additional instruction (to prevent disputes between president and councillors on death of a governor), May 3, 1707.

C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 24-25; 324, 8, pp. 137-138; N. Y. Col. Docts , V, 5; N. J. Arch., 1st ser , III, 149.

Commission as vice admiral, Dec. 15, 1702; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands, of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 147.

INGOLDESBY, Maj. Richard, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Nov. 26, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1119, pp. 247-248; 324, 29, pp. 140-141.

Revocation of commission, Dec. 27, 1709.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 139-140.

LOVELACE, Lord, governor.

Commission, May 13, 1708.

C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 147-167.

Instructions, June 27, 1708.

C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 168-219; cf. N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 42; N. J. Arch. III ser., III, 309.

Trade instructions, June 27, 1708.

C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 228-259; N. J. Arch., 1st ser. III, 316; N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publ., II, 458. Additional instruction (re granting of lands), n. d. covering letter, July 6, 1708.

C. O. 5, 1121, pp 298-300; cf. N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 54.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 30, 1708; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands, of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 5, fo. 208.

HUNTER, Robert, governor,

Commission, submitted Sept. 15, 1709. Warrant dated Sept. 27.

C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 404-422; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 92.

Commission, not dated.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 1-18.

Instructions, marked: "were dated 27th Decem* 1709."

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 7-81; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 124.

Trade instructions, submitted Dec. 23, 1709.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 84-125.

Additional instruction (as to fees), Dec. 30, 1709.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 82-83.

Additional instruction (settling the Palatines), Jan. 20, 1709/10.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 157-158.

Commission as vice admiral, including Connecticut, and East and West Jersey, Dec. 14, 1709.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 50.

HUNTER. Renewal.

Commission, submitted Feb. 11, 1714/15.

C. O. 5, 1123, pp. 143-166.

Commission, 1 Geo. 1, Mar. 17, 1715.

C. O. 5, 130, pp. 381-395; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 391.

Instructions, submitted May 6, 1715.

C. O. 5, 1123, pp. 169-235; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 402.

Instructions, dated July 1, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 283-301.

Trade instructions, submitted May 6, 1715.

C. O. 5, 1123, pp. 236-259.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 26, 1715.

C. O. 5, 1951, Bb. 128.

HUNTER. Renewal-Continued.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 26, 1715; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1714/15.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bls 6, fo. 175.

BURNET, William, governor,

Commission (draft), submitted May 4, 1720.

C. O. 5, 1124, pp 134-155. Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 7, 1720.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 442-473.

Instructions, June 3, 1720—thus in heading but Order in Council approving them is dated June 11.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 496-523; 5, 1124, pp. 160-233.

Trade instructions. June 3, 1720; see note on general instructions.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 524-544.

Additional instructions (powers of the Bishop of London), Nov. 30, 1721.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 354-355; 324, 34, pp. 85-86.

Additional instruction (to suspend execution of decrees in cases of appeals), submitted July 28, 1726.

C. O. J. 1124, pp. 391-394.

Additional instruction (respecting appeals), Mar. 23, 1726/7.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 53-55.

Commission as vice admiral, June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, fo. 5.

MONTGOMERIE, Col. John, governor,

Commission (draft), submitted Aug. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 1124, pp. 411-437; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 834.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 22, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 121-135.

Instructions, submitted Sept. 28, 1727.

C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 8-73.

Instructions, dated Oct. 20, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 141-195.

Trade instructions, submitted Sept. 28, 1727.

C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 74-107.

Trade instructions, dated Oct. 20, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 197-223.

Additional instruction (admiralty and pirates' effects), Dec. 26, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 345-347.

Additional instruction (to assist surveyors of woods), submitted Apr. 5, 1728.

The like to New Jersey, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, etc.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 98-99.

Additional instruction, same as to New Hampshire, see draft annexed to Order in Council of June 12, 1728. Found to be duplicate of the foregoing entry.

C. O. 5, 194, p. 412.

Additional instruction, Mar. 6, 1729/30, same as to New Jersey.

C. O. 5, 192, p. 461.

Additional instruction (penalties on persons destroying H. M. woods), Sept. 26, 1730. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 236-238.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 16, 1727; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica, of Sept. 11, 1727.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 7, to. 130.

Cosby, Col. William, governor,

Commission, submitted Feb. 4, 1731/2.

C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 188-205.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 25, 1731/2.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 17-32.

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Cosby, Col. William, governor-Continued.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 28, 1732.

C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 215-292.

Instructions, dated May 19, 1732.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 42-104.

Trade instructions, May 19, 1732,

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 106-136.

Additional instruction (Rip Van Dam as eldest councillor to receive moiety of governor's salary during governor's absence), May 1, 1732.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 339-341.

Additional instruction (to annex certain lands to any convenient county), submitted May 31, 1733.

C. O. 5, 1125, p. 300; N. Y. Col. Docts., V, 950.

The same, dated July 20, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, p. 911; cf. N. C. Col. Rec., III, 497.

Additional instruction (to admit surveyor of customs as councillor extraordinary), submitted Aug. 8, 1733.

C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 321-323, N. J. Arch. 1st ser., V, 347.

The same, dated Nov. 30, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 449-450; 324, 50, pp. 70-73.

Additional instruction (to pass an amended act for support of government). submitted Aug. 6, 1735. Q.O. 5, 1126, pp. 5-7.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 20, 1732; variations only from that to Lord Forbes, Leeward Islands, of Jan. 8, 1730. Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8, fo. 52.

CLARKE, Georgia, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 13, 1736.

C. O. 5, 1068, 40, 1 p; 324, 49, p. 125. Commission, July 30, 1736.

C. O. 324, 37, pp. 33-34; 324, 50, pp. 197-198.

DELAWARR, Lord, governor.

Commission, submitted June 30, 1737.

C. O. 5, 1126, pp. 43-60, Y. Col. Docts., VI, 97-98.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 21, 1737.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 193-210.

CLARKE, George, lieutenant governor.

Additional instructions (on the outbreak of war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740, see to Belcher, Massachusetts.

CLINTON, George, governor.

Commission, submitted May 21, 1841.

C. O. 5, 1126, pp. 110-134; N. Y. Col. Docts., VI, 189.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 25, 1741.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 507-522; N. Y. Col. Docts, VI, 189.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 20, 1741.

C. O. 5, 1128, pp. 144-235.

Instructions, dated Sept. 10, 1741.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 531-582.

Trade instructions, Sept. 10, 1741.

C. O. 5, 198, pp. 587-615.

Trade instructions; note only: "For instructions for trade vide New Hampshire A: folio 102." Submitted Aug. 20, 1741.

C. O. 5, 1126, p. 235.

Instruction (to assist Nova Scotia), submitted Feb. 28, 1745. The like sent to Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey, and the governors and councils of Connecticut and Rhode Island.

C. O. 218, 2, pp. 378-379.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 20, 1741; variations only from that to Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands, of Apr. 27, 1733. Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 8. fo. 181.

DE LANCEY, James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 27, 1747.

C. O. 324, 37, p. 395; 324, 50, p. 200.

Osborn, Sir Danvers, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 23, 1753.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 855-873; Smith. Hist. of New York, 297.

Instructions, submitted July 5, 1753.

C. O. 5. 1128, pp. 77-214, N. Y. Col. Docts., VI, 788.

Instructions, dated Aug. 13, 1753.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 875-964; cf. N. Y. Col. Docts., VI, 793.

Trade instructions, submitted July 5, 1753.

C. O. 5, 1128, pp. 215-294.

Additional instructions, Jan. 5, 1754.

N. J. Arch. 1st ser., VIII, Pt. I, 194.

Commission as vice admiral, July 24, 1753; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9,1 0.92.

HARDY, Sir Charles, governor.

Commission not found, but entry in Acts Privy Council, Colonial, IV, p. 380, states that it was in the usual form.

Cf. N. Y. Col. Docts., VI, 939. Instructions submitted Apr. 3, 1755.

C. O. 5, 1128, pp. 383-531.

Additional instruction (re cost of boundary line), submitted July 8, 1755.

C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 23-26; N. Y. Col. Docts., VI, 960.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 14, 1755; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 99.

COLDEN, Cadwallader, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

Commission, dated Apr. 14, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 102-103.

Additional instructions, Dec. 4, 1769, same as to Moore, July 5, 1769.

C. O. 5, 1141, pp. 78-77.

Monckton, Robert, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 21-45; cf. N. Y. Col. Docts., VII, 463.

Instructions, July 6, 1761.

C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 62-159.

Trade instructions; note only, "same as those given to the governor of New Hampshire, vide N. H. Entries B, fol. 163."

C. O. 5, 1130, p. 159.

Commission as vice admiral, June 20, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks , 3, 10. 145.

MOORE, Sir Henry, governor.

Commission (part only; remainder said to be "same as that given to Robert Monckton, p. 21 of this book"), submitted June 20, 1765.

C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 285-286; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 745.

Instructions (Articles 1, 2, and 32 only, with note that remainder is the same as that given to Robert Monckton), submitted Sept. 24, 1765.

C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 292-298.

Instructions, Nov. 27, 1765.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 361-436.

No. 65 of above instructions [covering letter May 17, 1767]. C. O. 5, 1008, p. 500.

Trade instructions, submitted Sept. 24, 1765.

C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 209-344.

MOORE, Sir Henry, governor-Continued.

Additional instruction (re bills of credit), submitted June 18, 1766.

C. O. 5, 1080, p. 133 (rough draft) 41 pp.; 5, 1120, pp. 362-364.

The same, July 15, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 275-277.

Additional instruction (land for officers in late war), submitted Mar. 24, 1767. C. O. 5, 1080, p. 171, 8 pp; 5, 1120, pp. 386-389.

Additional instruction, approved Apr. 13, 1767.

C. O. 5, 1073, p. 71.

Additional instruction, dated Apr. 24, 1767, same as foregoing.

C. O. 5, 1104, p. 387.

Additional instructions (two) (concerning two acts relative to militia and imports), submitted July 24, 1767.

C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 213-215 and 217-218; 5, 1130, pp. 403-409.

The same. dated Sept. 11, 1767.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 371-372 (imports), 372-374 (militia).

Additional instruction (as to grants on Lake Champlain, submitted July 5, 1769. C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 305-306 (draft); 5, 1180, pp. 453-451; N. Y Col. Docts , VIII, 175; Doc. Hist. of New York, I, 356.

The same, approved Nov. 29, 1769.

C. O. 5, 26, pp. 119-120.

Commission as vice admiral, July 2, 1765; variations only from that to Gov. Grant. East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 63.

DUNMORE, Earl of, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 16, 1769.

C. O. 5, 1141, pp. 81-108.

Commission, dated Jan. 2, 1770.

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 2-30.

Instructions, submitted May 21, 1770.

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 60-164.

Instructions, dated June 11, 1770.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 189-242.

Trade instructions, submitted May 21, 1770.

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 165-225.

Trade instructions, dated June 11, 1770.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 245-273.

Commission as vice admiral, Nov. 29, 1769; variations only from that to Gov. Grant. East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 112.

TRYON, William, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 21, 1770.

C. O. 5, 1141, pp. 145-169.

Commission, dated Jan. 19, 1771.

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 242-275.

Instructions, Feb. 7, 1771 (submitted Jan. 30). C. O. 5, 1137, pp. 278-372.

Trade instructions, submitted Jan. 30, 1771.

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 373-418.

Trade instructions, Feb. 7, 1771; note only, that these were the same as to Lord Dunmore of June 11, 1770.

C. O. 5, 203, p. 477.

Additional instructions (grant of mines to F. Philipse), submitted May 15, 1771. C. O. 5, 1080, p. 431 (rough draft), 7 pp.; 5, 1131, pp. 438-439.

The same, approved May 24, 1771.

C. O. 5, 27, pp. 103-108.

The same, dated May 30, 1771.

C. O. 5, 1141, pp. 178-181.

Secret additional instruction (lands for Maclean's emigrants), Apr. 3, 1775. The like to Martin of North Carolina.

C. O. 5, 76, p. 137, 13 fos; 5, 1141, pp. 279-284.

TEYON, William, governor-Continued.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb 2, 1771: variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 100

ROBERTSON, Maj. Gen. James, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 20, 1779.

C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 61-83.

Instructions, submitted June 8, 1779

C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 88-93.

Instructions, dated June 24, 1779.

C. O. 5, 207, No 3.

Commission as vice admiral, May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 11, fo. 18.

Elliot, Andrew, heutenant governor.

Commission, May 4, 1779.

C. O. 324, 44, pp 225-226.

NOVA SCOTIA (Acadia).

Breedon, Capt. Thomas, governor.

Commission, Dec. 4, 1661.

C. O. 1, 15, No. 92, 3 pp., Dom. Entry Books, Chas. II, 5, p. 73; and 48, p. 28.

TEMPLE, Thomas, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Apr 5, 1662.

C. O. 1, 18, No. 42.

NOVA SCOTIA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

Royal governors.	actus	ate of I admin- ration.	Remarks.	
Francis Nicholson	Oct.	20, 1712	Governor of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and general and com- mander in chief of the forces in Nova Scotia and New- foundland. He was never in residence.	
Samuel Vetch	Oct.	,1710 ,1711		
Thomas Caulfield	Oct.		Lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal and governor of Nova Scotia. In residence.	
John Moody	July	, 1713	Lieutenant governor of Placentia. In residence June 5, 1714-Aug. 25, 1717.	
Samuel Vetch John Wilhams	Jan. Mar.	20, 1715 2, 1716		
John Doucet Richard Philips	May	2,1716 5,1717 17,1717	Do. Captain general and governor in chief of Nova Scotia and	
	Aug.	16,1116	governor of Placentia. Not in residence.	
Martin Purcell Samuel Gledhill ¹	Oat	1.1719	Appointed to Placentia Aug. 25, 1717, but did not come out. Lieutenant governor of Placentia. In residence.	
Richard Philips		17, 1719	Table chair governor or racentas. In real concess.	
Lewrence Armstrong, suc- ceeding John Doucet.		1726	Lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal and commander in chief of the Province of Nova Scotia.	
Alexander Cosby	Mar.	4, 1727 ³ 6, 1739	Acting lieutenant governor.	
Paul Mascarene, president		22, 1740	At the head of the civil authority.	
Alexander Cosby		17403	Lieutenant governor of the garrison, lieutenant colonel of the regiment, and at head of the military authority. Died Dec. 27, 1742.	
Paul Mascarene, president Robert Monckton	Dec. Oct.	27,1742 27,1760°	At head of both civil and military authority. Renewal.	

¹ Gledhill was lieutenant governor of the garrison from 1720 to Sept. 1, 1729, when he was called back to England to answer charges. He was absent from 1729 to 1732, when he returned and served until his death in 1735. After his death his son Joseph Gledhill became captain of the company, but apparently not lieutenant governor. The first lieutenant governor after Gledhill seems to have been Otho Hamilton, appointed in 1744, but actually arriving in 1747, who remained in seems to have been Otho Hamilton, appointed in 1744, but actually arriving in 1747, who remained in wearined fleutenant governor of St. John's, Newtondland, under George II, but the date has not been ascertained. I can not discover when a garrison was first established there.

^{*} Commission.

PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA, TOWN AND GARRISON OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, AND TOWN AND GARRISON OF PLACENTIA, IN NEWFOUNDLAND.

NICHOLSON, Francis, governor.

Commission, Oct. 20, 1712.

C. O. 218, 1, pp. 36-37.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 1, 1713.

C. O. 218, 1, pp. 42-79.

Trade instructions, Apr. 18, 1713; heading and final clause only.

C. O. 389, 42, pp. 184-185, 3d part.

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 15, 1713; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, New York, of Dec. 14, 1709.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 6, fo. 111.

PHILIPS, Richard, governor.

Commission, Aug. 17, 1717. C. O. 324, 33, p. 100.

Commission, submitted June 19, 1719.

C. O. 218, 1, pp. 422-427.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 2, 1719.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 410-416.

Instructions, submitted June 19, 1719.

C. O. 218, 1, pp. 428-448.

Instructions, July 14, 1719.

C. O. 5, 189, pp 417-434.

Trade instructions, July 14, 1719.

C. O. 5, 189, pp. 435-461.

Commission, June 20, 1727.

C. O. 324, 36, p. 55.

(This commission was for Nova Scotia and Annapolis Royal only. A separate commission was issued for Placentia, C. O. 324, 36, p. 56.)

Commission, submitted July 16, 1728.

C. O. 218, 2, pp. 85-93.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 31, 1728, passed the great seal, Sept. 11, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 421-428; Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. 2d ser., VIII, 41.

Instructions, submitted July 16, 1728. These have various alterations in red ink, the word Placentia being struck through and date of July 1, 1729, added.

C. O. 218, 2, pp. 94-119.

[Trade instructions are mentioned as sent, submitted in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle Aug. 14, 1728.]

Instructions, July 1, 1729.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 434-452.

Trade instructions, July 1, 1729.

C. O. 5, 194, pp. 455-489.

TOWN AND GARRISON OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.

Hobby, Sir Charles, lieutenant governor.

Instructions from Col. Vetch, July 5, 1711.

C. O. 218, 1, pp. 148-149.

VETCH, Samuel, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 20, 1715.

C. O. 5, 199, p. 45; 218, 1, pp. 223-224.

CAULFIELD. Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 1, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 308-309.

Doucer, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 15, 1717.

C. O. 324, 33, p. 79.

ARMSTRONG, Lawrence, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Feb. 8, 1725.

C. O. 324, 35, p. 108.

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 36, p. 22; 324, 49, p. 57; 324, 50, pp. 63-64.

Cosby, Alexander, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 4, 1727.

C. O. 324, 35, pp. 316-317.

TOWN AND GARRISON OF PLACENTIA IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Moody, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar, 21, 1713.

C. O. 195, 5, pp. 312-313.

Commission, Feb. 3, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, p. 39.

Draft of instructions, name not filled in, to the governor "of Placentia and commander in chief of our forces in Newfoundland or . . . commander in chief for the time being." May 9, 1715.

C. O. 195, 6, pp. 93-96.

Instructions as lieutenant governor of Placentia and commander in chief "of our forces in Newfoundland," May 13, 1715.

C. O 5, 190, pp. 262-263; 195, 6, pp. 101-104.

PURCELL, Martin, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Aug. 25, 1717.

C. O. 324, 33, p. 116.

NOVA SCOTIA

MILITARY GOVERNMENT

(Including only Annapolis Royal. All parts of the commission relating to Placentia were revoked by Osborn's commission in 1729.)

Phillips, Richard, governor.

Additional instructions (grants for settlers), submitted Jan. 22, 1730.

C. O. 218, 2, pp. 169-176.

Additional instruction (whale fishery), Mar. 6, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, p. 469; and circular, see Hunter, Jamaica.

Additional instructions (amended regulations for grants of lands), submitted Mar. 25, 1730.

C. O. 218, 2, pp. 180-190.

Additional instructions, Apr. 27, 1730.

C. O. 5, 192, pp. 477-483.

Additional instructions (Bishop of London's jurisdiction), Apr. 28, 1730, see under Hunter, Jamiaca.

Additional instruction (destruction of woods), Sept. 26, 1730, same as to New York, New Jersey, and others.

Additional instruction (lands and wood for royal navy), submitted Apr. 22, 1731. C. O. 218, 2, pp. 248-250.

The same, dated May 12, 1731.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 272-274.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 9, 1720; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 7, 10. 19.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Royal governors.	Date of actual administra-	Remarks.
Edward Cornwallis	June 21, 1749; commission read July 14, 1749.	Civil governor and captain general, succeeding R. Philips.
Peregrine Thomas Hopson	Aug. 3,1752 Oct. 20,1753	Acting governor. Hopson on leave of absence.
Charles Lawrence Charles Lawrence Robert Monckton		Lieutenant governor. Do.
Charles Lawrence Jonathan Belcher, president Jonathan Belcher	Nov. 1,1757 Oct. 18,1760 Mar. 20,1761	Died Oct. 18, 1760. Acting governor. Lieutenant governor.
Montagu Wilmot	Sept. 26, 1763 May 23, 1766	Lieutenant governor; died May 23, 1766. Acting governor.
Michael Francklin Lord William Campbell Michael Francklin	Nov. 27, 1766 Oct. 1.1767	Lieutenant governor. Do.
Lord William Campbell. Benjamın Green, president. Francis Legge. Mariot Arbuthnot.	Oct. 17.1771	Acting governor. Left colony, May 12, 1776.
Mariot Arbutanot. Sir Ruchard Hughes. Sir Andrew Snape Hamond. John Part.	Aug. 17,1778 July 31,1781 Oct. 9,1782	Lieutenant governor. Do. Do. Do.

CORNWALLIS, Edward, governor

Commission, submitted Apr. 29, 1749.

C. O. 218, 2, pp. 427-453.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, May 2, 1749.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 609-622.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 29, 1749.

C. O. 218, 3, pp. 1-119.

Instructions, May 2, 1749.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 15-130.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 29, 1749.

C. O. 218, 3, pp. 391-439.

Commission as vice admiral, May 27, 1749; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 73.

Hopson, Peregrine Thomas, governor.

Commission, submitted Mar. 18, 1752; note only, that it is same as to Cornwallis. C. O. 218, 4, p. 172.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Apr. 16, 1752.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 699-717.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 23, 1752.

C. O. 218, 4, pp. 177-326.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 23, 1752; note only, that they are same as to Cornwallis.

C. O. 218, 4, p. 176.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 31, 1752; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 88.

LAWRENCE, Charles, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Aug. 6, 1754.

C. O. 218, 5, pp. 54-55, 324, 51, pp. 43-44.

Commission, Aug. 12, 1754.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 421-422.

LAWRENCE, Charles, governor.

Commission, not entered.

(Against the representation of Dec. 18, 1755, submitting the commission is a note: "Vide Entries D. fol. 170;" see that to Hopson.)

Instructions, submitted Mar. 2, 1756.

C. O. 218, 5, pp. 150-271.

(Trade instructions are mentioned in the representation of Mar. 2. 1756. as being same as to Hopson.)

Commission as vice admiral, Jan. 23, 1756; variations only from that to Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 105.

MONCETON, Robert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, page headed Dec. 18, 1755.

C. O. 324, 51, pp. 77-78.

Commission, Dec. 31, 1755.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 440-441.

Commission, Oct. 27, 1760, renewal.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 29.

Belcher, Jonathan, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 74-76.

Commission, Apr. 14, 1761.

C. O 324, 40, pp. 109-109.

ELLIS, Henry, governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 108-109.

"Draughts of instructions to the governors of Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, N. and S. Carolina, and Georgia" (Indian lands), submitted Dec. 2, 1761.

C. O. 324, 17, p. 163; N. Y. Col. Docts., VII, 478.

Drafts of instructions to the same governors with addition of New Jersey, Barbadoes, Leeward Islands, Bermuda, Bahama, and Jamaica (commissions for judges), submitted Dec. 2, 1761.

C. O. 324, 17, p. 170; N. Y. Col. Docts., VII, 479; N. J. Arch. IX, 322.

Instruction to Gov. Ellis, or in absence to Lt. Gov. Belcher (concerning settlers from Ireland), submitted May 19, 1762.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 162-163.

Instruction to Gov. Ellis, or in absence to Lt. Gov. Wilmot (Mr. McNutt's proposal about lands for Irish settlers), submitted Apr. 27, 1763.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 202-209.

The same, dated May 20, 1763.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 260-266.

WILMOT, Montagu, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 11, 1763.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 220-221.

NOVA SCOTIA AND ISLANDS AND TERRITORIES BELONGING.

WILMOT, Montagu, governor.

Commission, submitted Oct. 5, 1763.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 224-246.

Instructions, Mar. 16, 1764.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 237-296; 218, 6, pp. 279-362.

Trade instructions, submitted Mar. 6, 1764; note only, that they are same as to New Hampshire: "Vide N. H. Ent. B. fol. 163."

C. O. 218, 6, p. 362.

Additional instruction (quit rents), submitted May 16, 1764.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 420-422.

Wilmor, Montagu, governor—Continued.

The same, dated May 25, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 75-76.

Additional instruction (to permit Acadians to become settlers), submitted July 16, 1764.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 457-458.

The same, dated July 20, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 106-107.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 19, 1764; variations only from that to Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 25.

FRANCKLIN, Michael, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 28, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 252-253; 324, 51, p. 268.

CAMPBELL, Lord William, governor.

Commission, Aug. 11, 1766.

C. O. 218, 7, pp. 2-31.

Instructions, submitted Aug. 30, 1766.

C. O. 218, 7, pp. 35-129.

Instructions, Sept. 13, 1766.

C. O. 5, 201, pp. 553-618.

Trade instructions, submitted Jan. 2, 1767.

C. O. 218, 7, pp. 133-185.

Trade instructions, Apr. 24, 1767.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 1-35; 217, 34, p. 196 or No. 47.

Additional instruction (duties of impost and excise), submitted July 6, 1768.

C. O. 218, 7, pp. 238-240.

Draft of additional instruction to Lord Wm. Campbell. The like prepared for 15 others. (Not to permit lotteries.) Submitted May 11, 1769; dated June 30. C. O. 324, 18, p. 347, 24 pp.; 5, 241, p. 206.

Draft of additional instruction to Lord Wm. Campbell. The like to others. (As to acts about absentees.) Submitted, Feb. 1, 1772.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 396.

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 8, 1766; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 69.

LEGGE, Francis, governor.

Commission, July 22, 1773.

Instructions, Aug. 3, 1773.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 385-422; 218, 7, pp. 359-436.

Trade instructions; note only that they were same as to Lord Wm. Campbell. C. O. 218, 7, p. 437.

Trade instructions; note only, that they were in the usual form and dated Aug. 3,

C. O. 5, 205, p. 426.

Draft of additional instructions, the like to 19 others (concerning lands). Submitted Oct. 28, 1773.

C. O. 324, 18, p 464.

Draft of additional instructions to Gov. Legge. The like to eight others. (As to granting lands.) Submitted Nov. 25, 1773; dated Feb. 3, 1774.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 468; 5, 241, p. 511; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 410.

Additional instruction to Gov. Legge. The like to others. Feb. 24, 1776.

C. O. 5, 242, p. 104.

Commission as vice admiral July 26, 1773; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 145.

ARBUTHNOT, Mariot, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Feb. 16, 1776.

HUGHES, Richard, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Mar. 12, 1778.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 111-113.

HAMOND, Sir Andrew Snape, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 15, 1780.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 414-415.

Additional instructions (duration of assemblies), submitted Apr. 10, 1781.

C. O 218, 8, pp. 12-13.

PARR, John, governor.

Commission found only on the Patent Rolls, 22 Geo. III, Pt. IX, 4, July 29, 1782. Instructions, Aug. 23, 1782.

C. O. 5, 207, No. 11; 218, 9, pp. 1-92.

Additional instructions (bills of credit). Oct. 2, 1782.

C. O. 218, 9, pp. 93-97.

Additional instructions, Oct. 2, 1782. The like to Govs. A. Campbell, T. Shirley, D. Parry, and W. Browne.

C. O. 5, 242, p. 440.

Additional instruction (reservation of Crown lands), rough draft, about May, 1783. C. O. 217, 35 (bundle, fo. 238).

Fair copy, in a clerk's hand, with further corrections in hand of the foregoing. C. O. 217, 35 (bundle, to. 232).

Additional instruction (arrangements for grants to loyalists), draft [May, 1783]. C. O. 217, 35 (bundle—fo. 235)

Draft of a clause to be inserted, approved June 6, 1783, in an additional instruction which was approved May 16 (to prevent disaffected persons settling).

C. O. 5, 32.

Additional instruction (arrival of loyalists), June 10, 1783.

C. O. 218, 9, p. 98

Additional instruction (no grants till surveyor has marked out certain districts), June 10, 1783.

C. O. 218, 9, p. 116,

Additional instruction (lands for loyalists—refers to two previous ones of June 10), Aug. 7, 1783.

C. O. 217, 35, fo. 251, rough draft; 218, 9, p. 111.

Commission as vice admiral, July 30, 1782; variations only from that to Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 11, fo. 77.

TOWN AND GARRISON OF PLACENTIA.

HAMILTON, Otho, lieutenant governor.

Renewal. Commission, Oct. 27, 1760.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 33.

TOWN AND GARRISON OF ST. JOHN'S.

Bradstreet, John, lieutenant governor.

Renewal. Commission, Oct. 27, 1760.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 34.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.1

MARKHAM, William, lieutenant governor, 1681-1688.

Commission and instructions, Apr. 1681.

Hazard, Annals, 503-504; Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania, 470.

BLACKWELL, John, lieutenant governor.

Instructions, Sept. 25, 1689.

Pa. Col. Rec., I, 318-319 (278-277).

¹ In the forthcoming edition of the papers of William Penn by Albert Cook Myers will be printed all commissions and instructions issued by Penn as proprietary of Pennsylvania.

Council acting as governor.

Commission, Sept. 25, 1689.

Pa. Col. Rec., I, 315-316 (273-274).

Instructions to Penn (regarding pirates), Oct. 13, 1687.

Pa. Arch 1st ser., I, 99-100.

Instructions to Penn (regarding pirates), Jan. 22, 1688.

Pa. Arch. 1st ser., I, 102.

Instructions to Penn (boundaries), Jan. 22, 1688.

Pa. Arch. 1st ser., I, 103.

Instructions to Penn (to give assistance against the French), Nov. 10, 1687.

Pa. Arch. 1st ser., I, 104.

Instructions to Penn (on birth of a prince), June 10, 1688.

Pa. Arch. 1st ser., I, 106.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

FLETCHER, Benjamin, governor.

Commission, June 27, 1692, "Passed the Great Seal 21 Oct."

C. O. 5, 1037, No. 114; 1113, pp. 403-418; N. Y. Col. Docts , III, 856; Pa. Col. Rec., I, 352-357 (311-317); Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania, 539.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 29, 1692.

C. O 324, 24, pp. 7-16.

Instructions (draft with corrections), Oct. 28, 1692.

C. O. 5, 1037, No. 135; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 861.

Instructions, Oct. 28, 1692.

C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 419-422; 1236, pp. 38-39, 324, 24, pp. 66-68; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 861.

Instrument for revocation of so much of his commission as concerns the government of Pennsylvania, Apr. 20, 1694.

C. O. 5, 1236, pp. 63-65.

Commission as vice admiral, May 17, 1693.

Pa. Col. Rec I, 305-311 (345-351).

PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

MARKHAM, William, deputy governor.

Commission, Nov. 29, 1694.

C. O. 5, 718, No. 18^I; 1233 (bundle); Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania, 538; Pa. Col. Rec. I, 474 (438).

Instructions (navigation act), Jan. 9, 1695.

Pa. Arch. 1st ser., I. 109.

HAMILTON, Andrew, deputy governor.

Commission, Oct. 27, 1701.

C. O. 5, 1263, N. 45.

Commission to the council to act in the absence of the deputy governor, Oct. 28, 1701.

C. O. 5, 1262, L. 50, 1290, pp. 381-383.

Commission, Jan. 11, 1702.

Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 109.

GOOKIN, Charles, deputy governor.

Trade instructions to Mr. Penn for Deputy Gov. Gookin, submitted July 13, 1708; note only that they are same as to the lords proprietors of Carolina, fo. 100 of same volume.

C. O. 5, 1292, p. 67.

Instructions to governor (respecting passes), Oct. 31, 1722.

Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 183.

KETH, Sir William, deputy governor.

Instructions, 1719.

Pa. Col. Rec., III, 63.

Additional instruction (not to pass private acts without suspending clause), see New Hampshire, Mar. 29, 1723, or New Jersey, July 23. GORDON, Patrick, deputy governor.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 15, 1726.

C. O. 5, 1293, pp 363-337.

Trade instructions, Apr. 21, 1726.

ade instructions, Apr. 21, 1/20 C. O. 5, 193, pp. 1-31.

Additional instruction to the proprietors or to the governor, deputy governor, or commander in chief (re appeals), July 28, 1726; note only, same as to Rhode Island.

C. O. 5, 1293, p. 402.

Additional instruction to Springett and Hannah Penn. proprietors and governors, or to the governor, deputy governor, or commander in chief (76 appeals), Mar. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 85-86; Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 196.

Additional instruction to the deputy governor (Bishop of London's jurisdiction), Apr. 28, 1730, same as to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica.

Additional instruction to the deputy governor (re duties on imports), May 5, 1732, see to Maryland.

Instructions to the deputy governor (on the outbreak of the war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740, see to Belcher, Massachusetts.

Instruction to the governor (coin and paper money), submitted Aug. 1, 1740. C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 138-139

THOMAS, George, deputy governor.

Additional instruction (concerning bills of credit), Aug. 21, 1740.

Pa. Col. Rec., IV, 471.

Additional instruction (arms and ammunition for defence of the province), submitted June 8, 1743.

C. O. 5, 1294, p. 219.

HAMILTON, James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 19, 1759.

Pa. Rec., VIII, 400; Greene, Provincial Governor, 261.

Trade instructions to Thomas and Richard Penn to give to Lieut. Gov. Hamilton, Aug. 4, 1748.

C. O. 5, 200, pp. 512-554; 1294, pp. 285-350.

DENNY, William, deputy governor.

Additional instruction (to obtain act to prohibit correspondence with French), July 5, 1756. The like to sixteen other governors.

C. Q. 324, 38, pp. 461-462.

HAMILTON, James, deputy governor.

Instruction (to appoint a commissioner to inquire into settlement on Indian lands), June 15, 1763. The like to Connecticut.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 266-268.

PENN, John, lieutenant governor.

Trade instructions to Thomas and Richard Penn to give to Lieut. Gov. John Penn, submitted Aug. 4, 1763.

C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 34-117.

Instructions to John Penn (to evacuate settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains), Oct. 10, 1765.

C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 118-119.

Additional instruction (re lands west of Alleghany Mountains), Oct. 24, 1765.

C. O. 324, 41, p. 173; Pa. Col. Rec., IX, 321.

Trade instructions to Thomas and Richard Penn for Lieut. Gov. John Penn, submitted Jan. 2, 1767.

C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 134-191.

Trade instructions as above, Apr. 24, 1767. This bears the King's sign manual. C. O. 5, 1233 (bundle).

Trade instructions (copy), same date.

C. O. 5, 202, pp. 37-75.

PENN, John, lieutenant governor-Continued.

Trade instructions to Thomas and Richard for Lieut. Gov. John Penn, submitted Dec. 22, 1769.

C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 285-348.

Trade instructions as above, Jan. 10, 1770. C. O. 5, 203, pp. 59-109.

PENN, Richard, lieutenant governor.

Trade instructions to Thomas and John Penn to give to Lieut. Gov. Richard Penn, submitted Aug. 22, 1771.

C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 390-441.

Trade instructions as above, Aug. 28, 1771. [This seems to be date of Order in Council approving them.]

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 1-39.

PENN, John, deputy governor.

Trade instructions, submitted June 17, 1773.

C. O. 5, 1297, pp. 4-50. Trade instructions, July 2, 1773.

C. O. 5, 205, pp. 179-209.

Trade instructions, submitted Sept. 14, 1775.

C. O. 5, 1297, pp. 66-118.

Trade instructions, Oct. 5, 1775.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 6 (not paged).

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND (ST. JOHN).

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
Thomas Desbrisay Walter Patterson Phillips Callbeck, president Walter Patterson	Sept. 19,1770 Aug. 3,1775 June 28,1780	Lieutenant governor. Acting governor.

DESBRISAY, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 31, 1769.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 136-137; 324, 51, pp. 378-379.

PATTERSON, Walter, governor.

Commission, Aug. 4, 1769.

C. O. 227, 1, p. 2.

Instructions, Aug. 4, 1769.

C. O. 227, 1, pp. 29-77.

Trade instructions [Aug. 4, 1769].

C. O. 227, 1, pp. 78-128.

"Draft of an additional instruction to the governor of St. John;" no name given. July, 1783. Concerning lands for loyalists.

C. O. 194, 23.

Additional instruction (lands for loyalists), July 24, 1783.

C. O. 218, 9, pp. 280-289; 227, 1, p. 180.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 15, 1769; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 108.

OLD PROVIDENCE ISLAND.

Bell, Captain Philip, governor.

Commission from the Company of Providence Island, Feb. 7, 1631.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 11.

Instructions to the governor and council, from the Company, Feb. 7, 1631. C. O. 124, 1, pp. 12-18.

Bell, Captain Philip, governor-Continued.

Commission from the Company, establishing him in the government for three years, May 10, 1632.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 24.

Hunt, Captain Robert, governor.

Commission from the Company, Mar. 28, 1636.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 88.

Instructions from the Company, Mar. 28, 1636.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 99.

BUTLER, Captain Nathaniel, governor.

Commission from the Company, Apr. [23], 1638; minute only, that it is in the same form as to Hunt.

C. O. 124, I, p. 118.

Commission for government of passengers, Apr. 23, 1638.

C. O. 124, 1, p 119.

Instructions from the Company, Apr. 23, 1638.

C. O. 124, 1, pp. 119-121.

Commission as vice admiral, from the Company, Apr. 23, 1638.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 119.

(Andrew Carter was deputy governor in 1639, Butler returning to England. He remained as acting governor until the loss of the island in 1641.)

Axe, Captain Samuel, commissioner, councillor, etc.

Commission as vice admiral, from the Company, July 2, 1638.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 131.

(Did not serve.)

HUMPHREYS, Captain John, governor.

Commission from the Company, Mar. 1, 1641.

C. O. 124, 1, pp. 164-165.

(Before Humphreys could take up his commission the island was taken by the Spaniards.)

FITCH, Captain Thomas, deputy governor.

Commission from the Company, Mar. 22, 1641.

Instructions from the Company, Mar. 29, 1641.

C. O. 124, 1, pp. 168-169.

(When Fitch arrived the island was in the hands of the Spaniards.)

(Old Providence Island was taken by the Spaniards in 1641, and garrisoned by them until 1666, when it was retaken by an armed English force, in four frigates, from Jamaica. The first governor was Maj. Samuel Smith, but he does not appear to have been commissioned from England. Sir James Modyford, brother of Sir Thomas, of Jamaica, received a commission, but before he could enter upon it the island was retaken by the Spaniards, 1666.)

Modyford, Sir James, lieutenant governor.

Commission (draft), corrected by Williamson [Nov 10, 1666].

C. O. 1, 20, No. 166.

Commission, Nov. 10, 1666.

C. O. 1, 20, No. 167, 1 p.; Dom. Entry Books, Chas. II, 20, p. 134.

Commission (draft), in Williamson's hand [?Dec., 1666].

C. O. 1, 20, No. 197.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Dec. 12, 1666. C. O. 1, 22, No. 196.

HENRIETTA ISLAND.

(Under the Company of Providence Island.)

CARTER, Captain Andrew.

Commission from the Company of Providence Island for the government of the island of Henrietta, Mar. 26, 1636. Minute only, that it is according to the form of Capt. Hunt's for Providence.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 28.

CARTER, Capt. Andrew-Continued.

Instructions from the Company, Mar. 28, 1636.

C. O. 124, 1, p. 98.

RHODE ISLAND.

CODDINGTON, William.

Commission appointing him governor of "Acquedneck," alias Rhode Island, and "Quinunnugate Island," Apr. 3, 1651.

S. P. Dom. Interregnum, I, 65, pp. 210-213

GOVERNOR and Company.

Additional instructions (acts of trade), July 3, 1708, see to Dudley, Massachusetts. Trade instructions, June 1, 1722.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 461-479.

Additional instruction (suspending decrees in cases of appeal), in representation submitted July 28, 1726. The like to the governor and company of Connecticut.

C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 401-402.

Additional instruction (appeals), Mar. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 81-82.

Additional instruction (to assist surveyor general of woods), draft annexed to Order in Council of June 12, 1728.

C. O. 5, 194, p. 416.

Additional instruction (destruction of woods), Sept. 26, 1730, same as to New York.

Additional instruction (re duties), May 5, 1732, see to Maryland.

Instructions (outbreak of war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740, see to Belcher, Massachusetts.

Instruction (to keep a well-digested body of laws), submitted Mar. 12, 1752. C. O. 324, 15, pp. 303-306.

ST. CHRISTOPHER.

HILL, Thomas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, see note under Blackstone, Montserrat, Oct. 6, 1689.

NORTON, Capt. James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Aug. 12, 1697.

C. O. 153, 6, p. 149; 324, 24, p. 512.

LAMBERT, Michael, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 5, 1707.

C. O. 153, 10, pp. 40-41.

MATHEW, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 26, 1715; note only, that it is same as for Montserrat of Oct. 1, 1714.

C. O. 5, 190, p. 45.

MATHEWS, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 50, pp. 31-32.

FLEMING, Gilbert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 3, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, p. 414; 324, 49, p. 119.

FLEMING, Gilbert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, submitted Apr. 1, 1761.

C. O. 153, 19, pp. 53-54.

Commission, Apr. 14, 1761.

C. O. 324, 46, p. 90.

Poole, James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 20, 1762.

C. O. 324, 49, pp. 177-178,

ST. VINCENT AND ST. LUCIA.

URING, Nathaniel, deputy governor.

Trade instructions made out to the Duke of Montague, proprietor and governor in chief, to give to Deputy Gov. Uring, Dec 3, 1722.

C. O. 5, 191, pp. 514-540.

ST. VINCENT.

(St. Vincent was dependent on the island of Grenada from 1763 to 1776. The lieutenant governor sat in the Grenada council.)

MADDISON, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Aug. 9, 1763; memorandum in margin: "This commission was cancell'd and another signed by the King, dated the 10th Augt. 1763. Countersigned by the E¹. of Halifax."

C. O. 324, 40, p. 273.

HIGGINSON, Joseph, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 26, 1764.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 52-53.

McLeane, Lauchlin, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 22, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 238-239; 324, 51, p. 271.

FITZMAURICE, Ulysses, lieutenant governer.

Commission, Oct. 1, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, p. 301; 324, 51, p. 305.

Morris, Valentine, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Dec. 28, 1772.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 433-433; 324, 51, p. 411.

(Set apart as a separate government in 1776.)

Royal governors.	Date of actual administration.	Remarks.
Valentine Morris	Before July 17, 1776	Captured by the French in 1779.
Edmund Lincoln	Feb. 4, 1784	Died Nov. 23, 1786.

Morris, Valentine, governor.

Commission, Mar. 11, 16th. year [1776].

C. O. 261, 1, pp. 2-29.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 19, 1776.

C. O. 261, 1, pp. 33-90.

Instructions, dated Apr. 1, 1776.

C. O. 5, 206, No. 10.

Trade instructions, submitted Mar. 19, 1776.

C. O. 251, 1, pp. 91-135.

Note only, that the usual trade instructions were signed Apr. 1, 1776.

C. O. 5, 206, at end of No. 10.

Additional instruction (land in fee simple), submitted Aug. 9, 1776.

C. O. 261, 1, pp. 142-143.

Additional instruction (grant of lands), transmitted in letter of Mar. 3, 1778.

C. O. 261, 1, pp. 157-158.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 11, 1776; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Beg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 162.

SETON, James, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 1, 1779.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 248-250.

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SETON, James, lieutenant governor-Continued.

(In 1779 St. Vincent was taken by the French.)

Draft of trade instructions "to St. Vincent," see the indorsement on those to Gov. Mathew, Grenada, submitted Oct. 8, 1783.

(In 1783 St. Vincent was restored to England, and Bequia and some of the islands commonly called the Grenadines were annexed to the Government.)

LINCOLN, Edmund, governor.

Instructions, Oct. 8, 1783.

C. O. 261, 2, pp. 1-105.

Additional instruction (duty on exports;, Oct. 8, 1783.

C. O. 261, 2, pp. 106-109; 319, 3, pp. 1-48.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 28, 1783; variations only from that to Robertson, New York, of May 11, 1779.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 11, fo. 96.

TOBAGO.

(Tobago was dependent on the island of Grenada from 1766 to 1779, when it was taken by the French. The island was returned to France in 1783.)

Hпл, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 1, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, p 302; 324, 51, p. 306.

GWYNN, Roderick, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Sept. 23, 1767.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 378-379; 324, 51, p. 344.

STUART, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 19, 1770.

C O. 324, 42, pp. 163-165; 324, 51, p. 386.

Young, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Oct. 19, 1770.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 214-215.

CAMPBELL, Peter, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Aug. 6, 1777.

C. O. 324, 43, pp. 510-511; 324, 53, p. 67.

FERGUSON, George, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 31, 1779.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 235-236.

Instruction (to assent to bills touching salary), submitted Feb. 14, 1781.

C. O. 102, 2, pp. 420-422.

Id., Mar. 21, 1781.

C. O. 5, 32 (not paged), 2 pp.

VIRGIN ISLANDS (Tortola).

(The Virgin Islands were dependent on the Government of the Leeward Islands.)

PURCELL, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 31, 1769.

C. O. 324, 42, p. 135; 324, 51, pp. 376-377.

Home, Alexander, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 19, 1771.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 304-305.

NUGENT, John, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 8, 1774.

C. O. 324, 43, pp. 78-79; 324, 53, p. 31.

VIRGINIA.

UNDER THE LONDON COMPANY.

General instructions to the lieutenant governor of Virginia. The sixth article. Londowne MSS. at Landowne House, vol. 58, fo. 285. Calendared, Historical MSS. Commission, Fifth report, p. 226 (2d column). GATES, Sir Thomas, governor.

"Instructions, orders, and constitutions by way of advice," 1609.

Bodiesan Library, Ashmolean MSS., 1147, fos. 175-191, cf. also British Museum, Add. MSS., 21993, fos. 174-190.

DELAWARE, Lord, governor.

Commission, Feb. 28, 1609.

Bodl. Libr., Achmolean MSS., 1147, fos. 191-201; Brown, Generic of the United States, 1, 375-384.
Greene, Provincial Governor, p. 207.

"Instructions, orders, and constitutions by way of advice," 1809.

Bodl. Libr , Ashmolean MSS., 1147, fos. 201-206.

YEARDLEY, George, governor.

Instructions, Nov. 18, 1618.1

ROYAL PROVINCE.

WYATT, Sir Francis, and others, governor and council.

Commission, Aug. 26, 1624.

Patent Roll, 22 Jac. I, Pt. 17, No. 2; Rymer's Foedera, XVII, p. 618; Hazard, Hist. Coll., I, p. 189. YEARDLEY. Sir George, governor.

Commission, Mar. 4, 1626.

C. O. 5, 1254, pp. 248-256; Rymer's Foedera, XVIII, p. 311; Hazard, Hust. Coll., I, p. 230.

Instructions, Apr. 19, 1626.

C. O. 5, 1354, pp. 257-264; Va. Mag., II, p. 393.

HARVEY, Sir John, governor.

Commission (renewal of a former commission with substitution of Harvey for Yeardley, deceased), Mar. 22, 1628.

Sign Manual, Car. I, vol. V, No. 66; C. S. P. 1574-1660, pp. 88-99; Rymer's Foedera, XVIII. p. 980.

Commission to (Harvey and others, governor and council), Apr. 2, 1636.

Patent Boll, 12 Car. I, Pt. 21, No. 1; Rymer's Foedera, XX, p. 3; Hazard, Hust. Coll., I, p. 400; Va. Maq., IX, p. 37.

Instructions concerning the revenue, Jan. 5, 1637.

C. O. 1, 9, No. 33.

WYATT, Sir Francis.

Certain heads of a commission as governor [Jan. ?], 1639.

C. O. 1. 10, No. 3.

Commission, Jan. 11, 1639.

C. O. 5, 1354, pp. 212-218; Va. Mag., XI, p. 50.

Instructions; minute only, same as to Sir Wm. Berkeley, Jan., 1639.

C. O. 5, 1354, p. 218; Va. Mag., XI, p. 54.

BERKELEY, Sir William, and others, governor and council.

Commission, Aug. 9, 1641.

Patent Roll, 17 Car. I, Pt. 6, No. 6; Rymer's Foedera, XX, p' 484; Greens, Provincial Governor, p. 214.

Instructions, Aug., 1641.

C. O. 5, 1254, pp. 219-236; Va. Mag., II, 281.

BERKELEY, Sir William, and others, governor and council.

Commission, June 3, 1650.

C. O. 5, 1254, pp. 238-247.

Governor.

Instructions (reinstating Lord Baltimore).

Brit. Mus. Eperton, 2542, f. 477; Md. Arch., III, 387.

¹ Additional reservences to material in America, chiefly in the Library of Congress, consisting of leaters and instructions from the London Company to the governor and council in Virginia, can be found in Miss Kingsbury's Introduction to the Records of the Virginia Company, I, pp. 119-205. See also Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II, 154-155.

BERKELEY, Sir William, governor.

Instructions, Sept. 12, 1662.

C. O. 5, 1854, pp. 265-276; 1855, pp. 99-107; 324, I, pp. 263-272; Va. May , III, 15; Hazard, Hut. Coll., II, 607; Dom. Entry Book, Chas. II, 4, pp. 57-72.

Instructions marked "The old Instructions given to him at his Majesty's returne," Sept. 12, 1662.

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 145-151.

Commission from the lords proprietors of Carolina to constitute a governor for Albemarle [? Sept.], 1663.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 3-5.

Instructions from the proprietors of Carolina, as to settling Albemarle [? Sept.], 1663.

C. O. 5, 286, pp. 5-a.

Commission to pardon offenders, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 25, 1676. Marked "Great Seal," bears date Oct. 10, 1676.

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 137-139.

Additional instructions, Oct. 13, 1676.

C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 111-114; 389, 6, pp. 154-153.

CHICHELEY, Sir Henry, deputy governor.

Commission, Feb. 28, 1674.

C. O. 1, 21, Nos. 13, 14; Dom. Entry Book, Chas. II, 35A, pp. 85d-86.

JEFFREYS, Captain Herbert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Nov. 7, 1676.

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 121-128.

Instructions, Nov. 11, 1676.

C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 122-124; 389, 6, pp. 167-171.

Additional instructions, Nov. 11, 1676.

C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 125-126; 389, 6, pp. 172-174.

CULPEPER, Lord, governor.

Grant of the office of governor in reversion after Lord Berkeley. In warrant to prepare, dated June 19, 1675.

C. O. 324, 2, pp. 68-69.

The same, dated June 21, 1675.

C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 299-303; 389, 6, p. 158.

Commission or patent of the same, July 8, 1675.

C. O. 389, 6, pp. 271-273.

Commission as governor, Dec. 6, 1679.

C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 313-326; Hening, Statutes, II, 565.

Commission, Dec. 6, 1679, with marginal note that this is made void by a later one of Jan. 27, 1681/2.

C. O. 289, 8, pp. 1-14.

Instructions, Dec. 6, 1679.

C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 326-356; 389, 8, pp. 19-52.

Instructions, Dec. 6, 1679, with marginal comments of Dec. 12, 1681.

C. O. 1, 47, No. 106.

Additional instruction, Dec. 7, 1679.

C. O. 5, 1355, p. 404; 389, 8, p. 15.

Commission, Jan. 27, 1682 (date of warrant).

C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 15-29; 389, 8, pp. 97-106.

Instructions, Jan. 27, 1682.

C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 30-61; 389, 8, pp. 107-122.

Instructions, Jan. 27, 1682, with, on facing pages, Culpeper's marginal notes of Sept. 20, 1683.

C. O. 1, 48, No. 11, 76 pp., fos. 35-72.

Instruction, Dec. 15, 1682. The like was sent to Sir R. Dutton and Sir T. Lynch, C. O. 389, 8, pp. 186-187.

Lord Howard, of Effingham	Royal governors.	Date of sectual administration.	
Earl of Albemarle. Governor general in England. Robert Dunwiddse Nov. 21, 1751 Ligutemant governor. Earl of Loudoun Commander in chief in America. John Blair, president Jan. 12, 1768 Acting governor. Francis Fauquier June 5, 1768 Lieutemant governor; died Mar.	Edmund Andros. Francis Nicholson. Edward Nott. Edmund Jennings, president Earl of Orkney. Alexander Spotswood High Drysdale Robert Carter, president William Gooch Thomas Lee ¹ Earl of Albemarle. Robert Dinwiddie. Earl of Loudoun. John Blair, president Francis Fauquier. Jeffrey Amherst John Biair, president Lord Botetourt. Wilham Nelson, president	S-pt. 20, 1692 Dec. 9, 1693 Aug. 15, 1703 Aug. 23, 1706 June 22, 1710 Sept. 27, 1722 July 22, 1728 Sept. 11, 1727 Sept. 4, 1749 Nov. 21, 1751 Jan. 12, 1763 June 5, 1768 Oct. 23, 1768 Oct. 15, 1770	Lieutenant governor. Arrived in Virginia Sept. 11. Died Aug. 23, 1706. Acting governor. Governor general in England. Lieutenant governor; died July 22, 1726. Acting governor. Lieutenant governor. Acting governor. Acting governor. Acting governor. Commander in chief in America. Acting governor; died Mar. 3, 1768. Commander in chief in America. Acting governor; died Mar. 3, 1768. Commander in chief in America. Acting governor. Daed Oct. 15, 1770.

¹ John Custis was senior member of the council, but refusing to take any part in the government on account of ill health, was suspended by Lieut. Gov. Gooch, and Thomas Lee, next in seniority, became acting governor during the absence of Gooch in England and until the arrival of Dinwiddie.

Howard, of Effingham, Francis, Lord, governor.

Commission, . . . warrant to prepare, dated Sept. 4, 1683.

C. O. 389, 8, pp. 223-235.

Commission, dated Sept. 28, 1683.

C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 188-204.

Instructions, Oct. 24, 1683.

C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 205-237.

Additional instructions, Dec. 3, 1683.

C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 265-272.

The same, approved Dec. 14; duplicate signed and sent Jan. 14, 1683/4.

C. O. 389, 8, pp. 267-272.

Commission, Oct. 8, 1685.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 1-19.

Instructions, Aug. 30, 1685.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 20-61.

Clause inserted in his new instructions (re George Talbot), Aug. 30, 1685.

C. O. 5, 723, p 105.

Instructions (re African Co.), Apr. 3, 1687.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 120-122.

Instructions; extracts left with the council, Feb. 27, 1689.

C. O. 5, 1305, No. 1.

Howard. Renewal.

Commission, in warrant to prepare. Oct. 8 [or 6, not clear], 1690.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 254-269.

Commission, Nov. 5, 1690.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 306-321.

Instructions, Oct. 9, 1690.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 319-339; 324, 22, pp. 273-300.

NICHOLSON, Francis, lieutenant governor.

Commission approved by Order in Council, Nov. 14, 1689.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 302-303; 324, 22, p. 189.

Instructions, Jan. 2, 1690.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 304-306; 324, 22, pp. 191-192.

ANDROS, Sir Edmund, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Feb. 11, 1692.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 436-446.

Commission, dated Mar. 1, 1692.

C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 107-118.

Instructions, approved Mar. 1, 1692.

C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 120-139.

Instructions, dated Mar. 7, 1692.

C. O. 324, 22, pp. 463-486.

Additional instructions (circular), Oct. 7, 1692.

C. O. 5, 1258, pp. 157 and 217,

Commission for appointing a judge, register, and marshal in the Court of Admiralty, Virginia, Apr. 29, 1697.

C. O. 5, 1310, No. 2XIII.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 26, 1692.

Adm. Reg. Mun Bks., 4, fo. 69

NICHOLSON, Francis, governor.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, June 26, 1698.

C. O. 324, 28, pp. 71-87.

Commission, dated July 20, 1698.

C. O. 5, 1359, pp. 210-228.

Paper of suggestions for additions to the instructions preparing for Nicholson.

Communicated to the Board by the Earl of Bridgewater by H. M. order.

Received June 20, 1698.

C. O. 5, 1309, No. 49. 11 pp.; 5, 1359, p. 208.

Instructions, Sept. 13, 1698.

C. O. 5, 1359, pp. 266-303; 324, 25, pp. 26-80; 324, 26, pp. 103-145; C. S. P. 1697-1698, §767; Va. Mag., IV, 49.

Copy of instructions, communicated to the Council. In Nicholson's of July 1, 1699.

C. O. 5, 1310, No. 2XXVIII.

Copy of some instructions intended to be laid before the committee for the revisal of laws. In Nicholson's of July 1, 1699.

C. O. 5, 1310, No. 2XXXVI.

Trade instructions, Sept. 30, 1698. Copy in Nicholson's of June 10, 1700.

C. O. 5, 1311, No. 10XL.

Copy of instructions about trade, naval officers, etc. In Nicholson's of July 1, 1699.

C. O. 5, 1319, No. 2XVIII.

Additional instructions (allowance to Commissary Blair out of quit rents), Sept. 20, 1698.

C. O. 324, 25, pp. 81-82; 324, 26, pp. 145-146.

Instructions (naval officers), Nov. 10, 1698.

C. O. 324, 26, pp. 231-235.

Additional instructions, May 18, 1699.

C. O. 5, 1359, pp. 314-315.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, July 16, 1702.

C. O. 324, 29, pp. 93-109.

Commission, dated Aug. 4, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 184-203.

Instructions, submitted Oct. 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 241-290.

Instructions, dated Dec. 12, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 12.

Trade instructions, submitted Oct. 16, 1702.

C. O. 5, 1888, pp. 291-317.

Trade instructions, dated Dec. 17, 1702.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 1L

NICHOLSON, Francis, governor-Continued.

Additional instructions (no ship to sail without convoy), Jan. 7, 1703.

C. O. 5, 188, No. 19; 5, 1880, pp. 359-360.

Additional instruction (seamen for ships), July 7, 1704.

C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 487-490. Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 11, 1702; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands, of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 5, fo. 139.

Norr, Edward, governor.

Commission, Apr. 25, 1705.

C. O. 5, 1861, pp. 81-104.

Instructions, Apr. 30, 1705.

C. O. 5, 1361, pp. 120-195.

Trade instructions, Apr. 20 (so headed but see general instructions Apr. 30, 1705). C. O. 5, 1361, pp. 368-403.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 25, 1705; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands, Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 5, fo. 179.

HUNTER, Robert, governor.

Commission, Apr. 22, 1707.

C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 124-138.

Instructions, submitted Apr. 22, 1707.

C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 141-193.

Trade instructions, submitted Apr. 22, 1707.

C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 193-215.

(Government devolved on President and council, see below.)

Additional instruction (patenting lands), submitted Feb 4, 1708/9.

C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 352-355.

Commission as vice admiral, Apr. 24, 1707; variations only from that to Gov. Codrington, Leeward Islands, of Sept. 7, 1702.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 5, to. 197.

President and council.

Additional instruction (devolution of government), Nov. 15, 1707, in margin, Nov. 3.

C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 265-266.

Additional instructions (acts of trade), July 3, 1708, see to Dudley, Massachusetts. ORKNEY, Earl of, governor general in England.

Commission, submitted Dec. 22, 1709.

C. O. 5, 1363, pp. 3-26.

Instructions, submitted Feb. 23, 1710. C. O. 5, 1363, pp. 45-126.

Trade instructions, Mar. 1, 1710.

C. O. 5, 1363, pp. 128-168.

ORENEY (Renewal).

Commission, submitted Dec. 29, 1714. Marked "Teste, 10 Martii, 1744."

C. O. 5, 1364, pp. 67-88.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Jan. 15, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 46-54.

Instructions, Apr. 15, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 128-176; 5, 1364, pp. 94-169.

Trade instructions, Apr. 15, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 177-197; 5, 1384, pp. 170-205.

Additional instruction (not to pass acts affecting trade of the kingdom without suspending clause), see to Lowther, Barbadoes, Sept. 18, 1717, or Bennett, Bermuda, Sept. 27.

Additional instruction (suspending clause in credit bills), Sept. 27, 1720, see to Massachusetts.

ORKNEY. (Renewal)-Continued.

Additional instructions (clandestine trade at Madagascar), June 1, 1722. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 84, pp. 136-142.

Additional instruction (not to pass private acts without suspending clause), Mar. 29, 1723, see Shute, New Hampshire, or under July 23 to New Jersey.

Additional instruction (for suspending the execution of decrees in case of appeals to the king), submitted July 28, 1726.

C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 296-299.

Additional instruction (appeals cf. the foregoing), Mar. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 49-51.

Commission (revoking previous one of 1715), submitted Aug. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 338-366.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Sept. 29, 1727.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 481-493.

Instructions, submitted Dec. 15, 1727.

C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 385-433.

Instructions, dated Mar. 22, 1728.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 497-541.

Trade instructions, Mar. 22, 1728.

C. O. 5, 193, pp. 545-575.

Additional instruction (not to lay claim to produce of whales), Mar. 6, 1730. C. O. 5, 192, p. 457.

Additional instruction (Bishop of London's jurisdiction), Apr. 28, 1730, see to Hunter, Jamaica.

Additional instruction (to administer oaths to P. Gordon as deputy governor of Pennsylvania for observing acts of trade), submitted July 31, 1733.

C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 68-70.

Additional instruction (concerning qualifications of new governor of Pennsylvania), Aug. 3, 1733.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 915-917; Pa. Col. Rec., III, 526.

Additional instruction (to admit the surveyor general of the customs on the council), submitted Oct. 16, 1733.

C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 115-118.

Additional instruction (G. Phenney, surveyor general, to be councillor extraordinary), Nov. 30, 1733.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 447-448.

Additional instruction (to pass law exempting German Protestants from paying parish taxes), submitted Mar. 14, 1735.

C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 124-125.

Additional instruction, Apr. 4, 1735.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 110-111.

SPOTSWOOD, Alexander, lieutenant governor.

No commission found earlier than 1715.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 11, 1710; variations only from that to Gov. Hunter, New York, etc., of Dec. 14, 1709.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 6, fo. 77.

Commission, as lieutenant governor, Apr. 28, 1715.

C. O. 5, 190, pp. 290-281.

Commission as vice admiral, Sept. 17, 1716; variations only from that to Gov. Lowther, Barbadoes, of Feb. 12, 1715.

Adm. Reg. Mem. Bks., 6, to. 197.

DRYSDALE, Hugh, lieutenant-governor.

Commission, Apr. 3, 1722.

C. O. 324, 34, p. 112.

Commission as vice admiral, May 1, 1722; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Ecg. Man. Bls. 7, 20, 44.

GOOCH, William, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 23, 1727.

C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 305-309; 324, 35, pp. 310-311; 49, p. 38, 1 p.

Commission, Oct. 17, 1727.

C. O. 324, 35, pp. 14-17; 50, pp. 79-80.

Additional instructions (on the outbreak of war with Spain., Apr. 2, 1740, see to Belcher, Massachusetts.

Additional instruction (alteration of colors worn by letters of marque), Sept. 17, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, p. 259.

Additional instruction (touching grants of lands west of the Great Mountains), submitted Dec. 13, 1748.

C. O. 5, 1866, pp. 422-425.

Additional instruction (as to a grant of 500,000 acres for settlement, submitted Feb. 23, 1749.

C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 434-439.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 24, 1727; variations only from that to Gov. Burnet, New York, etc., of June 3, 1720.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks , 7, fo. 100.

Albemarle, Earl of, governor general in England.

Commission, submitted Sept. 28, 1737.

C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 149-168.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Oct. 6, 1737.

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 228-246.

Instructions, submitted Nov. 9, 1737.

C. O. 5, 1286, pp. 171-245.

Instructions (approved Jan. 12, 1738).

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 249-316.

Trade instruction, submitted Nov. 9, 1737.

C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 246-287.

Trade instructions (approved Jan. 12, 1738).

C. O. 5, 196, pp. 317-348.

Additional instruction (as to the due collection of powder duty), submitted June 18, 1741.

C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 335-337.

The same, dated July 30, 1741.

C. O. 5, 199, pp. 227-228.

Additional instruction (for reenacting two laws passed in 1749 (1) chimnies, (2) William and Mary College), submitted Apr. 5, 1753.

C O. 5, 1367, pp. 28-30.

The same, dated May 10, 1753.

C. O. 5, 206, pp. 851-852,

Additional instruction (appeals), Dec. 18, 1753. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 374-376.

Additional instruction (to have another act passed as to debts and executions), submitted Aug. 6, 1754.

C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 112-115.

The same, dated Aug. 27, 1754.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 422-424.

Additional instruction (as to settlement west of the Great Mountains), Aug. 27, 1754.

C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 118-122; 324, 38, pp. 424-426.

DINWIDDIE, Robert, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 4, 1751.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 287-289; 50, pp. 211-212.

Instructions (on erection of forts on River Ohio), Aug. 28, 1753.

C. O. 5, 211, pp. 33-40; 1344.

DINWIDDIE, Robert, lieutenant governor-Continued.

Commission as vice admiral, July 24, 1751; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 78.

LOUDOUN, Earl of, governor general.

Commission (beginning only; refers to entries H, fos. 151–168), submitted Feb. 20, 1756.

C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 171-173.

Instructions, submitted Mar. 17, 1756.

C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 179-288.

Instruction (to procure an act to amend two previous concerning debts), submitted Jan. 31, 1759.

C O. 5, 1367, pp. 358-362.

The same, dated Feb. 9, 1759.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 526-530.

Commission as vice admiral, Mar. 15, 1756; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 106.

FAUQUIER, Francis, lieutenant governor.

Commission to be lieutenant governor in room of Dinwiddie, 1758, month, etc., not filled in.

C. O. 5, 1338, p. 73 (rough draft).

Commission (page headed Jan. 26), 1758.

C. O. 324, 51, pp. 115-116.

Commission, Feb. 10, 1758.

C. O. 324, 38, pp. 496-497.

Additional instruction (a suspending clause to be in all acts), submitted Aug. 30, 1759.

C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 386-389.

The same, dated Sept. 21, 1759.

C. O. 324, 39, pp. 14-16. Commission, submitted Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 53-54.

Commission, dated Mar. 13, 1761.

C. O. 324, 40, p. 57.

AMBERST, Sir Jeffery, governor general.

Commission, submitted Sept. 12, 1759 (beginning only).

C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 392-393.

Commission as vice admiral, Oct. 6, 1759; variations only from that to Gov-Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, fo. 126.

Commission, in warrant to prepare, Mar. 4, 1761.

C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 23-51.

Instructions, May 27, 1761.

C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 78-178.

Trade instructions; note only, that they are the same as those given to the governor of New Hampshire, vide N. H. Entries B, fol. 163.

C. O. 5, 1368, p. 178.

Additional instructions (two—commissions to judges and Indian lands), submitted Dec. 2, 1761, see to Nova Scotia.

Additional instructions (about settlement on Indian lands), Dec. 9, 1761. The like to other governors.

C. O. 324, 40, pp. 163-167.

Additional instruction (on the Ohio settlements), Oct. 10, 1765. Rough draft; Fauquier's name is struck through and Amherst's substituted, with the words "and in his absence to the Lt. Governor."

C. O. 5, 1336, p. 137.

AMHERST, Sir Jeffery, governor general-Continued.

Additional instruction (lands west of the Alleghany Mts.), Oct. 24, 1765.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 171-172.

Copy of the same headed "to Sir Jeffery Amherst and in his absence to our lieutenant governor or commander in chief."

C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 282-284.

Additional instruction (to repress Indian outrages), submitted Oct. 10, 1765. Rough draft; Fauquier's name struck through and Amherst's substituted.

C. O. 5, 1336, p. 141.

Copy of the same headed to "Sir Jeffery Amherst and in his absence to our lieutenant governor or commander in chief."

C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 286-288.

Additional instruction headed to "Sir Jeffery Amherst and in his absence to the lieutenant governor" (against duties on liquors, etc.), submitted June 18, 1766. C. O. 5, 1336, p. 109 (draft), 2 pp.; 1368, pp. 306-308.

Additional instruction (duties on liquors), July 15, 1766.

C. O. 324, 41, pp. 273-275.

Commission as vice admiral, May 18, 1761; variations only from that to Gov. Popple, Bermuda, of Apr. 30, 1745.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 9, to. 138,

BOTETOUET, Norborne, Baron de, governor.

Commission, submitted Aug. 3, 1768.

C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 376-404.

Commission, dated Aug. 5, 1768.

C. O. 5, 1375, pp. 22-48.

Instructions headed to "Baron de Botetourt and in his absence, to our lieutenant governor or commander in chief," submitted Aug. 3, 1768.

C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 405-490.

Trade instructions, submitted Aug. 3, 1768.

C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 491-541.

Additional instructions, Aug. 21, 1768.

C. O. 5, 1348, p. 153, 61 pp.; 1375, pp. 52-59.

Additional instruction, headed to "Baron de Botetourt and in his absence, to the commander in chief," submitted Dec. 5, 1770. As to duties on slaves.

C. O. 5, 1336, p 419, 2 pp. corrected copy; 1369, pp. 56-58

Commission as vice admiral, Aug. 9, 1768; variations only from that to Gov. Grant, East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks. 10, fo. 85.

Draft of additional instructions to the governor—Baron de Botetourt's name is crossed through—(disapproval of act laying duty on slaves), Dec. 10, 1770. C. O. 5, 26, pp. 285-287.

The same to the lieutenant governor or commander in chief for the time being, Dec. 10, 1770.

C. O. 5, 1375, pp. 125-126.

DUNMORE, Earl of, governor.

Commission, submitted Dec. 14, 1770.

C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 61-89.

Commission, dated Dec. 21, 1770.

C. O. 5, 1379, pp. 129-146.

Instructions, submitted Jan. 30, 1771.

C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 95-183.

Instructions, dated Feb. 7, 1771.

C. O. 5, 203, pp. 349-402; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th ser., X, 630-667.

Trade instructions, submitted Jan. 30, 1771.

C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 184-234.

Trade instructions, Feb. 7, 1771; note only, that these were the same as to the Earl of Dunmore, governor of New York, of June 11, 1770.

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DUNMORE, Earl of, governor-Continued.

Additional instructions (concerning the recovery of debts), Feb. 4, 1772.

Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th ser , X, 690.

Commission as vice admiral, Feb. 2, 1771; variations only from that to Gov. Grant. East Florida, of Feb. 22, 1764.

Adm. Reg. Mun. Bks., 10, fo. 130.

CORBIN, Richard, lieutenant governor.

Commission, July 29, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, pp. 209-210.

CIRCULAR INSTRUCTIONS.

Draft of instructions (navigation acts), Aug. 10, 1685.

C. O. 324, 4, pp. 151-167; Md. Arch , V, 446.

Memorandum of the instructions to governors as to the enacting style of money acts and as to presents to governors, n. d. [about 1692].

C. O. 5, 1358, p. 93.

Instructions on occasion of the Scotch act, Jan. 5, 1696.

House of Lords Manuscripts, new ser., II, 481-483.

Instructions regarding the collection of customs, Mar. 8, 1697. Similar to standing instructions formerly given by the commissioners of customs to the officers of the plantations.

House of Lords Manuscripts, new ser., II, 472-481.

Instructions to the governors in relation to trade, Mar. 8, 1697.

House of Lords Manuscripts, new ser., II, 483-488.

Draft of instructions relating to trade, Mar. 15, 1697.

House of Lords Manuscripts, new ser., II, 494-499.

Draft of instructions (for trade) prepared by the commissioners of customs and sent to the treasury, May 17, 1697. C. O. 324, 6, pp. 145-165.

Draft of instructions for the governors of the colonies (naval officers to give security). Submitted to the Lords Justices, Oct. 27, 1698. C. O. 324, 6, pp. 371-372. Copy of a commission for the trying of pirates in Massachusetts Bay, New Hamp-

shire, and Rhode Island with memoranda for other colonies, Jan. 24, 1701. C. O. 5, 862, Nos. 37, 371; 5, 909, pp. 351-368.

Clause to be inserted in the commissions to governors in the plantations (relating to oaths). Page headed May 28, 1702.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 162-164.

Instructions (concerning communications with the French during the war), Mar. 20, 1703.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 226-227.

Draft of instructions (relating to provisions and trade with the Spaniards), Jan. 28, 1704.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 337-342.

Draft of instructions (relating to trade with the Spaniards), Feb. 18, 1704.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 373-374.

Additional instructions to all the several proprietors in America relating to the number of seamen allowed on ships, etc., July 17, 1704.

The same to governors and proprietors, viz.: New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Leeward Islands, and Bermuda, July 17, 1704.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 477-481.

Commission for the trying of pirates, for New York and New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, Maryland and Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina, Jamaica and Bahamas, Barbadoes, Leeward and Caribbee Islands, Bermuda, Newfoundland, Oct. 21, 1704.

Instructions, June 29, 1708.

C. O. 321, 9, p. 211.

Draft of articles of instructions to governors to arm inhabitants in case of invasion, Feb. 25, 1713.

C. O. 5, 4, fo. 14.

Draft of instructions (about trade), showing differences to various governors, submitted, May 1, 1722.

C O. 324, 10, pp. 443-455.

Draft of orders and instructions (about trade) to the proprietary governors—Duke of Montague, proprietor of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, Worsley, Barbadoes, and to Rhode Island and Connecticut—showing differences for each. Submitted May 1, 1722.

C. O. 324, 10, pp. 456-497.

Additional instruction (not to pass acts laying duties on goods imported, etc.), submitted June 4, 1724.

C O. 324, 11, pp. 17-18.

Additional instruction, in full to the Duke of Portland, Jamaica, dated Aug. 31, 1724. The like to 16 other governors.

C. O. 324, 35, pp. 82-83.

Additional instructions, July 28, 1726.

C. O. 5, 324, 7, p. 32.
 Additional instruction (prayers for the royal family), submitted Apr. 12, 1728.
 C. O. 324, 11, pp. 101-102; cf. Pa. Arck., 1st ser., I, 225.

The same in full to Gov. Hunter, of Jamaica, with list of 13 others, dated June 8, 1728.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 75-80.

Additional instructions (6d for Greenwich Hospital), submitted Dec. 30, 1729.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 158-159; cf. Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, 193, 194 et seq. Pa. Arch., 1st sec., I, 251. Additional instructions (concerning cessation of hostilities with Spain), Jan. 22, 1730.

Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 247.

Additional instructions to Gov. Hunter, Jamaica (6d duty), dated Feb. 2, 1730, with list of 11 other governors.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 169-170.

Additional instruction to governors, except Bermuda and the proprietary governments (against the governors' claims to the produce of whales), submitted Feb. 5, 1730.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 161-162.

Extract of commission given to each governor to grant to masters of ships commissions to execute martial law, Feb. 25, 1730.

C. O. 5, 916, p. 266.

Additional instruction (produce of whales), made out to Gov. Hunter, of Jamaica, the like to Barbadoes, Bermuda, Bahamas, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Nova Scotia, Mar. 6, 1730.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 196-197.

Additional instruction (draft), (concerning jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in America), Mar. 17, 1730.

N. J. Arch., 1st ser., V, 264-265.

Additional instruction to the governors of Jamacia, Barbadoes, Bahamas, Bermuda, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Nova Scotia (as to the Bishop of London's jurisdiction), Apr. 28, 1730.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 166-167; 36, pp. 217-218.

Additional instructions, sketch annexed to Order in Council of July 4, 1730, to prepare.

C. O. 323, 9, MIS.

Additional instruction (no import duties on slaves or felons), submitted Nov. 30, 1731, for the governors of plantations. (Same as Dec. 10.)

C O 138 17. TO 168-254

Additional instruction (duties on negroes and on felons imported), Dec. 10, 1731.

C. O. 5, 195, pp. 249-250; 138, 17, pp. 353-354; 324, 36, pp. 253-294; Pa. Arch, 1st ser, I, 306; Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, 251.

Additional instruction (not to assent to acts laying heavy duties on ships of Great Britain), submitted Apr. 18, 1732.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 305-308. The same, May 5, 1732.

C. O. 324, 36, pp. 328-333; Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 325, Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1V, 254,

Additional instruction (prayers for the royal family), June 1, 1736.

C. O. 324, 37, p. 18.

Additional instruction (same subject), Nov. 24, 1737.

C. O. 324, 12, p. 234.

The same, Dec. 9, 1737.

C. O. 324, 37, p. 99.

Draft of instructions (on the outbreak of war with Spain), Apr. 2, 1740.

C. O. 5, 752, p. 326; cf. N. H. Prov. Pap., V, 43; Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., V, 229-235; Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 616.

Additional instruction (letters of marque), May 20, 1740.

Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., V, 254.

Additional instruction (act re coin to be observed).

First draft submitted May 21, 1740, second draft July 9.

C. O. 324, 12, pp. 261-262 and 264-268; cf. N. J. Arch., 1st ser., VI, 94-95.

Draft of additional instruction (alteration in colors to be worn by letters of marque), submitted Aug. 13, 1741.

C. O. 324, 12, pp. 280-281.

Draft of additional instructions (as to correspondence with the board of trade and secretary of state), submitted Mar. 11, 1752.

C. O. 324, 15, pp. 287-291; N. Y. Col. Docts., VI, 754; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., VIII, Pt. I, 27.

Draft of additional instructions (to keep a well-digested body of laws), submitted Mar. 12, 1752.

C. O. 324, 15, pp. 294-297; N. Y. Col. Docts., VI, 755; Acts Privy Council, Col., IV, § 167.

Draft of additional instructions (as to manner of appeals), to Knowles of Jamaica and others, submitted Dec. 5, 1753.

C. O. 324, 15, pp. 341 (with list of names); N. J. Arch., 1st ser., VIII, Pt. I, 188.

The same, Dec. 18, 1753. In full to Gov. Knowles of Jamaica, the same to Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Bermuda, Bahamas, Barbadoes. C. 0. 5, 200, p. 969.

Additional instructions, May 11, 1756.

N. J. Arch., 1st ser., VIII, Pt. II. 216.

Draft of additional instruction (to obtain an act for preventing correspondence with subjects of the King of France), submitted June 1, 1756, see to Pennsylvania, July 5, 1756.

C. O. 324, 15, pp. 97-99; Pa. Col. Rec., VII, 269.

Additional instructions (for ships having letters of marque), Oct. 5, 1756. Pa. Arch., 1st ser., 111, 2; Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 207.

Additional instructions, Jan. 11, 1756.

Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 312.

Draft of additional instruction (alteration in prayers for the royal family), submitted Oct. 30, 1760.

C. O. 324, 17, pp. 26-28; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., IX, 241-244; Pa. Col. Rec., VIII, 520.

Draft of additional instruction (same subject), submitted Sept. 16, 1761.

C. O. 324, 17, pp. 123-125; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., IX, 302-303.

Additional instructions (same subject), Oct. 1. 1762. C. O. 324, 17, pp. 194-196; N. J., Arck., 1st ser., IX, 376.

Additional instructions (regarding grants of lands), Dec. 2, 1761.

N. Y. Col. Docts. VII, 478.

Additional instructions (regarding tenure of judges), Dec. 2, 1761.

N. Y. Col. Docts., VII, 479.

Draft of additional instruction (to transmit tables of fees), submitted May 28, 1764.

C. O. 324, 17, pp. 404-405; N. J., Arch., 1st ser., IX, 440.

Draft of additional instruction (as to correspondence with the secretary of state and board of trade, submitted Aug. 9, 1766.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 21; N. J., Arch., 1st ser., IX, 566; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 848

Additional instructions circular; written out to Lyttelton (about correspondence with secretary of state and board of trade), Sept. 13, 1766.

C.O. 324, 41, pp. 290.

Draft of additional instructions (forbidding increase of members of assemblies), submitted July 24, 1767.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 176; 41, pp. 258-360; N. Y. Col. Docts., VII, 946; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., IX, 637. Additional instruction (against increasing assembly), Sept. 11, 1767. The like to New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, West Florida, Jamaica, Grenada, Bermuda, Leeward Islands, Barbadoes, and Bahamas. C. O. 324, 41, pp. 358-300.

Draft of additional instruction, in full to Lord Wm. Campbell. The like to 15 others (not to permit lotteries). Submitted May 11, 1769.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 347; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., X, 108.

The same, dated June 30, 1769.

C. O. 5, 241, p. 206; N. H. Prov. Pap., VII, 231.

Draft of additional instruction, in full to Lord Wm. Campbell. The like to others (as to acts about absentees). Submitted Feb. 1, 1772.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 396; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., X, 327-328.

The same, in full to Thomas Shirley, Bahamas. The like to others, Feb. 4, 1772.

C. O. 5, 241, p. 403; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 288; N. J. Arck., 1st ear., X, 328.

Draft of additional instruction, in full to Gov. Carleton. The like to 25 others (prayers for the royal family). Submitted Feb. 13, 1772.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 406; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., X, 332.

The same, Feb. 17, 1772.

C. O. 5, 241, p. 400.

Draft of a clause to be inserted in commissions to governors giving them as chancellors the power to issue commissions for the care of lunatics. Submitted July 29, 1772.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 427; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., X, 371.

Draft of additional instructions (as to grants of lands), submitted June 3, 1773. C. O. 324, 18, p. 450.

Draft of additional instructions (against passing acts of naturalization and divorce), submitted Oct. 28, 1773.

C. O. 324, 18, p. 464; N. J. Arch., 1st ser., X, 410.

The same, Nov. 24, 1773.

C. O. 5, 241, p. 498; 74, p. 373; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 402; N. J. Arch., 1st ser. X, 411.

Draft of additional instructions made out to Gov. Legge, of Nova Scotia. The like to others (as to grants of lands), submitted Nov. 25, 1773. See June 3 above. C. O. 324, 18, p. 468; N. Y. Col. Docta, VIII, 401.

Additional instructions, as the foregoing, Feb. 3, 1774.

C. O. 5, 241, p. 511; W. Y. Col. Docis., VIII, 410.

Draft of additional instructions made out to Gov. Carleton. The like for eleven others (to observe prohibitory act, etc.). Submitted Feb. 13, 1776.

6. 0. 324, 18, p. 488; N. Y. Col. Docts, VIII, 688.

"Draught of an intended additional instruction to governors occasioned by the acts relating to Ireland taken in 1780."

0.0.5,8

Draft of circular additional instructions (to conform to provisions of revised acts with respect to the not assenting to any laws to issue to create paper bills, etc.), n. d., marked: "with Sept., 1782. Plantat. Gen."

C. O. 5, 8.

Additional instruction, circular (to restrain issuing of paper bills, etc.). Approved Sept. 27, 1782.

C. O. 5, 32 [no number].

CROWN POINT AND TICONDEROGA.

SKENE, Philip, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Jan. 28, 1775.

. C. O. 324, 43, pp. 142-143.

DETROIT.

HAMILTON, Henry, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, p. 170.

HAY, Jehu, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 23, 1782.

C. O. 324, 44, pp. 513-514; Michigan Proneer Soc. Coll., XX, 9.

GASPÉ.

Coxe, Nicholas, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, p. 166.

ILLINOIS DISTRICT.

JOHNSON, Matthew, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, p. 168.

MICHILIMACKINAC.

SINCLAIR, Patrick, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, p. 167.

NIAGARA.

SINNOT, Pierce, lieutenant governor.

Commission, May 4, 1771.

C. O. 324, 42, pp. 269-270.

ST. VINCENNES.

ABBOTT, Edward, lieutenant governor.

Commission, Apr. 7, 1775.

C. O. 324, 43, p. 169.

XXII. WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1911.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN HISTORY PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1911, WITH SOME MEMORANDA ON OTHER PORTIONS OF AMERICA.

COMPILED BY

GRACE GARDNER GRIFFIN.

PREFACE.

The annual bibliography which follows is the sixth number of a continuous series opening with 1906. A volume entitled "Writings on American History, 1902," prepared by Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, and Mr. Anson Ely Morse, was published at Princeton in 1904. A volume of a plan more like the present, "Writings on American History, 1903," prepared by Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, Mr. William A. Slade, and Mr. Ernest D. Lewis, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was published by that institution at Washington in 1905. interval followed the series, "Writings on American History, 1906, 1907, and 1908," prepared by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin, and originally published by the Macmillan Company (New York, 1908, 1909, 1910). From the beginning of this new series the enterprise has been sustained by a group of subscribers consisting of various historical societies and individuals, the present list being the following: The American Antiquarian Society, the American Historical Association, the Chicago Historical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New York Historical Society, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Prof. Henry W. Farnam, Hon. George L. Rives, and Mr. J. LeRoy Independent publication, however, ceased with the volume Beginning with the volume for 1909, though the preparafor 1908. tion of the material has continued to be provided for by such a subscription, the printing and publication of the annual bibliography has been assumed by the American Historical Association. In its Annual Reports for 1909 and 1910 bibliographies of the material published in those years were included. The present list continues the matter through the issues of the calendar year 1911.

To those who desire to have complete sets of the volumes hitherto published, it may be useful to know that the volume for 1902 can still be obtained from the library of Princeton University, that for 1903 from the Carnegie Institution of Washingtion, while those for 1906, 1907, 1908 (independent volumes), and "separates" of those for 1909, 1910, and 1911, can be obtained from the secretary of the American Historical Association.

The ensuing pages have been prepared upon the same system as in the preceding volumes. The intention of the compiler has been to include all books and articles, however brief, which contain anything of value to the history of the United States and of British North 532 PREFACE.

America. With respect to the regions lying south of the continental United States, however, and to the Pacific islands, the intention has been to include all writings on the history of these regions published in the United States or Europe; but the product (not relating to the United States) of South America and other southward regions has been left to their own bibliographers. New editions of books, if they contain no new material, have not been noticed. When no other date of publication is given, the date is 1911. The annotations have been confined to explanations of titles which seem to need explanation; to analyses of contents (in many cases taken from the catalogue cards of the Library of Congress), when analyses seemed requisite; and to mention of critical appraisals in a few journals whose criticisms have value.

A topical arrangement has been followed. As a rule, the books and articles in any division are arranged alphabetically by the authors' names. In a few cases another arrangement appeared to be more helpful; in the case of biography and genealogy the subject of the book or article determines the alphabetical arrangement. Attention is called to the special index, which serves as an alphabetical guide to the material here presented in a methodical classification, and which precedes the general index of this volume.

In the compilation of the material, performed at the Library of Congress, Miss Griffin has had most obliging assistance from Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, and from Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin, Chief Assistant Librarian.

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PUBLISHERS REPRESENTED, WITH ABBREVIA-TIONS USED.¹

Alcan. Félix Alcan, 108 boulevard St-Germain, Paris.

Allaben geneal, co. Frank Allaben geneal/gical co., 3 W. 42d st., New York.

Allen. Allen, Lane and Scott, 1211-1213 Ciover st, Philadelphia

Allen and co. George Allen and co., Ruskin House, 44 and 45. Rathbone Place, Oxford st., W., London.

Am. Baptist publication soc. American Baptist publication society, 1701 Chestnut st., Philadelphia; 16 Ashburton place, Boston

Am. bk. co. American book company, 100 Washington square, New York.

America press. America press, 59 E. 83d st., New York.

Appleton. D. Appleton and co., 29-35 W. 32d st., New York.

Arnold. Edward Arnold, 41 and 43 Maddox st., W., London.

Badger. R. G. Badger (The Gorham press), 194-200 Boylston st., Boston.

Baker. Baker and Taylor co., 33 E. 17th st., New York

Barnes co. A. S. Barnes and co., 341 Fourth ave., New York.

Bell and sons. George Bell and sons, York House, 6 Portugal st., Lincoln's Inn Fields, W. C., London.

Bigot. Eugène Bigot, 22 rue de La Tour-d'Auvergne, Paris

Blackie. Blackie and son, 50 Old Bailey, E. C., London.

Blackwood. William Blackwood and sons, 45 George st.. Edinburgh; 37 Paternoster Row, E. C., London.

Bloud. Bloud et cie., 7 place Saint-Sulpice. Paris.

Booz brothers. Booz brothers, 314 W. 53d st., New York.

Boston bk. co. Boston book company, 83-91 Francis st., Boston.

Brainard. W. F. Brainard, 27 W. 23d st., New York

Broadway pub co. Broadway publishing co., 835 Broadway, New York.

Brown print. and bind. co. M. B. Brown printing and binding co., 53 Park place, New York.

Buchanan co., George H. Buchanan co., 420 Sansom st., Philadelphia.

Burbank and co. S. H. Burbank and co., 147 N. 10th st., Philadelphia.

Burrows. Burrows brothers co., 633 Euclid ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Campbell. W. J. Campbell, 1623 Chestnut st., Philadelphia.

Carlisle. A. Carlisle and co., 251 Bush st., San Francisco.

Cassell. Cassell and co., La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, E. C., London; 43 and 45 E. 19th st., New York.

Century co., The Century co., 33 E. 17th st., New York.

Century hist. co. Century history co., 54 Dey st., New York.

Chapman and Hall, 11 Henrietta st., Covent Garden, W. C., London.

Clarendon press. See Froude.

A. H. Clark. Arthur H. Clark co., 209 Caxton building, Cleveland, Ohio.

S. J. Clarke. S. J. Clarke publishing co., 542 S. Dearborn st., Chicago.

W. B. Clarke. W. B. Clarke co., 26 Tremont st., Boston.

Colin. Armand Colin et cie., 5 rue de Mézières, Paris.

Columbia univ. press. Columbia university press, Lemcke and Buechner, agents, 30 W. 27th st., New York.

Conant. Conant and Newhall, printers, 32 Hawley st., Boston.

Conkey. W. B. Conkey co., 201 Dearborn st., Chicago.

Constable. Archibald Constable and co., 10 Orange st., Leicester square, London.

Cupples and Leon. Cupples and Leon co . 443-449 Fourth ave., New York.

George H. Dean. George H. Dean, printer, 177 High st., Boston.

De Vinne press, 395 Lafayette st., New York.

Diederichs. Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Carl Zeissplatz 5, Jena

Donnelley. R. R. Donnelley and sons co., 140-146 Monroe st., Chicago.

Doubleday, Page and co., Garden City, N. Y.

Dresden pub. co. Dresden publishing co., 215 Fourth ave., New York.

Duffield. Duffield and co., 36-38 W. 37th st., New York.

Duncker und Humblot, Dresdnerstr. 17, Leipzig.

Dupont. Imp. P. Dupont, 4 rue du Bouloi, Paris.

Eaton. Eaton and Mains, 150 Fifth ave., New York.

Ebering E. Ebering, Verlagsbuchhandlung und Buchdruckerei, Mittelstr. 39, Berlin.

Eichelberger bk. co. Eichelberger book co., 308 North Charles st., Baltimore, Md.

Ellis. George H. Ellis co., 272 Congress st., Boston.

Estes. Dana Estes and co., 208-218 Summer st., Boston.

Everett pub. co. Everett publishing co. (E. H. Johnson), 17 Milk st., Boston,

Fasquelle. Libr. E. Fasquelle, 11 rue de Grenelle, Paris.

Fischer. S. Fischer, Verlag, Bulowstr. 90, Berlin.

Flanagan. A. Flanagan co., 521 South Wabash ave., Chicago.

Fortanet. Imprenta de Fortanet, Barbieri 22, Madrid.

Frowde. Henry Frowde, Clarendon press, Amen Corner, E. C., London.

Frowde (Henry) and Hodder and Stoughton, Oxford press warehouse, Falcon square, E. C., London.

Funk. Funk and Wagnalls, 44–60 E. 23d st., New York; 133 and 134 Salisbury square, E. C., London

Garnier. Garnier frères, 6 rue des Sts-Pères, Paris.

Gibson. Gibson brothers, 1238-1240 Pennsylvania ave., Washington.

Gilson. F. H. Gilson co., 58 Stanhope st., Boston.

Ginn. Ginn and co., 29 Beacon st., Boston; 70 Fifth ave., New York.

González Rojas. Imprenta, litografía y casa editorial de Felipe González Rojas, Rodríguez San Pedro, 9, Madrid.

Goodspeed historical association, 440 South Dearborn st., Chicago.

Gov. print. bureau. Government printing bureau, Ottawa, Canada

Gov. print. off. Government printing office, Washington.

Greene. Stephen Greene co., printers, 16th st., corner Arch st., Philadelphia.

Harper. Harper and brothers, Franklin square, New York; 45 Albemarle st., W., London.

Harrap. George G. Harrap and co., 3 Portsmouth st., Kingsway, W. C., London.

Harrison. Harrison and sons, 45 Pall Mall, S. W., London.

Hartley-Thomas co., 225 Fifth ave., New York.

Heath. D. C. Heath and co., 120 Boylston st., Boston.

Heinemann. William Heinemann, 21 Bedford st., Strand, W. C., London.

Henrich. Imprenta de Henrich y comp., Córcega 348, Barcelona.

Herder. B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.

Hinds, Noble and Eldredge, 31-35 W. 15th st., New York; 1722 Arch st., Philadelphia.

Hitchcock. F. H. Hitchcock, 105 W. 40th st., New York.

Holt. Henry Holt and co., 34 W. 33d st, New York.

Holmes press, 1336 Cherry st., Philadelphia

Houghton Mifflin Houghton Mifflin co., 4 Park st. Boston; 16 E. 40th st., New York.

Huebsch. B. W. Huebsch, 225 Fifth ave., New York.

Imprimerie nationale, 87 rue Vieille-du-Temple, Paris

Jacobs. G. W. Jacobs co., 208 West Washington square, Phildelphia.

Jennings. Jennings and Graham, 220 W. 4th st., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Jorro. Daniel Jorro, librería y editor, Paz 23. Madrid.

Joseph and Seiton. Joseph and Seiton, publishers, 32 Broadway, New York.

Kennerley. Mitchell Kennerley, 2 E. 29th st., New York.

Kimball-Storer. Kimball-Storer co., 500 S. 4th st , Minneapolis, Minn.

King and son. P. S. King and son, 2 and 4 Great Smith st., Westminster, SW, London.

Knickerbocker press, 2 W. 45th st., New York.

Laflamme. Laflamme and Proulx, Quebec.

Lakeside press (R. R. Donnelley and sons co.), Lakeside press building, Plymouth Court, Chicago.

Lane. John Lane co., 116-120 W. 32d st., New York.

Lasher. Press of G. F. Lasher, 147 N. 10th st., Philadelphia.

Lechner. Hermann Lechner, 96 Fifth ave., New York.

Lewis hist. pub. co. Lewis historical publishing co., 265 Broadway, New York.

Lewis pub. co. Lewis publishing co., 358 Dearborn st., Chicago.

Librería de los sucesores de Hernando, Calle del Arenal 11, Madrid.

Lippincott. J. B. Lippincott co., East Washington square, Philadelphia; 5 Henrietta st., Covent Garden, W. C., London.

Little. Little, Brown and co., 34 Beacon st., Boston.

Little chronicle co., 542 South Dearborn st., Chicago.

Littlefield. George E. Littlefield, 67 Cornhill, Boston.

Longmans. Longmans, Green and co., 443 Fourth ave., New York.

Lord Baltimore press, Greenmount ave., corner Oliver st., Baltimore, Md.

Lothrop, Lee and Shepard co., 93 Federal st., Boston.

Low, Marston and co. Sampson Low, Marston and co., Tudor House, Warwick Lane, E. C., and 100 Southwark st., S. E., London.

Lowdermilk. Lowdermilk and co., 1424-1426 F st. NW., Washington.

Lowenthal-Wolf. Lowenthal-Wolf co., 220 East Baltimore st., Baltimore, Md.

Lutheran publication society, 1424 Arch st., Philadelphia.

McClurg. A. C. McClurg and co., 350-352 East Ohio st., Chicago.

Macmillan. The Macmillan co., 66 Fifth ave., New York; St. Martin's st., Leicester square, W. C., London.

Marquis. A. N. Marquis and co., 440 South Dearborn st., Chicago.

Marshall. Horace Marshall and son, Temple House, Temple ave., E. C., and 123-125 Fleet st., E. C., London.

Maucci. Casa editorial Maucci, Mallorca 166, Barcelona.

Merrill. Charles E. Merrill co., 44-60 E. 23d st., New York.

Merrymount press, 232 Summer st., Boston.

Methuen. Methuen and co., 36 Essex st., Strand, W. C., London.

Moffat. Moffat, Yard and co., 116-120 W. 32d st., New York.

Moods pub. co. Moods publishing co., 34 W. 38th st., New York.

Murphy co. John Murphy co., 200 West Lombard st., Baltimore, Md.

Murray. John Murray, 50a Albemarle st., W. London.

National Americana society, 265 Broadway, New York.

National educational pub. co. National educational publishing co., 36 W. 25th st., New York.

National pub. co. National publishing co., 239 South American st., Philadelphia.

National society, 19 Great Peter st., Westminster, S. W., London.

Neale. Neale publishing co, Broadway, Fifth ave. and 23d st. (Flatiron building, New York; 431 Eleventh st. NW., Washington.

New era print. New era printing co., 41 North Queen st., Lancaster, Pa.

Nijhoff. Martinus Nijhoff, Nobelstraat 18, The Hague.

Nourry. Emile Nourry, 14 rue Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, Paris.

Oldenbourg. R. Oldenbourg, Glückstr. 8, Munich.

Oliphant print. co. Oliphant printing co., 508 South Dearborn st., Chicago.

Ollendorff. Paul Ollendorff, 50 rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris

Oxford print, 148 High st., Boston.

Page. L. C. Page and co., 53 Beacon st., Boston.

Paul, Trench, Trübner and co., Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, E. C., London.

Pilgrim press, 14 Beacon st., Boston; 120 South Wabash ave., Chicago.

Pioneer pub. co. Pioneer publishing co., 542 South Dearborn st., Chicago.

Plon-Nourrit. Plon-Nourrit et cie., 5 rue Garancière, Paris.

Pub. wkly. The Publishers' Weekly, 298 Broadway, New York.

Pueyo. Libr. de Pueyo, Romanos 34, Madrid.

Puritan press, 234 Congress st., Boston.

Putnam. G. P. Putnam's sons, 2-6 W. 45th st., New York; 24 Bedford st., Strand, W. C., London.

Rand, McNally and co., 536 South Clark st., Chicago; 40 E. 22d st., New York.

D. Reimer. Dietrich Reimer, Wilhelmstr. 29, Berlin.

G. Reimer. Georg Reimer, Genthinerstr. 38, Berlin.

Review of reviews co., 30 Irving Place, New York.

Revell. Fleming H. Revell and co., 158 Fifth ave., New York; 125 North Wabash ave., Chicago.

Richmond-Arnold pub. co., 1411 Masonic Temple, Chicago.

Riverside press, Cambridge, Mass.

Robertson. A. M. Robertson, 222 Stockton st., Union square, San Francisco, Cal.

Rockwell and Churchill press, 291 Congress st., Boston.

Roger et cie. Pierre Roger et cie., éditeurs, 54 rue Jacob, Paris.

Rousseau. A. Rousseau, 23 rue d'Aboukir, Paris.

Routledge. G. Routledge and sons, Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, Ludgate Hill, E. C., London.

Rudge. Press of W. R. Rudge, 218 William st., New York.

Salem press. Salem press co., Salem, Mass.

Sanborn and co. B. H. Sanborn and co., 120 Boylston st., Boston; 24 W. 39th st., New York.

Savaète. Libr. A. Savaète, 15 rue Malebranche, Paris.

Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, 42 Barclay st., New York.

Scribner. Charles Scribner's sons, 153-157 Fifth ave., New York.

Sherman, French and co., 6 Beacon st., Boston.

Siegismund. Karl Siegismund, Dessauerstr. 13, Berlin.

Silver. Silver, Burdett and co., 239 W. 39th st., New York; 218-223 Columbus ave., Boston.

Society for Americana, 6 Beacon st., Boston.

Sonnenschein. Sonnenschein and co., 25 High st., Bloomsbury, W. C., London.

Sower co. Christopher Sower co., 124 N. 18th st., Philadelphia.

Henry Stevens, son and Stiles, 39 Great Russell st., W. C., London.

Stewart and co. W. Stewart and co., 19 Newcastle st., E. C., London.

Stockhausen. Paul C. Stockhausen, 53 N. 7th st., Philadelphia.

Stokes. Frederick A. Stokes co., 443-449 Fourth ave., New York.

Sturgis. Sturgis and Walton co., 31-33 E. 27th st., New York.

Suárez Libr. de Victoriano Suárez, Preciados 48, Madrid.

Sudwarth co. Press of the Sudwarth co., 510 12th st. NW., Wa-hington

Taylor and co. D. Taylor and co., S Warren st., New York.

Teubner. B. G. Teubner, Postetr. 3, Leipzig.

Thomas and Evans print. co., 210-212 Guilford ave., Baltimore, Md

Trow press, 201-213 E. 12th st., New York

Unwin T. Fisher Unwin, I Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W. C. London

Van Stockum Van Stockum's Antiquariaat, Prinsegracht 15. The Harae.

Vieweg. Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, Vor der Burg 15, Braunschweig

Voigtlander. R. Vrigtländer's Verlag, Hospitalstr. 10. Leipzig

Walter. L. W. Walter co., 583 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

Waverly press, Williams and Wilkins pub. co., 2427 Greenmount ave., Baltimore, Md.

Weidmann Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Zimmerstr. 94, Berlin.

Welter. H. Welter, 4 rue Bernard-Palissy, Paris.

Whitcomb and Barrows, Huntington Chambers, Boston

Whitehall pub. co Whitehall publishing co., 31-33 E. 27th st., New York

Wilson and son John Wilson and son, University press, Cambridge, Mass.

Wilson co. H. W. Wilson co., 1401-1405 University ave. S.E., Minneapolis, Minu.

Windsor pub. co. Windsor publishing co., 225 Fifth ave., New York.

Winston. John C. Winston co., 1006-1016 Arch st., Philadelphia.

Winter Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, Lutherstr. 59, Heidelberg.

Wright and Potter. Wright and Potter printing co., 18 Post Office square, Boston.

LIST OF PERIODICALS, WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Acad. des inscrip. et belles-lettres comptes rendus. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, comptes rendus, Paris.

Acad. of Pacific coast hist. pub. Academy of Pacific coast history, publications, Berkeley, Cal.

Acad. pol. sci. proc. Academy of political science in the city of New York, proceedings.

Academy, London.

Ala. state bar assoc. proc. Alabama state bar association, proceedings, Montgomery, Ala.

Am. anthrop. American anthropologist, Washington.

Am. antiq. American antiquarian and Oriental journal, Benton Harbor, Mich.

Am. antiq. soc. proc. American antiquarian society, proceedings, Worcester, Mass.

Am. antiq. soc. trans. and coll. American antiquarian society, transactions and collections, Worcester, Mass.

Am. arch. American architect, Boston.

Am. bar assoc. rep. American bar association, report of the annual meeting, Baltimore, Md

Am. Cath hist. rec American Catholic historical society of Philadelphia, records.

Am. Cath. hist. research. American Catholic historical researches, Philadelphia.

Am. Cath. quar. rev. American Catholic quarterly review, Philadelphia.

Am. econ. rev. American economic review, Princeton, N. J.

Am. geog. soc. bul. American geographical society, bulletin, New York.

Am. hist. assoc. rep. American historical association, report, Washington.

Am. hist. rev. American historical review, New York.

Am. Irish hist. soc. jour. American Irish historical society, journal, Boston.

Am. Jew. hist. soc. pub. American Jewish historical society, publications, Baltimore, Md.

Am. jour. archaeol. American journal of archaeology, Norwood, Mass.

Am. jour. internat. law. American journal of international law, New York.

Am. jour. sci. American journal of science, New Haven, Conn

Am. jour. sociol. American journal of sociology, Chicago.

Am. jour. theol. American journal of theology, Chicago.

Am. law rev. American law review, St. Louis, Mo.

Am. mag. American magazine, New York.

Am. mo. mag. American monthly magazine, Washington.

Am. mus. jour. American museum journal, published by the American museum of natural history, New York.

Am. mus. nat. hist. anthrop. pap. American museum of natural history, anthropological papers, New York.

Am. phil. soc. proc. American philosophical society, proceedings, Philadelphia.

Am. pol. sci. rev. American political science review, Baltimore, Md.

Am. scenic and hist. preservation soc. rep. American scenic and historic preservation society, annual report, Albany, N. Y.

Am. soc. civil engineers proc. American society of civil engineers, proceedings, New York. Am. statistical assoc. pub. American statistical association, publications, Boston. Americana. Americana, New York.

Ann. Am. acad. pol. sci. Annals of the American academy of political and social science, New York.

Ann. géog. Annales de géographie, Paris.

Ann. Ia. Annals of Iowa, Des Moines, Ia.

Ann. révolution. Annales révolutionnaires, Paris.

L'anthropologie. L'anthropologie, Paris.

Anthropos. Anthropos, Salzburg.

Arch. rec. Architectural record, New York.

Archæol. bul. Archæological bulletin, Council Grove, Kan.

Archæol. inst. Am. bul. Archæological institute of America, bulletin, New York.

Archiv f. Anthrop. Archiv für Anthropologie, Brunswick.

Archiv f. Sozialwissenschaft. Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, Tübingen.

Archiv. p. l'antrop. Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia, Florence.

Archivo investigaciones hist. Archivo de investigaciones históricas, Madrid.

Ark. hist. assoc. pub. Arkansas historical association, publications, Fayetteville, Ark.

Athenæum. Athenæum, London.

Atlantic. Atlantic monthly, Boston.

Autograph. Autograph, New York.

Bergen co. hist. soc. pap. Bergen county historical society, papers and proceedings, Hackensack, N. J.

Bib. sacra. Bibliotheca sacra, Oberlin, Ohio.

Bib. world. Biblical world, Chicago.

Bibliog. soc. Am. pap. Bibliographical society of America, papers, New York.

Blackwood's. Blackwood's magazine, Edinburgh.

Bookman. Bookman, New York.

Bost. soc. proc. Bostonian society, proceedings, Boston.

Bost. soc. pub. Bostonian society, publications, Boston.

Bradford co. hist. soc. ann. Bradford county historical society, annual, Towanda, Pa.

Branch hist. pap. The John P. Branch historical papers of Randolph-Macon college. Brookline hist. soc. proc. Brookline historical society, proceedings, Brookline, Mass. Buffalo hist. soc. pub. Buffalo historical society, publications, Buffalo, N. Y.

Bul. of bibliog. Bulletin of bibliography, Boston.

Bul. recherch. hist. Bulletin des recherches historiques, Levis, Quebec.

Bul. soc. Neuchat. géog. Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de géographie, Neuchatel.

Bunker Hill monu. assoc. proc. Bunker Hill monument association, proceedings, Boston.

Cal. univ. chron. University of California chronicle, Berkeley, Cal.

Canad. antiq. and numismat. jour. Canadian antiquarian and numismatic journal, Montreal.

Canad. archives pub. Canadian archives, publications, Ottawa.

Canad. mag. Canadian magazine, Toronto.

Caribbeana, Caribbeana, London.

Carnegie lib. bul. Carnegie library of Pittsburgh, bulletin.

Cassell's . Cassell's magazine, London.

Cassier's. Cassier's magazine, New York.

Cath. univ. bul. Catholic university bulletin, Washington.

Cath. world. Catholic world, New York.

Century. Century magazine, New York.

Chambers's jour. Chambers's journal, Edinburgh.

Champlain soc. pub. Champlain society, publications, Toronto.

Chaut. Chautauquan, Chautauqua, N. Y.

Chicago hist. soc. rep. Chicago historical society, annual report, Chicago.

City hist. soc. Phila. pub. City history society of Philadelphia, publications.

Ciudad de dios. La Ciudad de dios, Madrid.

Coast. The Coast, Seattle, Wash.

Col. soc. Mass. pub. Colonial society of Massachusetts, publications, Boston.

Collector, Collector, New York.

Columb. hist. soc. rec. Columbia historical society, records, Washington.

Columb. law rev. Columbia law review, New York.

Columb univ. quar. Columbia university quarterly, New York.

Columb. univ. stud. Columbia university studies in history, economics, and public law. New York.

Confed. vet. Confederate veteran, Nashville, Tenn.

Conn. acad. arts and sciences, trans. Connecticut academy of arts and sciences. transactions, New Haven, Conn.

Conn. hist. soc. coll. Connecticut historical society, collections, Hartford, Conn.

Contemp. rev. Contemporary review, London.

Cornhill mag. Cornhill magazine, London.

Correspondant, Paris.

Cosmopol. Cosmopolitan, New York.

Craftsman. Craftsman, Syracuse, N. Y.

D. A. R. 13th rep. National society of the Daughters of the American revolution, thirteenth annual report, Washington.

Del. hist soc. pap. Delaware historical society, papers, Wilmington, Del.

Deutsch. Pionier-Verein v. Phila. Mitteil. Deutscher Pionier-Verein von Philadelphia, Mitteilungen.

Deutsch-Am. Geschichtsblätter. Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Chicago.

Deutsche Rev. Deutsche Revue, Berlin.

Deutsche Rundschau. Deutsche Rundschau, Berlin.

Deutsche Rundschau f. Geog. Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie, Vienna.

Dial. The Dial, Chicago.

Eccles. rev. Ecclesiastical review, Philadelphia.

L'écon. franc. L'économiste français, Paris.

Econ. jour. Economic journal, London.

Econ rev. Economic review, London.

Economist. Economist, The Hague.

Edinburgh rev. Edinburgh review, Edinburgh.

Educ. Education, Boston.

Educ. rev. Educational review, New York.

Emp. rev. Empire review, London.

Eng. hist. rev. English historical review, Loudon.

Engineer. mag Engineering magazine, New York. Engineer. rec. Engineering record, New York.

España mod. España moderna, Madrid.

España y Amér. España y América, Madrid.

Essex inst. hist. coll. Essex institute historical collections, Salem, Mass.

Études. Études, Paris.

Everybody's. Everybody's magazine, New York.

Filson club pub Filson club publications, Louisville, Ky.

Fortn. rev. Fortnightly review, London.

Forum, New York.

France-Amérique. France-Amérique, Paris.

Franklin inst. jour. Franklin institute journal, Philadelphia.

Friends' hist. soc. bul. Friends' historical society of Philadelphia, bulletin.

Friends' hist. soc. jour. Friends' historical society, journal, London.

Ga. hist. soc. coll. Georgia historical society, collections, Savannah.

Geneal. Genealogist, London.

Geog. Jahr. Geographisches Jahrbuch, Gotha.

Geog. jour. Geographical journal, London.

Geog. Zeits. Geographische Zeitschrift, Leipzig.

La géographie. La géographie; bulletin de la Société de géographie, Paris.

Ger. Am. ann. German American annals, Philadelphia.

Granite monthly. Granite monthly, Concord, N. H.

Granite state mag. Granite state magazine, Manchester, N. H.

Green bag. Green bag, Boston.

Hampton's. Hampton's magazine, New York.

Harper's. Harper's monthly magazine, New York.

Harv. grad. mag. Harvard graduates' magazine, Cambridge, Mass. Harv. hist. stud. Harvard historical studies, Cambridge, Mass.

Harv. law rev. Harvard law review, Cambridge, Mass.

Harv. theol. rev. Harvard theological review, New York.

Hawaiian hist. soc. rep. Hawaiian historical society, annual report, Honolulu.

Hist. and phil. soc. O. pub. Historical and philosophical society of Ohio, quarterly publications, Cincinnati.

Hist. pub. Canad. Review of historical publications relating to Canada, Toronto.

Hist. teach. mag. History teacher's magazine, Philadelphia.

Hist. Vierteljahrschrift. Historische Vierteljahrschrift, Leipzig.

Hist. Zeits. Historische Zeitschrift, Munich and Berlin.

L'homme préhist. L'homme préhistorique, Paris.

Hug. soc. S. C. trans. Huguenot society of South Carolina, transactions, Charleston.

Ia. bar assoc. proc. Iowa state bar association, proceedings, Iowa City, Ia.

Ia. jour. hist. Iowa journal of history and politics, Iowa City, Ia.

Iberville hist. soc. pap. Iberville historical society, papers, Mobile, Ala.

Ill. bar assoc. proc. Illinois state bar association, proceedings, Chicago.

Ill. hist. lib. coll. Illinois state historical library, collections, Springfield, Ill.

Ill. hist. soc. jour. Illinois state historical society, journal, Springfield, Ill.

Ill. law rev. Illinois law review, Chicago.

Ind. bar assoc. rep. Indiana state bar association, report, Indianapolis, Ind.

Ind. hist. soc. pub. Indiana historical society publications, Indianapolis, Ind.

Ind. mag. hist. Indiana magazine of history, Indianapolis, Ind.

Indep. Independent, New York.

Index to legal period. and Law lib. jour. Index to legal periodicals and Law library journal, Chicago.

Infantry jour. Infantry journal, Washington.

Internat. Archiv f. Ethnog. Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Leiden.

Internat. stud. International studio, New York.

Internat. Woch. f. Wissenschaft. Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, Berlin.

Jahrbuch f. Gesetzgebung. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich, Leipzig.

Johns Hopkins univ. stud. Johns Hopkins university studies in historical and political science, Baltimore, Md.

Jour. account. Journal of accountancy, New York.

Jour. Am. folk-lore. Journal of American folk-lore, Boston and New York.

Jour. Am. hist. Journal of American history, New York.

Jour. des. écon. Journal des économistes, Paris.

Jour. geog. Journal of geography, Madison, Wis

Jour. hist. Journal of history, published by the Reorganized church of Jesus Christ of Latter day saints, Lamoni, Ia.

Jour. mil. ser. inst. Journal of the military service institution of the United States. New York.

Jour. pol. econ. Journal of political economy, Chicago

Jour. savants. Journal des savants, Paris.

Jour. soc. Amér. de Paris. Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.

Journ soc. comp. legis Journal of the Society of comparative legislation, London.

Jour. U. S. artillery. Journal of the United States artillery, Fort Monroe, Va.

Kolon. Zeits. Koloniale Zeitschrift, Leipzig and Vienna.

Ky. bar assoc. proc. Kentucky state bar association, proceedings of the annual meeting, Louisville, Ky

Ky hist. soc. reg. Kentucky state historical society, register, Frankfort, Ky.

La. hist. soc. pub. Louisiana historical society, publications, New Orleans, La.

Lancaster co. hist. soc. pap. Lancaster county historical society, papers, Lan-

Law student's helper. Law student's helper, Detroit, Mich

Lebanon co. hist. soc. pap. Lebanon county historical society, papers read before, Lebanon, Pa.

La lectura. La lectura, Madrid.

Lennox and Addington hist. soc. pap. Lennox and Addington historical society, papers and records, Napanee, Ont.

Lib. jour. Library journal, New York.

Lippincott's. Lippincott's monthly magazine, Philadelphia.

Lit. Echo. Litterarische Echo, Vienna.

Living age. Littell's living age, Boston.

London and Middlesex hist soc. trans. London and Middlesex historical society, transactions, London, Ont.

Lowell hist. soc contrib. Lowell historical society, contributions, Lowell, Mass.

Luth. ch. rev. Lutheran church review, Philadelphia.

Luth. quar. Lutheran quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.

Lynn hist. soc. reg. Lynn historical society, register, Lynn, Mass.

Mag. of hist. Magazine of history, with notes and queries, New York.

Maine geneal, soc. rep. Maine genealogical society, reports presented at the annual meeting, Portland, Me.

Man. Man; a monthly record of anthropological science, London.

Mass. hist. soc. coll. Massachusetts historical society, collections, Boston.

Mass. hist. soc. proc. Massachusetts historical society, proceedings, Boston.

Mass. mag. Massachusetts magazine, Salem, Mass.

Mattatuck hist. soc. pub. Mattatuck historical society, publications, Waterbury,

Mayfi. desc. Mayflower descendant, Boston.

McClure's. McClure's magazine, New York.

Md. hist. mag. Maryland historical magazine, Baltimore, Md. Medf. hist. reg. Medford historical register, Medford, Mass.

Mercure de France. Mercure de France, Paris.

Meth. quar. rev. Methodist quarterly review, Nashville, Tenn.

Meth. rev. Methodist review, New York.

Metropol. Metropolitan magazine, New York.

Mich. law rev. Michigan law review, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mining and engineer. world. Mining and engineering world, Chicago.

Miss. Valley hist. assoc. proc. Mississippi Valley historical association, proceedings, Cedar Rapids, Ia.

Mission. rev. Missionary review of the world, New York.

Mo. hist. rev. Missouri historical review, Columbia, Mo.

Mo. hist. soc. coll. Missouri historical society, collections, St. Louis, Mo.

Month. The Month, London.

Moody's mag. Moody's magazine, New York

Moravian hist. soc. trans. Moravian historical society, transactions, Bethlehem, Pa. Munsey's Munsey's magazine, New York.

N. C. bar assoc. rep. North Carolina bar association, report of the annual meeting, Wilmington, N. C.

N. C. booklet. North Carolina booklet, Raleigh, N. C.

N. C. hist. com. pub. North Carolina historical commission, publications, Raleigh, N. C.

N. J. bar assoc. yr. bk. New Jersey state bar association, year book, Trenton, N. J.

N. J. law jour. New Jersey law journal, Plainfield, N. J.

N. Y. geneal, and biog. rec. New York genealogical and biographical record, New York.

N. Y. pub. lib. bul. New York public library bulletin, New York.

N. Y. state bar assoc. rep. New York state bar association, report, Albany, N. Y.

N. Y. state hist. assoc. proc. New York state historical association, proceedings, Albany, N. Y.

N. Y. state lib. bul. New York state library bulletin, Albany, N. Y.

N. Y. state mus. bul. New York state museum, bulletin, Albany, N. Y.

Nantucket hist assoc. proc. Nantucket historical association, proceedings, Nantucket, Mass.

Nation. Nation, New York.

Nation (London). Nation, London.

Nation. defence. National defence, London.

Nation. educ. assoc. proc. National education association, journal of proceedings and addresses of the annual meeting, Winona, Minn.

Nation. geog. mag. National geographic magazine, Washington.

Nation. mag. National magazine, Boston.

Nation. rev. National review, London.

Naval hist. soc. pub. Naval history society, publications, New York.

Neb. hist. soc coll. Nebraska state historical society, collections, Lincoln, Neb.

Nev. hist. soc. rep. Nevada historical society, biennial report, Carson City, Nev.

New Eng. family hist. New England family history, New York.

New Eng. hist. and geneal. reg. New England historical and genealogical register, Boston.

New Eng. mag. New England magazine, Boston.

New Eng. soc. anniv. celeb. New England society of the city of New York, anniversary celebration.

New Netherland reg. New Netherland register, New York.

Niagara hist. soc. pub. Niagara historical society, publications, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

19th cent. Nineteenth century and after, London.

No. Am. rev. North American review, New York.

Nouv.-France. Nouvelle-France, Quebec.

Nouv. rev. Nouvelle revue, Paris.

Nova Scotia hist. soc. coll. Nova Scotia historical society, collections, Halifax, N. S.

Nuestro tiempo. Nuestro tiempo, Madrid.

Nuova antologia. Nuova antologia, Rome.

O. archaeol. and hist. soc. pub. Ohio archaeological and historical society, publications, Columbus, Ohio.

Österreich. Rundschau. Österreichische Rundschau, Vienna.

Old Northw. quar. "Old Northwest" genealogical quarterly, Columbus, Ohio.

Old settler and hist. assoc. Lake co., Ind., rep. Old settler and historical association of Lake county, Indiana, report of the historical secretary, Crown Point, Ind.

Olde Ulster. Olde Ulster, Kingston, N. Y.

Open court. Open court, Chicago.

Ore. hist. soc. quar. Oregon historical society, quarterly, Portland, Ore.

Out West. Out West, Los Angeles, Cal.

Outing. Outing, New York.

Outlook. Outlook, New York.

Overland. Overland monthly, San Francisco, Cal

Pa. bar assoc. rep. Pennsylvania bar association, report of the annual meeting, Philadelphia

Pa. geneal soc. pub. Genealogical society of Pennsylvania, publications, Philadel-

Pa. Germ. soc. proc. Pennsylvania German society, proceedings and addresses. Lancaster, Pa.

Pa.-German. The Pennsylvania-German, Lititz, Pa.

Pa. mag. hist. Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, Philadelphia.

Pa. soc. S. R. ann. proc. Pennsylvania society of the Sons of the Revolution, annual proceedings, Philadelphia.

Pa. soc. vr. bk. Pennsylvania society of New York, year book, New York.

Pall Mall mag. Pall Mall magazine, London.

Pan. Am. union bul. Pan American union, bulletin, Washington.

Pan-American mag. Pan-American magazine, New Orleans, La.

Pearson's. Pearson's magazine, New York.

Pedagog. sem. Pedagogical seminary, Worcester, Mass.

Petermann's Mitteil. Petermann's Mitteilungen, Gotha.
Phila. geog. soc. bul. Philadelphia geographical society, bulletin, Philadelphia.

Pol.-Anthrop. Rev. Politisch-Anthropologische Revue, Hildburghausen.

Pol. sci. quar. Political science quarterly, New York.

Pop. sci. mo. Popular science monthly, New York.

Presbyterian hist. soc. jour. Presbyterian historical society, journal, Philadelphia.

Prince soc. pub. Prince society, publications, Boston.

Princeton theol. rev. Princeton theological review, Philadelphia.

Quar. jour. econ. Quarterly journal of economics, Boston.

Quar. rev. Quarterly review, London.

Queen's quar. Queen's quarterly, Kingston, Canada.

Quest. dipl. et colon. Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, Paris.

R. acad. bol. Real academia de la historia, boletin, Madrid.

R. I. educ circulars. Rhode Island educational circulars, Providence, R. I.

R. I. hist. soc. proc. Rhode Island historical society, proceedings, Providence, R. I.

Records of past. Records of the past, Washington.

Red man. The Red man, Carlisle, Pa.

Réforme écon Réforme économique, Paris.

Reformed ch. rev. Reformed church review, Philadelphia.

Rev. archéol. Revue archéologique, Paris.

Rev. canad. Revue canadienne, Montreal.

Rev. chrétienne. Revue chrétienne, Paris.

Rev. de archivos. Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos, Madrid.

Rev. deux mondes. Revue des deux mondes, Paris.

Rev. droit internat. Revue de droit international et de legislation comparée, Brus-

Rev. éc. d'anthrop. de Paris. Revue de l'École d'anthroplogie de Paris.

Rev. franc.-amér. Revue franco-américaine, Montreal.

Rev. gén. droit internat. Revue générale de droit international public, Paris.

Rev. hist dipl Revue d'histoire diplomatique, Paris

Rev. hist. mod. Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine. Paris.

Rev. monde Revue du monde, Paris.

Rev. of rev. Review of reviews, New York.

Rev. Paris. Revue de Paris, Paris.

Rev. pol. et parl. Revue politique et parlementaire, Paris.

Rev. quest. hist. Revue des questions historiques, Paris.

Rev. sci. pol Revue des sciences politiques, Paris.

Rev théol. Revue de théologie et de philosophie, Lausanne.

Riv. d'Italia. Rivista d'Italia, Rome.

Riv. di antrop. Rivista di antropologia, Rome.

Royal anthrop. inst jour. Royal anthropological institute of Great Britain and Ireland, journal, London.

Royal hist. soc. trans. Royal historical society, transactions, London.

Royal soc. Canad. proc. Royal society of Canada, proceedings and transactions, Ottawa, Canada.

S. C. hist. mag. South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine, Charleston, S. C.

S. R. yr. bk. National society of the Sons of the American revolution, year book, Washington.

Sat. rev. Saturday review, London.

School rev. School review, Chicago.

Schuylkill co. hist. soc. pub. Historical society of Schuylkill county, publications, Pottsville, Pa.

Science. Science, New York.

Scottish geog mag. Scottish geographical magazine, Edinburgh.

Scottsville lit. soc. pub. Scottsville literary society, publications, Scottsville, N. Y.

Scribner's. Scribner's magazine, New York.

Sewanee rev. Sewanee review, Sewanee, Tenn. Smithsonian inst. rep. Smithsonian institution, annual report, Washington.

Smithsonian misc. coll. Smithsonian miscellaneous collections, Smithsonian institution, Washington.

So. Atlan. quar South Atlantic quarterly, Durham, N. C.

So. Cal. hist. soc. pub. Historical society of Southern California, annual publications, Los Angeles, Cal.

So. workm. Southern workman, Hampton, Va.

Soc. d'anthrop. de Paris bul. et mém. Société d'anthropologie de Paris, bulletins et mémoires de la, Paris.

Soc. géog. Québec bul. Société de géographie de Québec, bulletin de la, Quebec.

Spectator. Spectator, London.

Survey. Survey, New York.

Symra. Symra; a Norwegian-American quarterly, Decorah, Ia.

Teachers' col. rec. Teachers' college record, New York.

Tech. rev. Technology review, Boston.

Tenn. bar assoc. proc. Bar association of Tennessee, proceedings of the annual meeting, Nashville, Tenn.

Texas hist. assoc. quar. Texas state historical association, quarterly, Austin, Tex.

Thunder Bay hist. soc. rep. Thunder Bay historical society, reports of officers and papers, Fort William, Ont.

Tijdschrift v. gesch. Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis, land-en volkenkunde, Groningen.

Topsfield hist. soc. coll. Topsfield historical society, collections, Topsfield, Mass.

Toronto univ. stud. Toronto university studies in history, Toronto.

20th cent. mag. Twentieth century magazine, Boston.

U. S. bur. Am. ethnol. rep. U. S. bureau of American ethnology, annual report, Washington.

U. S. bur. educ. rep. U. S. bureau of education. annual report Washington

U. S. Cath hist. rec. U. S. Catholic historical society, records and studies, New York. U. S. cavalry assoc. jour United States cavalry association, journal, Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

U. S. N. inst. proc. United States Naval institute proceedings, Annapolis, Md.

Unit. empire. United empire; the Royal colonial institute journal, London.

Unit. ser. gaz. United service gazette, London.

Unit. ser. mag. United service magazine, London

Univ. mag. University magazine, Montreal, Canada.

Univ. of Cal. bul. University of California, bulletin, Berkeley, Cal.

Univ. of Cal. pub. Am. archeol. University of California publications, American archæology and ethnology, Berkeley, Cal.

Univ. of No. Dak. quar. jour. University of North Dakota, quarterly journal, University, No. Dak.

Univ. of Penn. law rev. and Am. law reg. University of Pennsylvania law review and American law register, Philadelphia.

Univ. of Penn mus. jour. University of Pennsylvania, The Museum journal, Philadelphia.

Univ. of Texas record. The University of Texas record, Austin, Tex.

Utah geneal, and hist, mag. Utah genealogical and historical magazine, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Va. bar assoc. rep. Virginia state bar association, report of the annual meeting, Richmond, Va.

Va. co. rec. Virginia county records, New York.

Va. co. rec. pub. Virginia county record publications, New York.

Va. mag. hist. Virginia magazine of history and biography, Richmond, Va.

Va. state lib. bul Virginia state library, bulletin, Richmond, Va. Va. state lib. rep. Virginia state library, annual report, Richmond, Va.

Vineland hist. and antiq. soc. rep. Vineland historical and antiquarian society, annual report, Vineland, N. J.

Vt. hist. soc proc. Vermont historical society, proceedings, Montpelier, Vt.

W. Va. bar assoc. proc. West Virginia state bar association proceedings, Parkersburg, W. Va.

Westchester co. mag. Westchester county magazine, White Plains, N. Y.

Western jour. educ. Western journal of education, Ypsilanti, Mich.

Western Reserve univ. bul Western Reserve university, bulletin, Cleveland, Ohio. Westm. rev. Westminster review, London.

Wis. hist. soc. proc. Wisconsin state historical society, proceedings, Madison, Wis.

Wisconsin archeol. Wisconsin archeologist, Madison, Wis.

Wm. and Mary quar. William and Mary college quarterly historical magazine. Williamsburg, Va.

Women's Canad. hist. soc. Ottawa trans. Women's Canadian historical society of Ottawa, transactions.

World's work. World's work, New York.

Wy. commem. assoc. proc. Wyoming commemorative association, proceedings, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Yale law jour. Yale law journal, New Haven, Conn.

Yale rev. Yale review, New Haven, Conn.

Zeits, Erdkunde. Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin.

Zeits. f. Ethnol. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin.

Zeits. f. Morphol. Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie, Stuttgart.

Zeits, f. Politik. Zeitschrift für Politik, Berlin.

Zeits. f. Socialwissen. Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft, Leipzig.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1911.

GENERALITIES.

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 - CONTENTS.—Jacob Jansen Flodder, alias Gardenier; Claes Martenszen Van Rosenvelt, Steven Koerts Van Voorhees, Albert Zaborowsky, Carel Enjart, Jan Martensen Van Aelsteyn, by William Becker Van Alstyne, Jan Joosten and Jan Gysbertsen Van Meteren; Abel Reddenhausen, by William Becker Van Alstyne; The Hogeboom family, by William Becker Van Alstyne; The Bogardus, Bogart and Bogert families
- Provincial and Revolutionary military organizations. Olde Ulster, VII (Feb.-June) 40–50, 69–75, 123–125, 136–142, 176–182. [591 The first part, p. 40-46, relates to the colonial period.
- A sensational escape. New Netherland reg., I (Jan.) 14-16. **[592**] The escape of Capt. Jacob Gerritsen Blenck, of the ship Fortune, from New Amsterdam in 1643, to avoid the payment of the duty on a cargo of wine.
- The struggle for a representative government. New Netherland Reg., I (June) 108-112. [593

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- Wakeling, Arthur. The trial of Leisler for high treason. Green bag, XXIII (June) 287-291. 596
- Fisher, Edgar Jacob. New Jersey as a royal province, 1738 to 1776. N. Y., Columbia university, Longmans, Green and co., agents. 504 p. (Columbia univ. stud., v. XLI, whole no 107) 597 Rev. in. Am hist. iev , XVII (July 1912) 876-877.
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 - [602] Describes the emigration of the Palatines, among them Peter Laux, from Schoharie to Tulpehocken, Pa., in 1723
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- Father White's report to Lord Baltimore. Am. Cath. Hist. Research, n. s. VII (Jan.) 21-23. [609]

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Contains extracts from the letter books of Henry Callister, merchant in Maryland, which give "a dependable picture of life in Maryland from the year 1740 until the period of the Revolutionary war". Among the "friends" mentioned are Thomas Bacon and Robert Morris, father of the financier of the Revolution.

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Among them are: Letters from N[athaniel] Blakiston to the Governor and council, 1706, 1708, 1709; Proclamation in regard to sets of Parliament, 1700; Philip Ludwell to Edward Jennings, 1709, in regard to a negro plot; Memorial of the Directors of the lighthouse at Cape Henry, 1775; Instructions of Fairfax county committee to their delegates in convention, 1775; Petition of inhabitants of Frederick county and others to the westward of the Blue Ridge [1775]; Appointment of justices for Transylvania, 1775; Governor Spotswood to the Governor of North Carolina, November, 1712; Examination of Indians, 1718 (7); John Page to William Lee in France [1777]; Orders of convention, &c., in regard to Ralph Wormely [1776].

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 - Copy of a manuscript in the handwriting of John Randolph of Roanoke, who "evidently took his items from the Virginia Gazette."
- The Bandolph manuscript; Virginia seventeenth century records. Va. mag. hist., XIX (Jan.-Oct.) 1-9, 149-156, 240-247, 337-347. [622]
 - CONTENTS.—Memoranda from Virginia records, 1685-1686; Extracts from Council journals, 1686-1688; Commission of the General court, October 3, 1685; Instructions to Lord Culpeper, November 7, 1682; Instructions to Governor Lord Howard of Effingham. February 27, 1688.
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- Church, Benjamin. Letter written by Doctor Benjamin Church of Boston, loyalist and informer. Essex INST. HIST. COLL., XLVII (July) 233-235. [646 Written not long after the battle of Bunker Hill.
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- De Berdt, Dennis. Letters of Dennys de Berdt, 1757–1770. Ed. by Albert Matthews. Cambridge [Mass.] J. Wilson and son. 1 p. l., [293]-461 p. port., pl. 648

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 Agent in London of the Massachusetts House of representatives from November, 1765, to his death in

 April, 1770.

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 Massachusetts were acknowledged, mantioning his endeavors to obtain a repeal of the Stamp act.
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 Written at various times during the years 1776 and 1777. Most of them are dated Philadelphia, but there is one from the "Camp at Whitemarsh," Dec. 3, 1777, and one from Watertown, Mass., Nov. 11, 1778
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 Discusses the methods of Howe and Washington and compares the latter to Fabius.
- Grimke, John Faucheraud. Journal of the campaign to the southward, May 9th to July 14th, 1778. S. C. HIST. MAG, XII (Apr.-Oct.) 60-69, 118-134, 190-206. [658]
- Irwin, John. Regimental order book kept by Captain John Irwin in the campaign under Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne in the year 1777; copied from the original manuscript and annotated by his grandnephew F. T. Nevin, of Sewickley, Pennsylvania.
 - Typewritten copy. In the Carnegie library of Pittsburgh.
- Jenks, John. John Jenks of Salem to Cotton Tufts of Weymouth. ESSEX INST. HIST. COLL., XLVII (July) 230-232. [660

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 - Copies of letters, recently found, among the prize papers in the records of the High court of admiralty, London. They "never reached their destination." They were forwarded via Boston, and the vessel carrying the mail for France was captured by a British cruiser."
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 - This volume contains the Orders of Sept. 27th to Dec. 20th, 1777.
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 - Communicated by Worthington C. Ford.

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 - "A petition presented in 1778 by Bishop Ettwein to congress in session at York, and to the Assembly of Pennsylvania, at Lancaster asking to have the Moravians excepted from the requirements of the Test act of 1777."
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- upon the attitude of Parliament.

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- Tallmadge, Samuel. Original orderly books written on the battlefields of the American revolution. Jour. Am. Hist., V, no. 1, 105-112. [674]

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 15 p. [960]

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At head of title: Semi-centennial memorial.

Another issue, without the narrative text, and with illustrative material rearranged, appeared under title: Photographing the Civil war, by Henry Wysham Lamer. See no. 941.

CONTENTS.—V. I. The opening battles. V II. Two years of grim war. V III. The decisive battles. V. IV. The cavalry. V. V. Forts and artillery. V. VI. The navies. V. VII. Pusons and hospitals V VIII. Soldier hie, secret service. V. IX. Poetry and eloquence of Blue and Gray. V. X. Armes and leaders.

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 List of the immortals p. 320-350
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- MIDDLEBOROUGH, Mass. Gravestone records from the old cemetery at "The Green," Middleborough, Mass. MAYFL. DESC, XIII (Jan.-Apr.) 23-27, 117-120. [2276]
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 v.I. Births. v.II. Mariages and deaths.
- NOETH HARWICH, Mass. Gravestone records from the cemetery at North Harwich, Mass MAYFL. DESC., XIII (July) 158-162. [2288]
- ORLEANS, Mass. Records of the First church in Orleans, formerly the First church in Eastham, Mass. MAYFL DESC., XIII (Apr.-July) 90-94, 162-165. [2289]
- Orleans co., Vt. Abstracts from Volume I of the Probate records of Orleans county, Vt. New Eng. hist. and geneal. reg., LXV (Oct.) 374-379. [2290]
- Pembroke, Mass. Vital records of Pembroke, Massachusetts, to the year 1850. Boston, Mass, New England historic genealogical society. 465 p. [New England historic genealogical society. Vital records of the towns of Massachusetts] [2291]
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- Hosmer. Bradford, Ruth A. The life and works of Harriet Hosmer, the American sculptor. New Eng. MAG., n. s. XLV (Nov.) 265-269. [3140
- JULIO. Fleming, Mary Boyd. The last meeting of Lee and Jackson; the Southern painter, Julio, and his most celebrated work. JOUR. AM. HIST., V, no. III, 409-410.
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 - An account of E. B. D. Fabrino Julio, the painter of "The last meeting of Lee and Jackson"
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